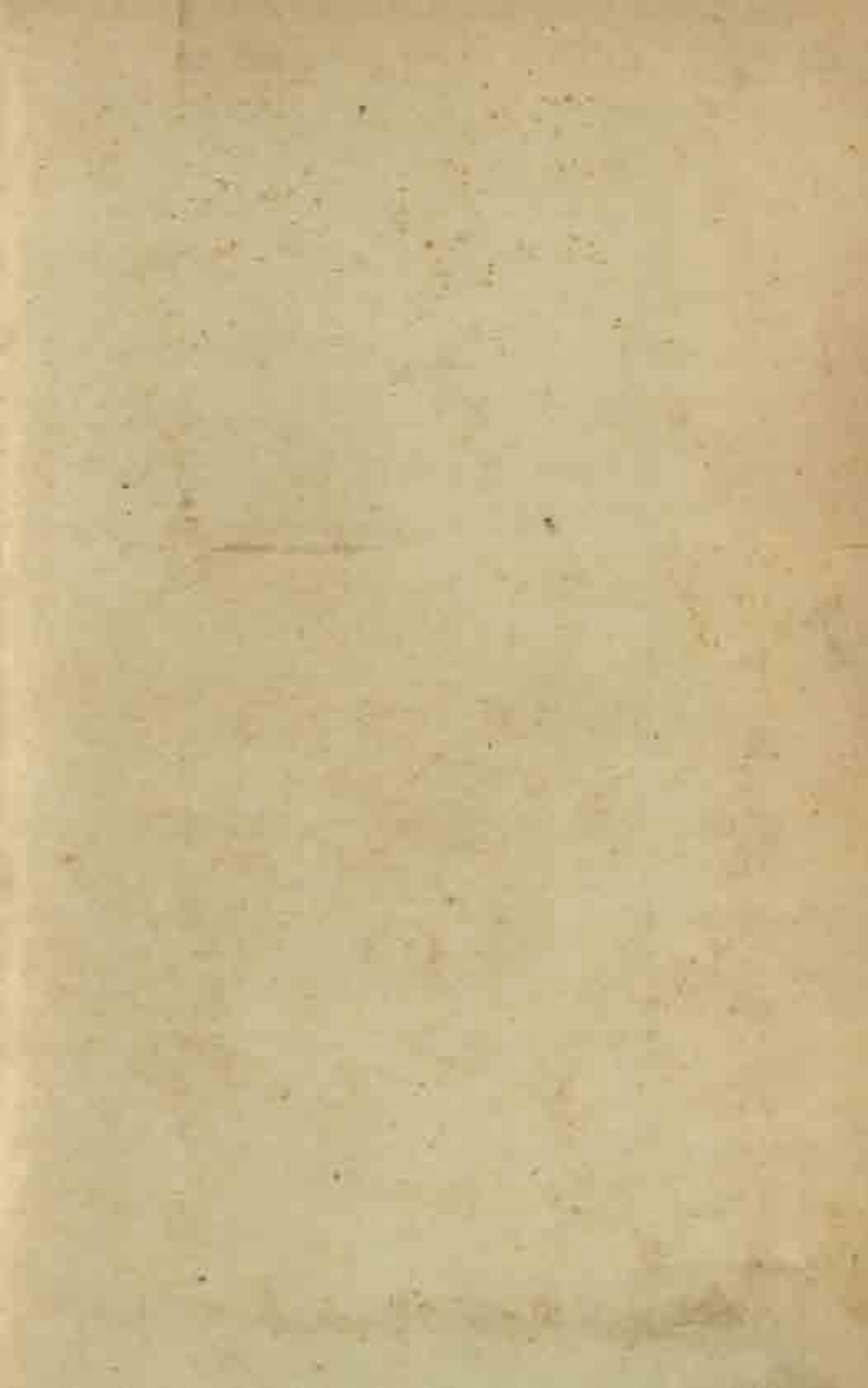


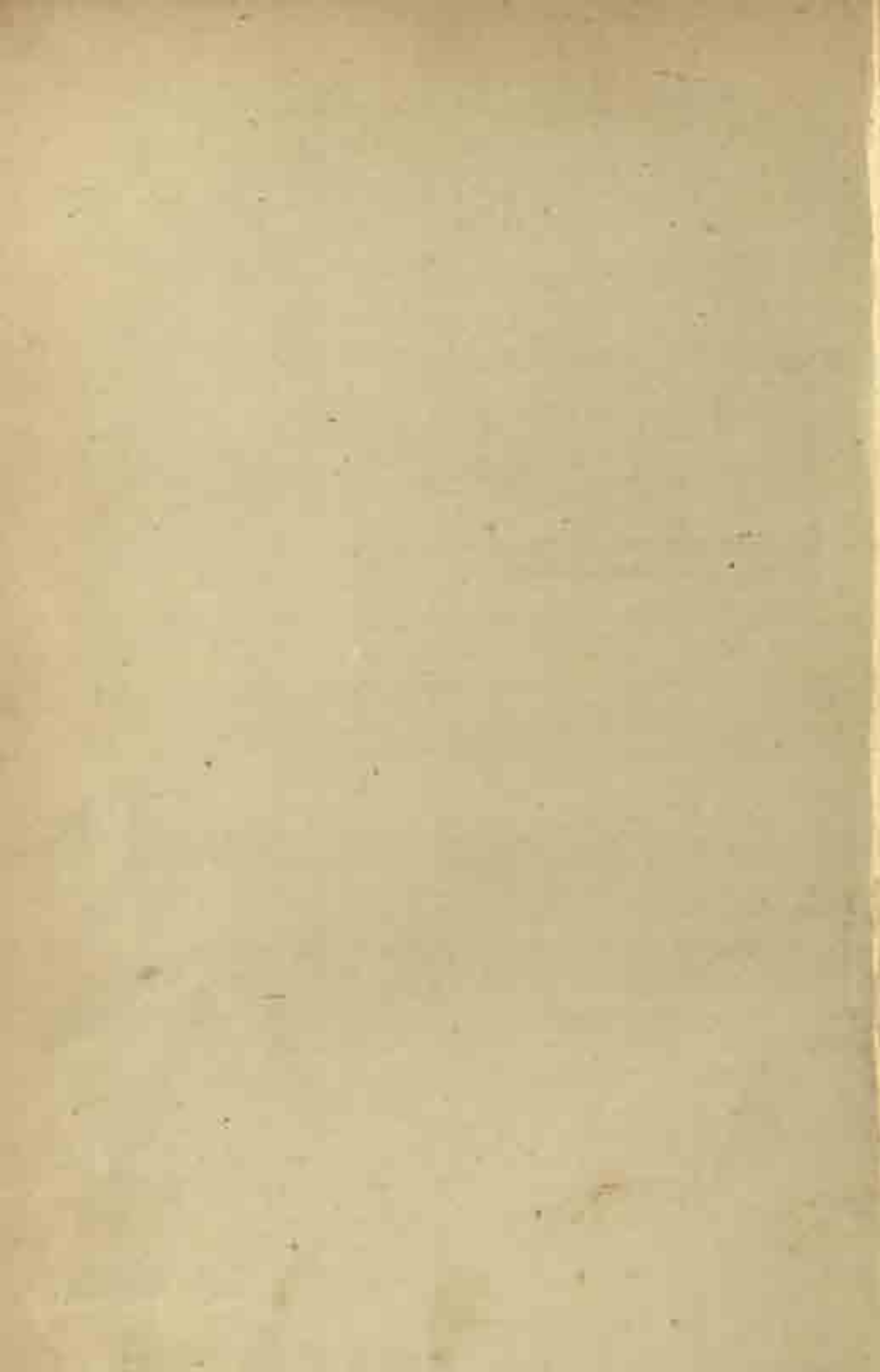
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ALBRIGHT, W. F.: The Babylonian Antediluvian Kings .....	323
BAHRET, L. C.: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Ten .....	96
Review of Thomas's <i>Vedic Hymns</i> .....	428
Review of Macdonell's <i>Hymns from the Rigveda</i> .....	429
BARTON, G. A.: The Form and Nature of E-PA at Lagash .....	92
The Expression of the Comparative Degree in Sumerian .....	243
On the Significance of Compound Postpositives in Early Sumerian .....	317
Review of Schneider's <i>Sumerische Tempelstadt</i> .....	249
Review of Sneath's <i>Religion and Future Life</i> .....	250
Review of Waddell's <i>Tower of Babel and the Name "Shinar"</i> ..	251
BENDER, H. H.: Review of Arbman's <i>Rudra</i> .....	56
Review of Hauer's <i>Anfänge der Yogapraxis</i> .....	60
Review of Joki's <i>Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen</i> ..	427
BLOOMFIELD, M.: The Śālibhadra Carita, a story of Conversion to Jaina Monkhood .....	257
CLARK, W. E.: A Note on Pargiter's <i>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition</i> ..	130
Review of Pargiter's <i>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition</i> .....	132
COOMARASWAMY, A.: Hindī Rāgmālā Texts .....	396 ✓
CUMMINGS, T. F.: The Irreducible Minimum in Learning a Foreign Language .....	81
DAVID, A.: Wie <i>Śā. Gē-hun</i> zu lesen ist? .....	426
EDGERTON, F.: Review of Michalski's <i>Bhagavadgītā</i> .....	65
GERMAN, H. S.: <i>Ādisati, anādisati, anudisati, and uddisati</i> in the Peta-Vatthu .....	410
GOTTHEIL, R.: A Supposed Work of al-Ghazālī .....	85
Review of Torrey's <i>History of the Conquest of Egypt</i> .....	144
GRAY, L. H.: Review of Winternitz's <i>Geschichte der indischen Literatur</i> ..	332
GUEST, R.: An Arabic Papyrus of the 8th Century .....	247
H(AAS), G. C. O.: Notice of Taraporewala's <i>Selections from Avesta and Old Persian</i> .....	255 ✓
Notice of Edwardes's <i>K. R. Cama</i> .....	256
HALPER, B.: Review of Gibb's <i>Arab Conquests in Central Asia</i> .....	434
Review of Bräunlich's <i>Bisjām Ibn Qais</i> .....	436
Review of Hobeika's <i>Liturgie Syriacque</i> .....	435
HAUPT, P.: The Hebrew Terms for Gold and Silver .....	116
Arabic Doublets .....	422
Arabic <i>g = r</i> .....	423
Arabic <i>tihamah = gānazah</i> , Heb. <i>ṣāḥūd</i> .....	424
HITTI, P. K.: Review of Scheltens's <i>Lebanon in Turmoil</i> .....	338
HOPKINS, E. W.: A Buddhist Passage in Mann .....	244
Review of Oldenberg's <i>Mahābhārata</i> .....	54
JACKSON, A. V. W.: Studies in Manichaeism .....	15
LAUFER, B.: Review of Roorda's <i>Choix d'objets d'art</i> .....	337
LUTZ, H. F.: A Nilometer in the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Anthology and Ethnology of the University of California .....	49
An Elucidation of the Adverbial Phrase <i>n mi n i t</i> .....	330
MANNING, C. A.: Vermaak Timofeyevich in Russian Folk Poetry .....	206

# Table of Contents

	PAGE
MEEK, T. J.: <i>Babyloniaca</i> .....	353
MONTGOMERY, J. A.: The Nominal Prefix <i>n</i> in some Hebrew Names. . .	50
Adverbial <i>kulla</i> in Biblical Aramaic and Hebrew .....	391
Review of Hawley's <i>Peshitta Version of Ezra</i> .....	432
PERLITZER, R. H.: Assyrian Epistolary Formulae .....	26
PRICE, I. M.: Topography of the Gudea Inscriptions .....	41
An Inscribed Eye of a Babylonian Idol .....	51
REICH, N.: Review of Erman-Ranke's <i>Aegypten</i> .....	337
Review of Capart's <i>L'art égyptien</i> .....	430
Review of Rotter etc., <i>Die Biene in Aegypten</i> .....	431
SCHMIDT, N.: Early Oriental Studies in Europe and the Work of the American Oriental Society, 1842-1922 .....	1
SCHOFF, W. H.: <i>Nard</i> .....	216
SPOER, H. H.: Five Poems by Nimr Ibn 'Adwān .....	177
TEDESCO, P.: 'Geben' und 'Nehmen' in Indischen .....	358
TORREY, C. C.: The Loss of the Urumia Concordance to the Peshitta .	128
Stray Notes on the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra .....	229
Review of Chabot's <i>Inscriptions de Palmyre</i> .....	141
UNGAD, A.: Review of <i>Keilichrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> .....	67
WOOD, H.: Review of Bhattacharya's <i>Coins of Bengal</i> .....	253
YOHANNAN, A.: Another Old Syriac Reference to Zoroaster .....	239

## LIST OF BOOKS REVIEWED

	PAGE
ARIMAN, A.: <i>Rudra, Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus (Bender)</i> .....	56
BHATTASALI, N. K.: <i>Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal (Wood)</i> .....	253
BLUNT, W. S.: <i>Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt</i> .....	74
BRÄUNLICH, E.: <i>Blāām Ibn Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held (Halper)</i> .....	436
BREUER, L.: <i>Judenproblem</i> .....	73
CAPART, J.: <i>L'art égyptien (Reich)</i> .....	430
CAPPELLER, C.: <i>Bālamāgha; Māgha's Śisupālavadha im Auszuge</i> .....	75
CHABOT, J. B.: <i>Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre (Torrey)</i> .....	141
CHAKRAHARTY, C.: <i>A Study in Hindu Social Polity</i> .....	256
DAS, T.: <i>India in World Politics</i> .....	148
EDWARDS, S. M.: <i>Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, 1831-1909</i> .....	256
Eminent Orientalists, Indian, European, American .....	76
ERMAN, A. & RANKE, H.: <i>Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum (Reich)</i> .....	337
GHOSHAL, U.: <i>A History of Hindu Political Theories</i> .....	350
GIBB, H. A. R.: <i>The Arab Conquests in Central Asia (Halper)</i> .....	434
HAUER, J. W.: <i>Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis im alten Indien (Bender)</i> ..	60
HAWLEY, C. A.: <i>A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra (Montgomery)</i> .....	432

# Table of Contents

	PAGE
HOBEIKA, J.: Explication de la Liturgie Syriacque par Saint Jean Maron (Halper) .....	435
HOYLAND, J. S. & BANERJEE, S. N.: The Commentary of Father Montezate, S. J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar .....	348
JANNAWAY, F. G.: The British Museum with Bible in Hand .....	73
JOKI, N.: Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen (Bender) .....	427
JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, G.: Vedic Antiquities .....	75
Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Bde. I-V (Ungnad) .....	67
KRAUSS, S.: Vier Jahrtausende jüdischen Palästinas .....	73
KRISHNASWAMI, P. R.: Heber's Indian Journal .....	349
LAZARUS, L.: Zur Charakteristik der talmudischen Ethik .....	73
LUM, B.: Gods, Goblins and Ghosts .....	75
MACDONELL, A. A.: Hymns from the Rigveda (Barret) .....	429
MEISSNER, B.: Die Keilschrift .....	72
MICHALSKI-IWIENSKI, ST. FR.: Bhagavadgītā, Texte Sanscrit (Edgerton) .....	65
Atmabodha czyli Pomanie Duszy .....	254
MOELLER: Wächterrufe .....	73
OLDENBERG, H.: Das Mahābhārata, seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form (Hopkins) .....	54
Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus .....	254
PARGITER, F. E.: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition (Clark) .....	132
PRASAD, B.: History of Jahangir .....	349
RONALDSHAY, EARL OF: Lands of the Thunderbolt .....	349
ROOZDA, T. B.: Choix d'objets d'art d'Extrême-Orient conservés dans les Pays Bas (Laufer) .....	337
ROTTER and others: Die Biene in Aegypten jetzt und vor 5000 Jahren (Reich) .....	431
SCHULTEMA, J. F.: The Lebanon in Turmoil, Syria and the Powers in 1860 (Hitti) .....	338
SCHNEIDER, A.: Die sumerische Tempelstadt (Barton) .....	249
SELLIN, E.: Das Alte Testament und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart .....	72
SHASTRI, B. K.: The Bhakti Cult in Ancient India .....	255
SHASTRI, M. D.: The Rg-Vedaprātishākhya, with the Commentary of Uvata .....	350
SNEATH, E. H.: Religion and the Future Life (Barton) .....	250
STREIF, J.: Mysterious Japan .....	75
SUKTHANKAR, V. S.: Vāsavahattā .....	351
TARAPOREWALA, I. J. S.: Selections from Avesta and Old Persian .....	255
THOMAS, E. J.: Vedic Hymns (Barret) .....	428
TIN, P. M., & LUCE, G. H.: The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma .....	348
TORREY, C. C.: The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain by Ibn 'Abd Al-Hakam (Gottheil) .....	144
TWEDIE, MR. A.: Mainly East .....	74
VENKATARAMANAN, S.: Select Works of Sri Sankaracharya .....	76

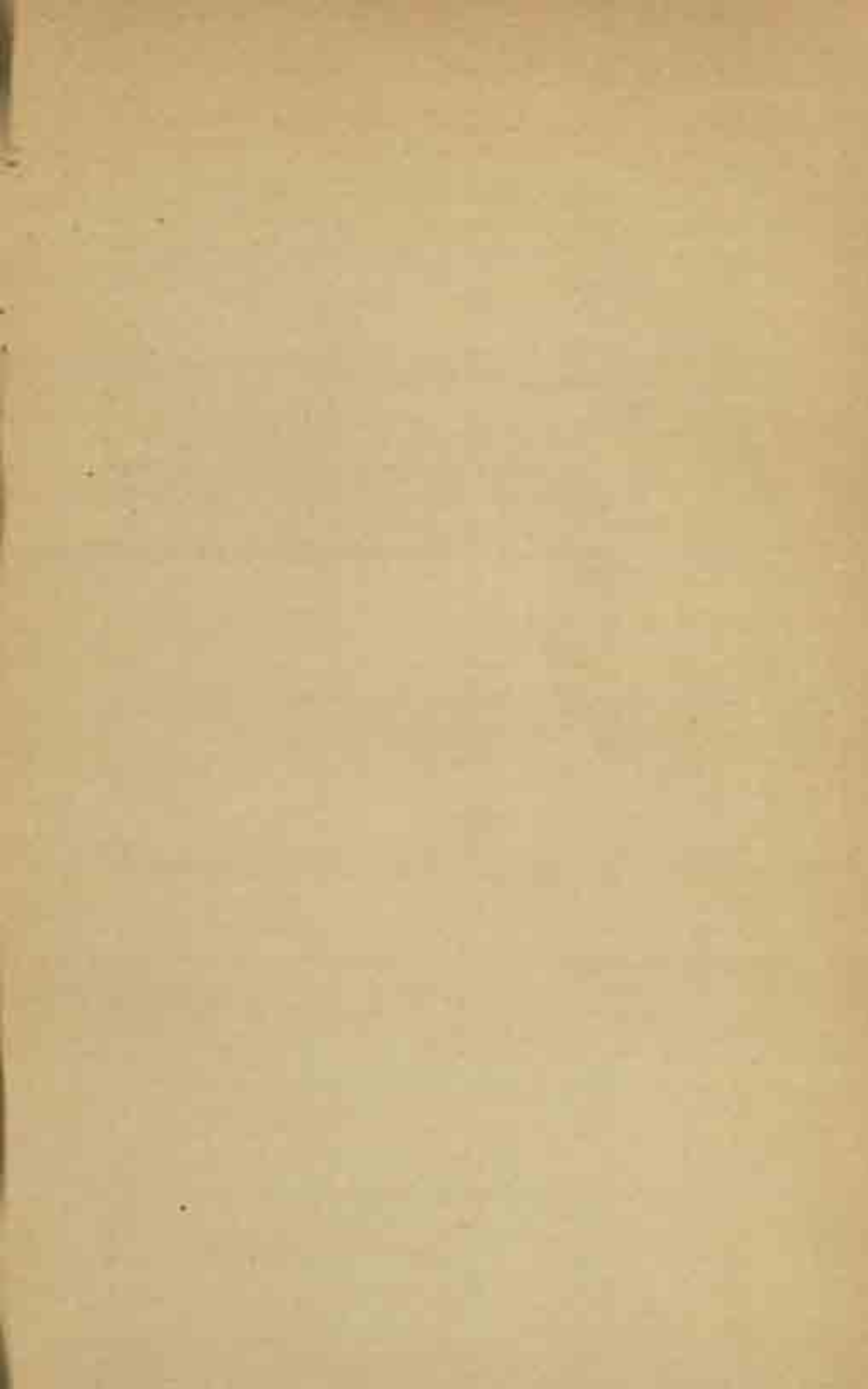


*Table of Contents*

	PAGE
WADDELL, L. W.: Historical Origin and Economic Purpose of the Tower of Babel and the Name "Slinar" in Babylonian Inscriptions (Barton) .....	251
WALEY, A.: Zen Buddhism and its Relation to Art. ....	75
WINTERNITZ, M.: Geschichte der indischen Literatur, III (Gray) .....	332
WOODHEAD, H. G. W.: The China Year Book, 1921-2 .....	74

---

	PAGE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY AT PRINCETON, 1923 .....	149
PROCEEDINGS OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH, 1923 .....	172
NOTES OF THE SOCIETY .....	79, 256, 351, 438
NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC. ....	79, 438
PERSONALIA .....	80, 148, 352, 438
LIST OF MEMBERS .....	439





EARLY ORIENTAL STUDIES IN EUROPE AND THE  
WORK OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL  
SOCIETY, 1842-1922<sup>1</sup>

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT  
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

IF ANYTHING can satisfactorily explain the absence of the President of the American Oriental Society from the annual meeting held in Chicago, it must surely be his presence in Jerusalem. The Society has every reason to be grateful for the warm interest that has taken Dr. Nies at this time to the Near East on a visit connected with the work of the American Schools for Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad. As it falls to my lot to preside at this meeting, I am mindful of the resolution passed in 1905 requesting that the presidential address deal with "some phase of the progress and significance of Oriental studies." The eightieth anniversary of the American Oriental Society furnishes a natural occasion for considering some aspects of its work, while the centenary of the Société Asiatique, with which our Society has recently established closer relations, and of Champollion's great achievement renders it proper to recall certain significant features of the earlier development in Europe of Oriental studies.

Four score years are a brief period in the history of the world; yet they form a considerable part of the time during which Oriental languages, literature and history have been intensively cultivated in Europe, and almost all the time in which they have been serious objects of study in America. Knowledge of the Orient among the ancient Greeks and Romans and in the Christianized empire was circumscribed, vague, and mixed with many errors; but what survives in extant works is often of priceless value. No amount of epigraphic material could compensate us for the loss of classical and patristic literature. The time may come when we shall have cuneiform inscriptions in the

<sup>1</sup> The Presidential Address delivered in Chicago, April 10th, 1922.



Median language, but even then we shall no doubt prize the stories of Herodotus, Ktesias and Xenophon, however contradictory, ill-informed, and imaginary they may be. How scanty our knowledge would be of the Achaemenian Empire were it not for these authors, though we now possess a number of precious cuneiform texts! It is doubtful whether we shall ever have any sources for the history of the Battidae in Cyrene more complete and trustworthy than the narrative of Herodotus; or any native records to take the place of his account of Scythia. What would we know today concerning the Carthaginian Republic and its struggles with Rome but for Polybius? The annals of Alexander's generals, preserved by Plutarch and Arrian, and the report in Megasthenes will always furnish the most detailed information concerning an important episode in the history of India. The excerpts of earlier writers in Diodorus, Nicolaus of Damascus and Trogus; the fragments of Theophrastus, Manetho, Berosus, Menander of Tyre, Philo of Byblus, Hanno, and Hiempisal; the descriptions in Strabo and Pliny; the allusions in Livy, and Tacitus, Cassius Dio, Herodianus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*; and the deposits of Oriental thought as well as references to historic events and conditions in the Greek and Latin church-fathers, are of abiding importance. The light thrown on contemporaneous social life in the Orient by these and many other authors is invaluable.

It is true that the Greeks and the Romans were not much attracted by the study of Oriental languages. H. Steinthal concluded his *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern* (1863) with the just observation: "Die Alten begreifen die Humanität nur in der Form der Nationalität, nicht universell. Darum bleibt ihnen auch das Wesen der Sprache verschlossen, welches so innig mit dem Wesen der Menschheit verknüpft ist" (p. 712). Nevertheless it would be well to have all the evidence collected that reveals even a slight interest, albeit practical rather than scientific, in the learning of foreign tongues. Rolfe's article "Did Liseus speak Latin?" (*Classical Journal* 7, 126) suggested to H. S. Gehman a series of studies,\* showing that now and then a Greek or Roman learned

\* *Interpreters of foreign languages among the ancients, a study based on Greek and Latin sources*, Lancaster, Pa., 1914.

some 'barbarian' language, though more frequently the interpreters were foreigners. It may be added that Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 1. 15) credits Democritus with a translation of the text (probably Aramaic) of the Achiacharus Stele; and that Greeks in Babylonia transliterated cuneiform texts for the learning of which there scarcely could have been any practical motive. The cultivation of Greek and Latin has had an immense influence in maintaining the interest in Oriental life and assisting in its historic reconstruction within a limited field.

In Mediaeval Europe the Jews continued to cultivate Hebrew and some dialects of the Aramaic; in Spain they acquired Arabic; Hayyuj, Ibn Janah and David Kimhi applied the principles of grammarians to the study of Hebrew. Arabic works found Jewish translators, such as the Tibbons; Jewish teachers found Christian pupils, such as Raymund Martini and Nicolaus de Lyra. The Moslems in Spain and Sicily were in a position to gain extensive knowledge of Northern Africa and Asia. Pope Sylvester II (Gerbert), who died in 1003, was acquainted with Arabic. Robert Kennet, with the aid of Pedro di Toledo, Hermann the Dalmatian, and an Arab, made a Latin version of the Koran in 1143 for Pierre di Cluni to refute. Raymund Lullus learned Arabic to convert the Moors, and the council of Vienne, in 1311, established chairs for Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic at Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca. Accounts of travel by missionaries and merchants like Ruysbroeck, Carpini, and Marco Polo spread some knowledge of the eastern countries. But Oriental learning was at a low ebb during the second part of the 14th and the first decades of the 15th centuries, until Johann Wessel and Pico della Mirandola began to devote themselves to Hebrew and Arabic lore.

In the 16th century Hebrew grammars were published by Pellicanus (1504), Reuchlin (1506) and François Tissard (1508). The excellent introduction to Moses Kimhi's grammar by Elias Levita (1508) became known to Christian scholars; his suggestion that the vowel points were of Masoretic origin was adopted by Van den Campen in his grammar (1520), by Sante Pagnini (1520), and by Sebastian Münster (1534 and 1546).

While the reformers were chiefly concerned about translating the Bible into the vernacular, Catholic scholars sought the aid

of converted Jews and Oriental Christians in editing the original texts and rendering into Latin the early versions. Targum Onkelos was translated by Alfonso de Zamora for the Complutensian Polyglot (1514-1517). Widmanstadt edited and translated the Syriac New Testament (1553), and published a Syriac grammar (1556); later Targums as well as the Syriac New Testament appeared in the Antwerp Polyglot (1562-1571). Giustiniani published his Arabic Psalter in 1516, Potken the Psalter in Ethiopic, which he called Chaldaic,<sup>1</sup> in 1518. A Persian version of the Pentateuch was printed in Constantinople (1546). A Latin translation of the Koran was printed before 1509, but suppressed because it was not accompanied with a refutation. Widmanstadt had in his library a MS. copy of another translation. Giovanni Baptista Raimondi had at his disposal sufficient knowledge and Oriental types to prepare, in 1546, a polyglot giving Arabic, Persian, Coptic, Ethiopic and Armenian versions. He was not able, however, to publish it. In 1539, Ambrosio Teseo gave to the world his *Introductio in linguam Chaldaicam, Syriacam atque Armenicam et decem alias linguas*. It does not diminish its merits that he generously included also a description of the system of writing employed by the devil. Filippo Sassetti<sup>2</sup> (1540-1588) lived in India five years (1583-1588) and was the first European to study Sanskrit. He undertook the translation into Italian of a medical treatise called *Rājanighaṇṭu*, and suggested a certain kinship between the two languages. Savary de Brèves made himself thoroughly familiar with Turkish, and J. Löwenklau (d. 1593) wrote a history for which the annals were translated from the Turkish by G. Spiegel (1595). Adelung, in 1593, explained grammatically his rendering of the Lord's Prayer into Tagalog; and a Spanish-Japanese Vocabulario afterwards used by Rodriguez appeared in 1595.

The 17th century saw marked advance in many directions. A maturer Hebrew scholarship was represented by Salomo Glass, Schindler, and especially the Buxtorfs, father and son. It was

<sup>1</sup> On the probable origin of this term cf. Schmidt, "Traces of Early Acquaintance in Europe with the Book of Ethiopic Enoch," *JAOS* 42, 44ff.

<sup>2</sup> Not mentioned in Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie*, I. Straßburg, 1917; nor in Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, I. See A. De Gubernatis, *GSAI* I. xii-xiv; Schmidt, *Outlines of a History of India*, Ithaca, N. Y., 1902, p. 4.—Editors.



Jean Morin, however, and Louis Cappelle, men of less distinction, who paved the way for a definitive solution of the problem of the vowel points, one of the few important questions in Biblical criticism that have been absolutely settled, and in favor of the most radical position. The study of Samaritan by Morin and his editing and translating for the Paris Polyglot (1529-1545) the copy of the Samaritan-Hebrew text brought from Constantinople by Harley and the Samaritan Targum obtained by Pietro della Valle were of special value. Of another Aramaic dialect, Mandaic, already vaguely known to Abraham Echellensis, Europe became aware through Ignatius de Jesu (1662) and Boullaye de Gouz (1653), and the alphabet was printed by the younger Thévenot (1692). The Syriac text was edited by Gabriel Sionita for the Paris Polyglot, and Abraham Echellensis wrote a grammar (1628). Hilliger first saw clearly the relation of the so-called Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan (1679). Arabic grammars and lexicons were published by Martelotti (1620), Erpenius (1621), Giggei (1632), Obecini (1632), Guadagnoli (1642), Hottinger (1653), Golius (1651), Pococke (1652), and Castle (1657); and Arabic authors also began to appear in translation. Hinckelmann published his edition and version of the Koran (1594), and Maracci his, with refutation, in 1598. Turkish began to be seriously cultivated by Christian scholars. Megiser published his *Thesaurus Polyglottus* in 1603, and his *Institutiones linguae Turcicae* in 1612; André Duryet his *Rudimenta Linguae Turcicae* 1630-1634; Molino his Italian-Turkish dictionary in 1641; Maggio his *Syntagmata* 1670; Meninski his grammar in 1636, and his lexicon 1630; Melchizedek Thévenot his *Elementa Linguae Turcicae* 1692. Thomas Hyde discoursed on Turkish liturgy 1691; Paul Ricaut, in continuing Knolles' history, used material furnished by Bobrowski-Ali Begh (d. 1675), in 1669; Comenius used Turkish also in his *Jamua Linguarum* 1648. The most important contributions to Persian were made by Giggei (1632), Golius (1653), Ignatius de Jesu (1661), Castle (1667), Meninski (1681), and Nicolai (1686). Georgian was for the first time studied systematically by Maggio (1643). Armenian began to be carefully studied by J. J. Schröder and de la Croze (1661-1739).

Jesuit missionaries, of more generous training than the Franciscans and Dominicans who had preceded them, devoted them-

selves to grammatical and lexicographical studies of the Far East; and the establishment of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (1622), whose tercentenary will be celebrated this year, greatly furthered this work. Little was done, however, to convey to Europe a knowledge of Sanskrit. From some source Kircher learned the value of some devanagari characters, which he was the first to print in *China Illustrata* (1667). In regard to Chinese, the grammatical studies and vocabularies of such missionaries as Mattei Ricci, Manuel Diaz, Lazar Catalao, Gaspar Ferreira, Schale, and Alvaro Semedo were not known in Europe. The same applies to Antonio Gaubil's translation of the *Shu King* (1669). But Claude Duret, in his *Trésor de l'histoire des langues*, 1613, gives some Chinese characters, M. Martini published his *Atlas Sinensis* in 1655, and Kircher in his *Prodromus*, 1630, printed samples of the *Sin gan fu* inscription and in *China Illustrata*, 1667, showed some understanding of these signs derived from a Chinese Jesuit, André Sin. Alvarez Rodriguez published his *Vocabulario da lingua do Japan* in 1603, and his *Arte da lingua do Japan* in 1604. These were followed by Collado's *Arte della lingua Japonese*, 1631, and *Vocabulario*, 1632. In the Philippines, Christobal Jimenes produced his *Arte del idioma bisaya* (1610), M. Cramer his *Bocabulario bisaya* (1637), and I. Colin discoursed *del ingenio y letras de los Filipinos* in his *Labor Evangelica* (1663). The Malay of Java was studied by S. Denckaertz, *Vocabularium Duytsch-Maleysch en Maleysch-Duytsch* 1623; David Haex *Dictionarium Malaico-Latinum et Latino-Malaicum*, 1631; and J. Heurnius, *Vocabularium of te Wordenboek in Duytsch en Malaysch* 1677. No important study of the Coptic seems to have been made in Europe before Athanasius Kircher, whose researches set forth in *Prodromus* (1630), *Lingua aegyptiaca restituta* (1642) and other works, facilitated by his contact with natives of Egypt still familiar with the language and with the ms. of a Coptic-Arabic lexicon, brought to Europe by Pietro della Valle, were as valuable as his guesses as to the meaning of the hieroglyphics were valueless. He has rightly been styled "the father of Coptology." While Ethiopic texts had been published (*Psalter*, *Canticles* and the *New Testament*) in the *London Polyglot* (1654-1657), the famous Anna Maria van Schuurman had written an Ethiopic grammar, and Hottinger had prepared

a vocabulary for his *Heptaglotton* (1661), it was Job Ludolf who by his *Grammatica Ethiopica* (1661), his *Lexicon* (1667), and his *Historia Aethiopica* (1669) laid the foundation for a real scientific study of this language and its literature. Castle (1666-1669) and Nicolai (1686) were indebted to him.

In the 18th century decided progress was made in understanding the relations between Hebrew and Arabic. This was largely due to Albert Schultens (1737), and N. W. Schröder, and the traditions of the Dutch school were followed by J. D. Michaelis, J. G. Eichhorn, and J. G. Herder. C. F. Houbigant published the first Hebrew Bible without the vowel points and with a Latin version made from a critical text; Kennicott and De Rossi collections of variants; and Bartolocci and Wolf vast treasures of Hebrew lore. In Arabic much work was done by Schultens, Reiske, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Antoine Galland, Petit de la Croix, Herbélot, Sylvestre de Sacy, Olaus Celsius, and George Sale, particularly by the publication and translation of texts. Less was accomplished in Aramaic, although the monumental work of Joseph Simon Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1719-1728), furnished an incentive to the study of Syriac upon which he drew extensively as well as on Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, Samaritan, Armenian, Ethiopic, Coptic, Georgian and Malabaric sources. The so-called *Johannes Christians* were discussed without any effort to interpret the texts, except the beginning of a version of the *Codex Nazareus* by Kämpfer (1779) and Matthias Norberg (1780). J. J. Barthélémy in 1730 undertook the translation of Phoenician inscriptions; and in 1754 began the study of Palmyrene. J. C. Clodius published in 1729 his *Compendiosum lexicon latino-turcico-germanicum*; Bernhard von Jenisch his sketch of the Turkish language in the introduction to Meninski's lexicon (1780); Ignatius d'Ohsson his *Tableau général de l'empire Ottoman* (1787-1790). Persian works were translated by De la Croix, Beck, Robertson, William Jones, and Sylvestre de Sacy. The most extraordinary new development came when Anquetil du Perron published his translation of the *Zend-Avesta* in 1777. The opposition from men like Robertson, Jones, and Jenisch was due in part to prejudice and distrust, in part to arguments that still are valid, since Du Perron claimed that the whole book was the work of Zarathushtra. It might have been more gracious, but the idea



of literary accretion had not yet become as familiar as it is today. De Sacy had succeeded in the decipherment of Pahlavi when he wrote his *Histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides*, 1793. Klaproth was interesting himself again in Georgian; and Armenian was studied by many Orientalists. Moses of Khorene was translated, and la Croze left a ms. dictionary. Ancient India began to be known. Theophil Bayer published, in the *Acta Eruditorum* of the Academy of St. Petersburg, *Elementa Literaturae Brahmanicae*, 1728. A translation of a Persian version of the Laws of the Manavas was made by N. B. Halhed in 1755, and a rendering of a Persian version of the Upanishads by Du Perron in 1777. Bhagavadgita was translated by C. Wilkins in 1785, and Kalidasa's *Śakuntala* by William Jones in 1789.

Chinese studies began in earnest. Thomas Hyde (1636-1703) at the end of his life occupied himself with Chinese, as may be seen from Gregorius Sharp, *Appendix de lingua Sinica*, 1767. Francisco Varo's *Arte de la lingua Mandarinana* appeared in 1703. Bayer published his *Museum Sinicum* in 1730, Fourmont his *Grammatica Sinica* in 1742. Among Fourmont's disciples Deshautesayes was most critical, de Guignes most familiar with Chinese sources. His *Histoire des Huns* is a veritable storehouse, but it should be set in order and its contents sifted. Fourmont's grammar was apparently based on Varo; de Guignes used a dictionary by Basile de Glomona based on a lexicon by Tse gui. Grammatical studies of the Manchurian, Mongolian (by Bayer), Tibetan and Indo-Chinese appeared. Melchior Oyanguni's important grammar, *Arte de la lingua Japona*, was printed in Mexico, 1738. His *El tagalismo elucidado* was published in 1742, and the *Vocabulario poliglotta* of Nervas y Panduro in 1787. Guegnier's *Nederduitsch en Malaisch woordenboek* was printed in 1708. Coptic was cultivated by La Croze (preface to *Lexicon Aegyptico-Latinum* 1722; the work published by Woide in 1775), Woide, Tattam, Zoega, Quatremère and Amadeo Peyron. James Bruce brought back from Abyssinia copies of the Book of Enoch in 1772, but Ethiopic studies were languishing.

The progress was greatly assisted by the founding of royal academies, such as the *Accademia dei Lincei* in Rome (1603), the

Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres in Paris (1663, remodeled 1706), the Academies of Berlin (1700), Petrograd (1725), Stockholm (1739), Copenhagen (1742), Göttingen (1750), Erfurt (1754), Mannheim (1755), Munich (1759), Turin (1757). They generously supported Oriental studies, though only as a part of their work. Similarly limited, yet of great importance because dealing entirely with some part of Asia, were the Bataviaasch genootschaft van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (1772) and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784). Helpful agencies were also the journals published by individual scholars such as Leclerc's *Bibliothèque Universelle* (1686-1693); *Bibliothèque Choisie* (1703-1713); and *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne* (1714-1726); and particularly J. D. Michaelis, *Exegetische und Orientalische Bibliothek* (1771-1785); J. G. Eichhorn's *Repertorium* (1779); and Hammer-Purgstall's *Fundgruben des Orients* (1810-1819).

In the early part of the 19th century, Gesenius wrote his *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache* (1815), his grammar, and his treatise on the Phoenician inscriptions. De Sacy published his great Arabic grammar (1821). Du Perron was vindicated by the researches of Rask, Kneucker, and Eugène Burnouf. Colebrooke (1805) and Cary (1806) wrote their Sanskrit grammars; Lassen and Bohlen discussed the history of India on the basis of new sources; Rask wrote his *Singalesisk Skriftlaere* (1822); Roth, Weber, and Boethlingk began to delve more deeply into the Vedas; and Wilson (1819) presented the *Hindoo Theatre*. Abel Rémusat gave us his *Essai sur la langue et la littérature Chinoises*, 1811, *Eléments de la grammaire Chinoise*, 1822, and *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*, 1829. Leon de Rosny wrote a purely scientific grammar of the Japanese in 1811; Humboldt his *Suppléments à la grammaire Japonaise* (1826). Siebold, the *Thesaurus linguae Japonicae* (1835). William Marden wrote a *Dictionary of the Malayan Language* (1812); John Leyden, *Malay Annals* (1821); Roorda van Eysinga, *Malaisch-duitsch woordenboek* (1834). Brosset published *Eléments de la grammaire géorgienne* (1836), and *Dictionnaire géorgien-russe-français* (1840). Petermann wrote his *Armenian grammar* (1837); and Hammer-Purgstall published a *Geschichte der Osmanen* (1826), being the first and the last history of Turkey based throughout on native sources. Letronne, Quatremère, Peyron, and Young continued their studies of Coptic; and Law-



rence published the text and translation of Enoch and other Ethiopic books.

But on the threshold of the new century two difficult tasks awaited Oriental scholarship. Hitherto it had been possible to learn languages from those who used them and alphabets from those who employed them, or at least the script was similar to some known system of writing and the tongue to some existing family of speech. But no man living employed cuneiform signs or spoke Sumerian, Akkadian, Assyrian, Susian, Haldian, or the Persian of the Achaemenian period, or knew that these were the languages written in the wedge-shaped characters. None was familiar with Egyptian hieroglyphics or the hieratic and demotic systems derived from them, or knew to what extent, if at all, the ancient language was identical with Coptic. Grotefend, in 1802, by a clever conjecture hit upon some names and a title in groups of cuneiform signs, but it took a long time before the real work of the decipherment was accomplished by Burnouf, Lassen, Westergaard, Rawlinson, and others. Barthélemy and Zoega had conjectured that the cartouches, or ovals, contained the names of royal persons. Studying the demotic text of the Rosetta inscription, Joh. David Akerblad, in 1802, identified, within these cartouches, a considerable number of signs corresponding to those in the Greek texts; and Thomas Young, in 1814 and subsequently, added to these and also conjectured the values of some of the hieroglyphs. But it was Jean François Champollion who in 1822 laid the real foundations of Egyptology in his *Lettre à M. Dacier*, and built upon them in ten years an amazingly solid structure. His glory is not dimmed by acknowledging the merits of his predecessors, nor enhanced by denying theirs. When the scope of his work is considered, it is as Eduard Meyer has so truly characterized it, an achievement without a parallel of its kind in the annals of history. The most comprehensive, discriminating, and withal enthusiastic treatment of his life and work comes from the hand of a German lady, Fräulein Hartleben, 1906. Among Champollion's disciples, Gazzera (1824), Greppo (1829), Salvolini (1832), Lepsius (1837), and Rossellini in his *Elementa linguae aegypticae* (1837), and *Diccionario gíeroglyphico* (left in ms. 1843) reached very valuable results.

The purpose of this necessarily brief and inadequate survey

has been to indicate, in a general way, the order in which the various Oriental languages became known to European scholars, the interests, religious, commercial, or purely scientific, that led to a study of them, the channels through which knowledge came, the devotion, sacrifice, and genial insight of individual scholars, the value of material aid rendered by ecclesiastical and civil rulers through the endowment of learning and the founding of academies, and yet the sporadic character of the development, with accidental starts, periods of neglect, and sudden re-emergence of interest, and the need of the great Oriental societies for a systematic and continuous exploitation of the whole field. The first of these was the *Société Asiatique* founded in 1822. It is a pleasure on this occasion to render a tribute to this organization which for a hundred years has been able to maintain so uniformly the finest traditions of French scholarship. The Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1823, the American Oriental Society in 1842, and the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* in 1844.

At the first annual meeting of the American Society in 1843, President Pickering began a remarkable sketch of the field it was proposed to cultivate by calling attention to the especially favorable circumstances of the time, the peace that reigned everywhere, the freer access to Oriental countries, and the greater facilities for communication. The earth seemed quiet in the days of Metternich and Louis Philippe. The treaty of Nanking had opened Chinese ports. The screw-propeller had been adopted in ocean-going vessels; Morse had completed his telegraph and he had already suggested the laying of a trans-Atlantic cable. The objects of the Society were to cultivate learning in Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, and in everything concerning the Orient, to create a taste for Oriental studies in this country, to publish texts, translations and communications, and to collect a library and cabinet. Most of the work has been done in the Asiatic field, and particularly in Sanskrit and the Semitic languages. Edward Salisbury, to whom the Society probably owes more of its prestige than to any other man, was professor of Arabic as well as of Sanskrit, and was deeply concerned in the development of a variety of Oriental studies. The first volume of the *JOURNAL* contains a thoughtful article by him on the Persian cuneiform inscrip-

tions, and an earnest plea for the study of Egyptian. An equal breadth of interest characterized William D. Whitney, the distinguished Sanskritist. For many years the presidency was held by James Hadley, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, and Daniel Coit Gilman, scholars animated by the same spirit. The growing need of specialization demanded of Whitney's pupils and successors, men like Avery, Lanman, Hopkins, Bloomfield, Buck, Edgren, Jackson, Oertel, Woods, Edgerton, Barret, Clark, Ogden, and others, more exclusive attention to the language and literature of India. Some like Luquiens, Jackson, Gray, and Kent, have devoted themselves chiefly, though not exclusively, to the Persian. In Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic, Robinson, Toy, Moore, Adler, Haupt, Torrey, McDonald, Hall, Perkins, Stoddart, Gottheil, Montgomery and Friedländer have been among the contributors. The forming of the Society for Biblical Literature and Exegesis in 1880 and such agencies for publication as *Hebraica* and the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* established by W. R. Harper, have no doubt tended to limit the number of workers within the Society in these fields. In the last forty years Assyriology has found many representatives in the Society: Ward, Peters, Francis Harper, Jastrow, among the departed; Haupt, Lyon, Barton, Johnston, Prince, Miss Ogden, Miss Hussey, Rogers, Clay, Olmstead, and others. A Turkish version of Tabari was translated by Brown, and Turkish dialects discussed by Van Lennep. Martin, S. Wells Williams, Hirth, and Laufer have represented the Chinese; Van Name, Williams, and Miss Mumford, Japanese; Rockhill, Tibetan; Bradley, Siamese. In Egyptology, Seyffert's was long the only voice heard, and always in opposition to Champollion's system, until work on sounder principles began to be done by W. Max Müller and James H. Breasted. Coptic studies have appeared by Prince and Worrell. The Zulu language was studied by Louis Grout. But the hope of Pickering that the work begun by Hodgson in the Berber tongues might be continued by American scholars has not yet been realized. Much was expected from the cooperation of Protestant missionaries in the Pacific islands; but aside from a very valuable Ponape grammar by Luther M. Gulick, little was done until in 1901 a Seminar for Malay languages was established at Johns Hopkins by Haupt, of which the first fruits have been studies by Blake, Conant



and Wolfenson, and a Comparative Tagalog Grammar to be published by the Society.

Much of the interest in Oriental studies created by the Society has been carried over into the American Philological Association founded by Whitney in 1869, the Archaeological Institute of America (1879), the Society for Biblical Literature and Exegesis (1880), and the American Historical Association (1884). Much interest awakened has found difficulty in expressing itself in the activities of the Society because of its confinement in the past to Boston or the cities on the Atlantic seaboard, and has quickly revealed itself in the growth of the Western branch. A very valuable library has been collected by exchanges and donations, of which a card catalogue has been made, and also a cabinet. It is significant of the spirit of the Society that in 1861 to 1865 the regular meetings continued to be held, the Southern members remained in the Society, and there is no hint in JOURNAL or PROCEEDINGS of the tragic struggle through which the country passed, except that the dues were omitted in 1862-63. That is as it should be. *In republica literarum sileat Mars!* The Society has always been deeply interested in the International Congresses of Orientalists; and it is to be hoped that they may soon be resumed again. From a purely scientific point of view it was highly desirable that closer relations should be established between the American Oriental Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Société Asiatique. It would be well, in course of time, to extend such helpful cooperation to all the important European societies including the Italian, German, Austrian, Belgian, Dutch, and Russian societies. The Society is contemplating the publication of an Oriental Review, supplied with adequate fonts of good Oriental types, in connection with the JOURNAL. There should be a printed catalogue of the valuable library of the Society. Bibliographies, with brief characterization of the contents of books or articles, like those published in the Rivista degli Studi Orientali, are desirable; and especially full accounts of works appearing in the Orient. Communications from missionaries, consuls and learned men in the Orient should again be sought, as in the earlier days. The establishment of scholarships or substantial prizes to make possible long continued researches would be of value. The Society might profitably arrange the

organization of an independent Society for the History of Religion to take the place of the Religious Section, as the American Philological Association continued the Classical Section. There should be a wider cooperation between philologists and students of the natural and social sciences, and symposia on important problems by Orientalists working in different fields. Above all, it must be the aim of the Society at this time to secure a comprehensive coordination, continuity, and strict scientific method in the realization of its objects. It has not been possible in this address even to touch upon the extraordinary development of Oriental studies in Europe since 1842. If a comparison should be instituted between the work of the great Oriental societies of Europe and that of the American Oriental Society as an index of the state of Oriental studies, there would no doubt be cause for humble reflections, a stressing of our country's youth and a plea for considerate judgment in view of the peculiar conditions of our academic life already referred to by Pickering in the first address to the Society. Nevertheless, the record of eighty years of noble effort justifies a sense of deep satisfaction and serene confidence for the future.

## STUDIES IN MANICHAISM

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STUDENTS OF MANICHAISM are familiar with the discoveries made at Turfan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkistan, in the years 1903 and following, which brought to light an extensive mass of Manichaean Fragments dating back a thousand years or more. These fragments, consisting of hymns, prayers, confessions, religious treatises, and the like, contain portions of the long-lost Bible of Mānī. The discoveries were due largely to the expeditions of Grünwedel and Huth, Le Coq, Stein, and Pelliot. The more important of these fragmentary texts have proved to be written in a form of the Middle Persian language now usually termed Turfan Pahlavi, and in the Turkish of Eastern Turkistan, though a valuable treatise in Chinese has been made available, and also some Soghdian remnants.

The first scholar to identify a mass of the fragments as Manichaean documents, written down in a variety of the Estrangelo script, and then to decipher them, was the brilliant Berlin professor F. W. K. Müller, in 1904.<sup>1</sup> Since that date the work of deciphering and translating the remains also in the other languages, together with the task of elucidating them, has been carried on especially by Müller, Le Coq, Salemann, Foy, Radloff, Andreas, Reitzenstein, V. Thomsen, Chavannes, Pelliot, Cumont, Alfarcic, Legge, while contributory studies, on the linguistic side, have been made by Gauthiot, Meillet, Bartholomae, Geldner, and Tolman. Through the efforts of the discoverers and their fellow-workers we have therefore now available far more material for understanding Mānī's doctrines than was known centuries ago; and still more light on the subject may be expected in the future, when more of the fragments are published or new finds are unearthed.

The present writer, being interested in the Zoroastrian el-

<sup>1</sup> See *Sitzungsber. d. k. preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1904, ix, 348.



ements in Mānī's religion, has been engaged for some time in preparing a small volume to be entitled *Zoroastrian and Manichæan Studies*. Besides dealing with the question of Persian influence upon Manichæism, the book will contain translations into English from the Petrograd as well as the Berlin fragments in Pahlavī from Turfan, accompanied by philological and explanatory notes that may possibly be of service to the general Iranian scholar as well as to the student of religion. A few special points that have been studied in connection with the preparation of that volume are discussed in the four divisions of the present paper.<sup>4</sup>

## I

## DIRECT MENTIONS OF ZOROASTRIANISM IN THE MANICHÆAN FRAGMENTS

The well-known statement of Albīrūnī, in which Mānī is quoted as acknowledging Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus as his religious predecessors and as claiming to have come to the world as the fulfilment of the divine enlightenment, is too familiar to require citation here.<sup>5</sup> Actual allusions to these three religious leaders, or to their followers, are found to occur incidentally in the Manichæan Fragments. Here are given the references in the texts thus far available relating to Zoroaster.<sup>6</sup>

1. In the first place the name Zoroaster, under the Turkish form *Zrōš* (*Zrāš*), which became current in Chinese as 'Sou-lou-che,' has been shown by Le Coq—convincingly supported through linguistic evidence by Gauthiot—to occur as a Burxan, or divine messenger, in a Manichæan Uigurian fragment from Idikut-Shahri.<sup>7</sup> Some ten times the name with its spiritual attribute (*Zrōš Burxan*) is repeated in this particular fragment which records bits of a legend about a conflict between this

<sup>4</sup> A brief abstract of the present paper was laid before the Société Asiatique at its Centenary Celebration in Paris, July 12, 1922.

<sup>5</sup> See Albīrūnī, tr. Sachau, p. 193; cf. Arabic text, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> A collection of references to Jesus and of allusions to Sākyamuni (Sakimuni) as a Burxan is reserved for publication on another occasion.

<sup>7</sup> See A. Le Coq, *Sitzungsber. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1908, pp. 398, 400-401; id. 1909, p. 1216 n. 2; and cf. R. Gauthiot, *Mém. Soc. Linguistique*, 16 (1911), p. 320.

hallowed personage and sorcerers or demons at Babylon. The city of Babylon was sacrosanct in connection with Mānī's life and was even associated with Zoroaster through apocryphal legend.<sup>8</sup> In any case this sand-buried fragment, discovered in Turkistan, has preserved reminiscences of some old Zoroastrian tale that must have had vogue among the Manichaeans.

2. Not only that, but in a Turfan fragment in Pahlavi in the Berlin collection there is an explicit reference to Zoroaster by name (*Zardūšt* or [?] *Zorohušt*), where he is mentioned by the side of the Persian angel *Srōš* (Avestan *Sraoša*). This mention occurs in an old Manichaean hymn which contains a reminiscence of the Zoroastrian belief in the re-awakening of the soul of Man (i. e. Primal Man, Gayomart). The text itself, however, has unfortunately not yet been published, but its contents are available in a German version by Professor F. C. Andreas, reproduced in Reitzenstein's *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 3, Bonn, 1921.

3. Furthermore, in still another Turfan fragment, M. 16, 20-22 (Müller, *Handschriftenreste II*, p. 94) there is an allusion to a 'Book of the Zoroastrians' as containing a reference to a certain rite performed on the fourteenth day of the Zoroastrian month of Tir. The text reads:—

'ūd pad anīf Zard[ā?]ūštagān  
nibēg 'a'on nibēšēd kū pad  
čahārdah rōf 'i Tirmā  
kūnīšn 'ō kūnīngar

'And in another book of the  
Zoroastrians it is written thus: "On the  
fourteenth day of the month Tir  
a deed for the doer"'

[The rest is wanting.]

4. There is likewise a probable allusion again to Zoroaster as a forerunner of Mānī, with a mention also of Jesus, in the TPhl. fragment M. 543. 1-2 (Müller, II, p. 79). The broken passage begins: / / / / / nangbēd 'ūd pēšobāi 'i Dēn Māzēs,  
' . . . . . the famous master and leader of the Mazdayasnian

<sup>8</sup> See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 90-91.



Religion.' Although the name Zoroaster is missing, owing to an initial break (////) in the page, the collocation with *Dēn Māndēs* makes the conjecture reasonable, especially because there follows (line 7) an allusion to the Zoroastrian archangel Vahman (Av. *Vohu Manah*, 'Good Thought'). Mānī himself as a new voice, speaking in accord and giving the ordinances of a true creed for the faithful, is immediately implied in lines 2-3: *Tō nōg hamōdāg ī Xvarāsān 'ād rāyēnāg 'ī Vahidēnān*, lit. 'Thou (Mānī), the new teacher of the East and organizer of those of the Good Religion (Manichaeism).'<sup>7</sup> The context of lines 4-7 (*Jē zād hāi—šahreyārān*, 'born of the seed of the rulers') shows Mānī's right by descent to the prophetic office; and directly afterwards comes an express mention of 'the Virgin Jesus' (*Yšō' kanīg*) as another of the divine 'manifestations' (*sanān*). Consequently, judging from the entire collocation, the proposed interpretation of Zoroaster's being alluded to as the 'Famous Master of the Mazdayasnian Religion' seems plausible. There happens to be likewise an incidental reference to the 'Magian Religion' (*moγuē nomīn*) in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment, T. M. 170, line 4, ed. Le Coq, *Chotscho III*, p. 39 (Berlin Academy, 1922).

5. In the light of the passage already presented and in view of Albīrūnī's reference to Mānī's having acknowledged Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus as his religious predecessors, we may take up still another Turfan Pahlavi passage. Before doing so, however, we may add Albīrūnī's own further testimony to the effect that 'Mānī proclaimed himself a prophet after having acquainted himself with the doctrines of the Magians, Christians, and Dualists'; and supplement this statement by the authority of an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, that Mānī 'derived his teaching from the Magians and the Christians,'<sup>8</sup> appending likewise Shahrastānī's remark that Mānī's 'religion was a blend of Magianism and Christianity.'<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The designation *Vahī-dēn* is especially applied to Manichaeism elsewhere in the Fragments. Instead of Müller's reading *hamōdāg*, the vocalization *hamōdāg*, 'teacher,' is to be preferred, cf. Gauthiot, *JA* 1911, p. 390 n. 3. So also (now available) Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mittelpersischen Mundarten*, I, 44 n. 1 (in *Sitzb. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.* 1916).

<sup>8</sup> Albīrūnī, *op. cit.* tr. p. 190, line 40; text, p. 207, line 13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Flügel, *Mānī*, pp. 85, 164-166; Kessler, *Mānī*, p. 386.

<sup>10</sup> See Shahrastānī, tr. Haarbrücker, I, 285; and cf. Flügel, p. 163.

Considering all this, a conjecture (but only a conjecture till more Fragments become accessible) may be hazarded that the three great religious predecessors of Māni may possibly be alluded to as 'the three Sons of God' in certain lines of the long Manichaean hymn of praise and prayer, the *Frašgērdīq* (itself the Zoroastrian designation of the Renovation of the World), M. 4, p. 4, lines 10-13 (Mū. II, p. 54<sup>m</sup>), which runs as follows:—

āsāh  
man bōš'gar pad 'istāvišn  
anēivag bag Marī Mānī ad hrē  
bagpūhrān.

'mayest Thou come,  
my Liberator, through praise,  
Thou living God, Lord Mānī, with the three  
Sons of God.'

It should be observed in this connection that the same attribute *bagpūhr*, 'Son of God,' is twice applied to Jesus in a Manichaean citation from the New Testament (M. 18. 1, 3 = Mū. II, p. 34<sup>i</sup>), where it is, however, a translation from the Biblical text. Furthermore, Mānī is likewise called 'a Son of the Deity' (*Mānī yazdān frazēnd*, M. 311. 1 = Mū. II, p. 66<sup>b</sup>) and is so addressed apparently again as 'O Son of the Deity' (*'ōn yazdān pūhr*, M. 32. 3 = Mū. II, p. 62<sup>b</sup>); while Zoroaster and Buddha, the other two of Mānī's three spiritual forerunners, are distinctly designated as Burxans, 'Divine Messengers,' in the Turkish Manichaean Fragments, as noted above (p. 16, n. 3). Hence there seem to be grounds for regarding 'the three Sons of God' in this passage as an allusion to Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus. In any event this suggestion may be offered wholly tentatively until further Fragments are published or discovered.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> There is, for example, a possibility that the three above mentioned may be compared with 'the three gods' which appear as attendants on the soul of the righteous after death, as described in the *Fihrist*, Flügel, p. 100 (and n. 286), cf. also p. 92 (and n. 188). In that case it could be suggested that Primal Man (Ormazd), the Living Spirit, and the Third Messenger (Mithra) might come in for a claim to represent the 'Three Sons of God'; but we should have to wait, in any event, for further material in order finally to decide the question.

In connection with the jottings above recorded it must be emphasized that no attempt is made to deal here with the more general Zoroastrian aspects and allusions, such as to Ormazd and Ahriman, Persian angelology and demonology, or to Buddhist elements, with references likewise to our Savior, because those matters are reserved for treatment in the volume mentioned. There is space, nevertheless, to bring out two or three other Zoroastrian survivals, to which attention seems not to have been previously drawn.

## II

### WEIGHING THE SOUL IN THE BALANCE—A MANICHAEAN IDEA FROM ZOROASTRIANISM

The idea of the weighing of the soul in the scales of judgment after death is a characteristic one in Zoroastrianism. Although found in Egypt and elsewhere, it is a fundamental tenet in the Persian faith.<sup>12</sup> Owing to the extensive influence of Zoroastrianism upon Manichaean eschatology it would be natural to look for some trace of this doctrine in the Fragments.

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[Postscript.—In this latter connection compare Reitzenstein, *Das Manichäische Buch des Herren der Grösse*, pp. 49 n. 3, 48, 94 n. 5. Furthermore, there is a passage (now available) in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment, T II D, 175, 2, lines 1-10, Le Coq, *Chotscho*, III, p. 31, Berlin, 1922, which refers to 'three gods' in connection with the fate of the soul, as follows: 'The God of the Majesty of the Law comes with the three gods, which he himself is, to the soul . . . and sends it to the judge of the dead.' My Parsi pupil, Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavri, plausibly suggests that these three gods, associated with the dead, may be the well-known Manichaean personifications Xrotag, Padvaxtag, and Srōš, cf. Chinese "Hou-lou-chō-tō, P'o-leou-houo-tō, and Sou-lou-cha-lo-yi," see Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA* 1911, p. 520-523, 524, 530, 542, 543 n. 2, 552, 567. The idea of these, though differing somewhat, would be parallel in general to the Zoroastrian notion of Mithra, Raahnu, and Sraosha. We may add that there is a Manichaean allusion to a judge of the dead in St. Ephraim, tr. C. W. Mitchell, i. p. lxx, who quotes Mānī to the effect that 'the souls come to the Judge.']

<sup>12</sup> See Jackson, 'Weighing the Soul in the Balance after Death, an Indian as well as Iranian Idea,' in *Actes du X<sup>me</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes (Session de Genève, 1894)*, pt. 2, pp. 67-74, Leiden, 1895; and for Egypt see J. H. Breasted, *Development of the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 304-306, New York, 1912.



Search has now revealed such an allusion to the balance in one of the Turkish Manichaean Fragments brought back by Le Coq from Chotscho (Khocho).

The passage found occurs in Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho II*, p. 12, Fragment T. II. D. 173, recto, lines 7-12 (*Abh. Akad. Wiss. Berlin*, 1919), and the designation for the scales in Turkish, *trazuk*, corresponds to the familiar word *Phil. tarāzūk*, NP. *tarāzū*. The entire fragment is important for eschatology because it describes the fortunes of the lost soul, about whose fate the several majesties of the fire, waters, plants, and trees lament (quite Zoroastrian!) when it is brought to the judgment, at which 'the deeds done by itself appear before it' in the life-account, to be weighed. The text in transliteration from the Manichaean Turkish runs as follows (lines 6-12):—

könü buryuq közüngä  
 ėä közünpän tänmiš üz  
 ütüg tutupan ● trazuk  
 'ižintä obyurtur liyür ●  
 s[razu]k aγ[sar?] q[il]inčē aistγ  
 bolur ['i]rinčū qilmüš  
 qilinčē 'istig bolur

'The just judge seizes the confused  
 soul which appears  
 as in a mirror. In the balance  
 it is placed down, it is said.  
 If the balance rises, its deeds . . . (?)  
 its evil done  
 deeds will . . . (?)' [*the sense is uncertain*]

[End of the page; the reverse page contains the ensuing torments for the damned.]

Le Coq (to whom grateful acknowledgments are made for rendering such a text available) makes no observation as to the Persian significance of this passage in connection with the judgment scales, nor is special emphasis laid upon it by Reitzenstein (*Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, pp. 33, 35), although the latter scholar draws attention (p. 36) to a Mandaean text with eschatological bearing (viz. Book of John, chap. 55, ed.

Lidzbarski, *Hibil*, p. 196). It appears certain, however, that the real source of the belief as to the 'balance' was Zoroastrian, and it may have come into Manichaeism through the Mandaeen channel.

### III

#### REFERENCE TO A LIFE-ACCOUNT FOR THE HEREAFTER IN MANICHAISM

The idea of an account kept for the hereafter is a familiar one in Zoroastrianism and other religions. It is natural to look for some allusion to this doctrine also in the Manichaean Fragments.

A special reference is now to be found, I believe, in the Petrograd Fragment S. 9 in Turfan Pahlavi. This fragment is one among several brought back to Petrograd in 1908 by Krotkov, the Russian Consul at Ürümčī (Urumchī). It consists of two folios and has been reproduced in the original Syriac script, accompanied by a transliteration into Hebrew characters and a tentative version ('versuch einer übersetzung'), as well as a glossarial index, by the late Petrograd Iranist C. Salemann, under the title 'Manichaica III-IV' in *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 1912, pp. 7-14.

Having made a careful study of this piece in the original Estrangelo text, largely with the help of a magnifying-glass, I have prepared a translation of the whole, with annotations, which bear out the view that the first section (I) relates to the soul of Primal Man in Hell as overcome by the Powers of Darkness, and that the second section (II) appears to describe a colloquy in which a disciple receives from Mānī, who is named, an assurance of the ultimate redemption of the souls of the Elect as purified through the true faith, and the guarantee of the final triumph of good over evil.

It is toward the end of this fragment that there is found, I think, an allusion to promised reward for those whose reckoning in life has won sanctification. The text with reference to the triumphant Elect, as here transcribed from S. 9 verso, col. d, lines 18-33, runs as follows:

- pad 'istāvišn dahēn  
viyūbānd īašmgān
- d 20. 'īg ābān zēdagān ○ ○  
ē y y d (ēayēd) y y z y y d (yēzayēd) v frsr'yyd  
(frsrāyēd)  
lē nazd hōn zamān  
'īs nīlānān ○ ○
- d 25. xvanīhīst ānīdagān  
vīhādān 'i[i] šahriyār  
○ ○ dafēdagīh 'ūd  
avīštābēdagīh  
pādišnōhrēd a[ē]  
zīhr 'īg lāy[ēdān ○ ○]
- d 30. šahriyār Mān[ih]  
xradāi vaxd a[bēdēd]  
nīlān 'īg zamān  
būrīst ○ ○

'The fountains of living waters shall unloose their mouths in praise. (Therefore) teach, worship, and chant aloud, because that time (and) its signs are near. Song belongs to the Initiated and Elect of the Ruler (i. e. Mānī); their accounting and steadfast mastery shall be rewarded by the life eternal. (Thus) Mānī the Ruler, the Lord, taught (?) the signs of the (Time) supreme.'

Omitting here a philological discussion of some of the technical terms in the first part of the selection, which will be presented elsewhere, I turn at once to the two particular words under consideration in connection with the life-accounting.

d, 26. *dafēdagīh*: The reading is assured, and I think that this word is to be taken as an ordinary derivative abstract (-īh) based on *dafēdag* from \**daftan*, 'to write' (cf. Book Phl. *raftan*, 'to go,' *rafēd*), which is contained in the well-known word *daftar*, 'book, record, account' (recall also the old Indo-Iranian loan-word *dipi-*, *lipi-*, 'writing, inscription'; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 61; Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 540). The meaning would therefore be 'reckoning, account, record,' and this interpretation would prove the fact of a survival in Manichaeism of the Zoro-



astrian doctrine of the reckoning or account demanded of the soul in the life hereafter. Similar in tenor is the following word.

d, 27. *arištābēdagīh*: Lit. 'established lordship, steadfast mastery,' i. e. upright stewardship. At least this is my suggestion, namely, to take this compound as made up of *arištā* 'constitutus' (cf. Bartholomae, *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, pp. 31 n., 37, 84, 138 n.), plus the abstract formation *bēdagīh* (or *-īh*), 'lord-ship.' This explanation gives an excellent sense, matching well with the preceding word, and has a far-reaching religious significance.

I need only add that *pādišnōhrēd* is a derivative verb in the passive from the noun *pādišnōhr*, which is found earlier in the same fragment (c, 23) and which is itself to be connected with Av. *xšnaoθra-*, 'satisfaction, propitiation,' presupposing a strengthened Av. form *\*pāiti-xšnaoθra-*, 'satisfaction in return, requital, recompense, reward.' The other words are well-known, and the allusion to 'Lord Māni' lends assurance to the promised reward hereafter for a life-account well balanced.

#### IV

#### A NEW ALLUSION TO THE ZOROASTRIAN FIEND KUNDA, KUNDAG, IN MANICHAISM FOUND IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS

A list of the Zoroastrian demons and fiends has been drawn up by the writer in the section on the Iranian Religion in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 649-668. A number of this infernal crew live on in Manichaean tradition. The flayed Archontes in Theodore bar Khoni's Scholia and elsewhere, together with the devils named in the Turfan Fragments, are more or less familiar. The Avestan Kunda, a personified demon of intoxication, plays an arch role among the horde (cf. *op. cit.* p. 661). While collecting the references to Manichaeism in the Zoroastrian patristic literature, or 'Book Pahlavi,' I have come across a hitherto unnoticed allusion to *Kundag Drūz*, 'the Fiend Kundag, or Kundi,' which may be worth while pointing out to Persian and Manichaean scholars alike.

The reference occurs in the noted Pahlavi work *Dēnkart*, 'Acts of the Zoroastrian Religion,' and is imbedded among a

dozen doctrines of Mānī later controverted by the Zoroastrian priest Atūrpāt, son of Māraspand, famous pontiff of Shāpūr II, in the fourth century A. D. The text of the passage (DK. 3. 200, section 8) is available in the edition of Dastur Peshotan Behramjee Sanjana, vol. 5, p. 243, Bombay, 1888, and in the later edition of the Parsi scholar D. M. Madan, vol. 1, p. 217, Bombay, 1911. A transcription from the original Pahlavi is here presented, following a plan previously adopted of inserting the Pāzand equivalents of Semitic words directly after their 'Huzvārishn' forms in the text, which is transcribed in general according to tradition.

Dk. 3. 200. 8: *xadāk* ('ēvāk) *pafrak zak* (ān) ī  
*ahrōyāh ārāstār Atūrpāt gēh<sup>11</sup> būnēdātak<sup>12</sup> rāi<sup>13</sup>*  
*dāstan andaršēnū, Drūš astak Mānī parkār<sup>14</sup>*  
*ṣavan (pa) stūn ī Kūdag Drūš zak* (ān) ī būnēdā-  
*tak drāyistan dāvist.*

'As one doctrine contrary to that which Atūrpāt, the adorer of holiness, enjoined, (namely) to hold the world as an original creation—the fiend incarnate, Mānī, lyingly taught to proclaim [its] original creation [to be] a circle on the s u p p o r t of the f i e n d K ū d a g.'

This passage, here very literally translated, becomes full of significance in the light of Manichaean studies and is to be associated with other allusions to the particular demon Kundag, such as ShGV. 16. 10-20; Bd. 28. 42; Av. Vd. 11. 9, 12 (=Phl. Vd. 9. 26, 35); 19. 41 (=Phl. Vd. 19. 138); cf. especially also Theodore bar Khoni, in Pognon, *Coupees de Khouabir*, p. 188, and the references in Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, pp. 23-29, 69-75.

<sup>11</sup> Observe that Turfan Phl. has this word as *gih*, S. 9 c, 12 (=Salemman, *Manichaica III-IV*, p. 37).

<sup>12</sup> So the Phl. word is best to be transcribed, as a derivative of \**bun* (loc.) *dāta*, cf. Salemman, 'Ein Bruchstück Man. Schr. im Asiat. Museum,' in *Mém. Acad. Imp. Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 1904, p. 2544. Salemman, *ibid.*, p. 16 n. 2, p. 18 line 7, and p. 23 line 8, uses the transliteration *bunīdātak*. For *bun-dātak* see also Freiman, in *WZKM* 20, 240.

<sup>13</sup> So Madan's text, rightly; see also Peshotan's footnote *ad loc.*

<sup>14</sup> This Phl. form presumes an old Av. *pairi-kara-*, 'encirclement, enclosure, orb.'



## ASSYRIAN EPISTOLARY FORMULAE

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### I. ROYAL LETTERS

FOUR OPENING FORMULAE are used by the Sargonid kings of Assyria in their correspondence: 1. "Word (or message) of the king" (*amāt šarri*)<sup>1</sup> 2. "Order of the king" (*abūt šarri*)<sup>2</sup> 3. "Letter (or tablet) of so and so" (*duppu pulāni*)<sup>3</sup> 4. "To A say: thus sayeth B" (*ana pulāni kibēma umma šarruma*).<sup>4</sup> In writing to persons of equal rank, the salutation, added to one of the first three formulae, was: "I am well! Greetings to you!" (*šulmu iāši, lū šulmu ana kāša*)<sup>5</sup> while, with individuals

<sup>1</sup> See Harper, *Letters* (hereafter abbreviated Harp. or omitted) [287] 288-297 [298-300] 399-403 517-518 [571?] 944 1100 1170 [1172] [1186?] [1256?] 1258 1260 [1380?]; CT xxii, 1. This formula is also used by the neo-Babylonian kings (Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, Nos. 2-6, 115).

<sup>2</sup> Harp. 301-307 417 945; Ungnad, *Babylonian letters of Hammurabi*, No. 132 (to Arad-Gula). This form is used by a princess (*abūt mīrat šarri*) (Harp. 308).

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Harp. 430 (*duppu mār šarri*, letter of the crown-prince) and possibly of Harp. 1242 (*[duppu šar]* Aššur), the name of the king is mentioned after *duppu*: Esarhaddon (Harp. 918), Ašurbanipal (1022 [1040] 1151), Šamaššumukin (406 809 1385), Ummanaldaš (879), Nabû-bēl-šumâte (838); Urzana (409); Nabuchadnezzar (Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, No. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Harp. 914 [924 (13th century) 1282]. This form, current in the letters of Hammurabi and in the Amarna-correspondence, has fallen into desuetude in the Sargonid period. Ašurbanipal uses it, in abridged form, in writing to the Babylonians, his clients (*ana Bābilai šābē kidinnis umma Ašurbanipal*) (Harp. 926).

<sup>5</sup> We find it in letters to the queen dowager (Harp. 303), to kings of Elam (1022 1040) and even in a letter to the Babylonians (Harp. 926) in which Ašurbanipal evidently wishes to flatter them by considering them as of equal rank with himself. Fuller and abridged forms were also used: Harp. 918 mentions sons, daughters, country, and magnates; 1151, which is fragmentary, mentions palace and country, while 879 says laconically: "Greetings to my brother!". Harp. 409 (from Urzana to a high official) reads: "*ana kā*" instead of "*ana kāša*".

of lesser rank, the king merely said: "I am well! Be of good cheer!" (*šulmu iāši, libbaka lū jābka*).<sup>4</sup> In hasty notes (Harp. 304-307 945) and in sarcastic letters (Harp. 403) the greeting was omitted entirely.

## II. LETTERS TO ASSYRIAN KINGS

The opening words of at least half of the letters to Assyrian kings published by Harper are: "To the king my lord. Thy servant so and so. Greetings to the king my lord! May Nabū and Marduk bless the king my lord!" (*ana šarri bēlia, arduka pulānu, lū šulmu ana šarri bēlia, Nabū u Marduk ana šarri bēlia likrubū*). Each one of the four parts of this formula will be examined separately.

### (a) *The Address.*

The standard form ("to the king my lord") can be modified by the mention of the king's name,<sup>5</sup> or by the addition of his titles and *epitheta ornantia*.<sup>6</sup>

A peculiar form of address, one word of which is still obscure,

<sup>4</sup> We find it after *amāt šarri* in Harp. 288 290 291 294 298-300 399 400 402 517 1100 1170 1172; after *abū šarri* in Harp. 302 417. Harper's restoration in 298-300 should be corrected by omitting the initial *lā*. The plural form is found with *amāt* in 287 289 292 293 295-297 401 518 571 944 1258 1260, with *abū* in 301.

<sup>5</sup> E. g. Sargon (Harp. 30 524 542 1016 1226 1355) or Ašurbanipal (879 1195).

<sup>6</sup> Bēl-ibnī uses the title "lord of kings" (*bēl šarrāni*) in addressing Ašurbanipal (Harp. 280 282 284-286 [458] 460 462 520 521 [789 790]); Harp. 793, where this title is omitted, was probably written to Ašur-etil-ilāni (cf. Behrens, *Assyr. Babyl. Briefe*, p. 26). Other titles found in the addresses are: *šarri kiššati* (king of totality) (Harp. 1215,6 1259 1282 1345 1461), *šarri kiššati dannu* (mighty king of totality) (326), *šarri mutāti* (king of countries) (137 238 259 262 266 274 276-277 279 326 328 334-335 497 699 717 736 etc.), *šarri šarrāni* (king of kings) (258 750 cf. 1060,6. 8), *bēl šarrāni šarri mutāti* (lord of kings and king of countries) (284). Harp. 256 reads: "unu bēli šarri bēl šarrāni" (to my lord the king, lord of kings) and in 1016 Sargon is addressed as "šarri Bābili, šarri mutāti, šarri dannu bēli" (king of Babylon, king of countries, mighty king, my lord). Harp. 654 reads: "To the great crownprince, the son of the king of the totality of countries."

reads: "Into the presence (?) of the king my lord may I come" (*ana dīnān šarri bēlia lullik*).<sup>8</sup>

Some letters published by Harper have no address or signature; these were supplemented by the messenger who brought the letter or by the envelope (cf. 1407).<sup>9</sup>

(b) *The signature.*

When the writer was not known personally to the king, he occasionally identified himself by adding to his name the mention of his profession,<sup>10</sup> or of his parentage.<sup>11</sup> In a few reports, mainly astronomical, the introduction is omitted and the signature is placed at the end.<sup>12</sup> Urgent messages, letters of high officials, and military reports often contain merely the address and the signature, omitting all complimentary expressions.<sup>13</sup>

(c) *The greeting.*

Very often *addanniš* (strongly, from *ana dānniš*: Harp. 855. 3) is added to the standard salutation ("greetings to the king

<sup>8</sup> Harp. 422 [542] 698 721 747 749 793 [803] 832 833 835-837 899 900 913 925 994 999 1016 1027 1047 1072 1095 [1182?] [1269] [1304?] [1330] 1339 [1340]. In 1461 we should restore [*ardu-ka*] instead of [*dup-pi*], as Harper does. 422 reads: *ana dīnān Šarrukīn bēlia, lū ana Šarrukīn bēlia, ummā ana šarri bēliā-ma*; this seems to indicate that the word *dīnān* is pleonastic. 913 reads simply: *ana dīnān bēlia*. This form of address is also used in writing to high officials: the *Sukallu* (748 781 805 844), the *MAL.KAL* (*Šaknu dānnu?*) (1413) *Nabu-šar* [...] (1185). On the meaning of this formula see especially: Behrens, *Assyr. Babyl. Briefe*, p. 27; Winckler, *Alt-orient. Forschungen* ii, 191; Waterman, *AJSL* 29. 1; Klauber, *AJSL* 30. 234. In some cases (542 698 793 1047) the invocation to Nabū and Marduk follows. 793 adds: "to the king my lord" at the beginning.

<sup>9</sup> 446(?) 447-449 464 (?) 466 472 473 477 490 632 997 1053 1164 1278. One letter to the king (1245) omits the address and signature and begins with the invocation. The following documents published by Harper cannot be classed as letters: 457 461 609 877 969 1105 1239 1280 1367-1369 1452.

<sup>10</sup> "Prefect of Aššur" (150); "the scribe of the new house" (189); "the commander of the fortress of Appina" (343); "priest of Bit-Kidmuri" (710); "the scribe whom the king appointed in the house of the palace overseer" (733); see also 166 415 419 533 812 829 (cf. 423 671) 1111 1234 etc.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. 152 209 847.

<sup>12</sup> Harp. 416 993 1006 1409 1447-1448 are astronomical reports; 222 702 1111 deal with other matters.

<sup>13</sup> Harp. [73] 121-125 166 205 206 329 443 515 526 650 [765] 796 [1209?] [1414]; cf. 112 (to an official) and 152 (to the crownprince).



my lord") to express the superlative; not seldom it is repeated for emphasis, being found no less than five times in the introduction of Harp. 178 (cf. 977). Harp. 377, after repeating three times the word *šulmu* (greetings) adds: "a thousand greetings to the king my lord".

In isolated cases (Harp. 215 216) the signature follows the greeting instead of preceding it. In very many letters the opening formula contains only the address, the signature, and the greeting.<sup>13</sup>

(d) *The invocation and the wishes.*

The standard form ("may Nabū and Marduk bless the king my lord") is modified by the addition of *addanniš*, strongly (repeated three times in 118). It appears also in isolated variations: "may they, in the faithfulness of their heart (*ina kun libbišunu*), bless the king my lord" (Harp. 970); "a thousand times, exceedingly much, may they bless the king my lord etc." (Harp. 434); "may they bless the king, his servant [the writer], and his servants" (Harp. 872). A notable variety in the choice of the gods invoked and of the expressions of good wishes prevails in the *Harper Letters*.

(1) *The gods.*

The number of the gods named in the invocation varies from one to twenty. In certain cases a general mention is used: "the great gods" (Harp. 334-335 337-340 476 744 746 1202); "the gods of Assyria and Elam" (1400); "the gods of all countries" (831, cf. 7,17); "the gods of Esagil" (119; 120 [*sic!*]); "the gods of Ekur and Nippur" (797 [1465?]); "the gods dwelling in Dūr-šarrukīn" (167 990). The clause "the great gods of heaven and earth" is used alone or added to a list of gods (434 549 [cf. 716] 654 970 [1465]; "dwelling in heaven and earth": 797).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> This form of introduction (*ana šarri belia, arduka pulānu, lū šulmu ana šarri belia*), being one of the most common in the *Harper Corpus*, is here listed only for volumes 1-2: 100-107 126-129 136 138 139 144-148 151 [153] 154-156 157-165 168-172 173 174 179 180 182 188 190-191 192-195 196-199 201 202 207 208 212 218; cf. 175 (to the crownprince).

<sup>14</sup> Harp. 7 reads: "The great gods of heaven and earth, the gods dwelling in Assyria and Akkad, the gods of all countries".



*Single gods:* Ašur of Ešarra: Harp. 941 [991]; in 419 IŠ(?). ŠAR.RA should probably be read Ešarra; 733: "Ašur king of the gods, dweller of Ešarra".

Ištar of Arbela: Harp. 378 (cf. [1438]) [1031?].

Nabū "the lord of countries": 404, 10; Nabū: 1153, rev. 12.

Nin.lil "the gracious mother": Harp. 1060.

Šamaš: 1439.

*Two gods: Male:*

Ašur, Šamaš: 1094 1101.

Bēl, Marduk: 874.

Bēl, Nabū: 137 176 211 [279] 324 (to the queen dowager) 525 558 774 804 [805?] 808 [1234?] 1259 [1269?] 1383, rev. 1 1457.

Nabū, Marduk: in hundreds of letters.

Nin.ib, Nusku: 1131 1338.

Šamaš, Adad: 2.

Šamaš, Bēl: cf. 958, rev. 8.

Šamaš, Marduk: 852; cf. [278]; 958, rev. 24.

*Female:*

Gula, Šarpanit: 1404.

Ištar of Erech, Nanā: cf. 880 1387.

*Couples:*

Adad, Nin.lil: 1223 (cf. [699]).

Anu, Ištar: 781 1095.

Ašur, Ištar: 209 [217?] 533 1249, rev. 1415.

Ašur, Nin.lil: Letters of Tāb-šil-Ešarra: 87-98 396-398 480-483 (possibly also 330 547 562).—[213? 551? 577 812? 1015? 1152 1433].

Marduk, Šarpanit: 496-500 [501] 844 861 1374, rev.

Nabū, Tašmēt, "the gods of this temple": 872.

Nergal, La-aš: cf. 258, 8 (to the queen dowager).

Nin.ib, Gula: 108-111 204 248 391-392 465 [476?] 525 [570] 1370; cf. 1230.

Sin, Nin.gal: Letters from Harran: 131 133-135 [701] (cf. 132, to the *Sukallu*); from Kisig: 210 736; from Šattēna: 942; from Ur: 920 [974?] [1207] 1274; from unknown localities: [625] [935?] 1220 ("Sin, Nin.gal, into whose presence the king has come") 1223 1395.

Uraš, Nin.e.gal: Letters from Dilbat: 994 cf. 326 [764].

## City and Temple:

Erech and E. Anna: Letters of Kudurru: 274-275 277 754-755; letters of Nabū-ušabši: 266-270 272 751-753; fragmentary: 859 866 964 1062 1135 1231 1309.

*Three gods* (minor groups of gods within the lists are separated by semicolons):

Ašur; Bēl, Nabū: 352 [923?] [1048] 1179, obv. and rev.; letters of Ašurbanipal as crownprince to Esarhaddon: 1001 1026 [1257].

Ašur; Nabū, Marduk: 839.

Ašur; Ningal, Bēl-agi (lord of the crescent, i.e. Sin): 314 ("who love the name of the king").

Ašur, Šamaš, Marduk: 258 276 [278?] 454 [456?] [576?] 750 1136 [1138] 1345; letters of Bēl-ibni: 280 [281] 282 284 285 [286] [458] 462 520 521 789-792 794-795 1222 [1311]. Cf. 917 (to the queen dowager).

Bēl, Ašur, Nin.īb: 493.

Bēl, Nabū; Bēlit balāti: 740.

Bēl, Nabū; Nergal: 371 778-779.

Bēl, Nabū; Šamaš: 895 916, 9. 12 1109 1183 1237 1373.

Bēl; Nin.īb, Nusku: 238-239 [240] 327-328 344 1074 [1465].

Nabū, Marduk; Ištār of Arbela: 671 1438; cf. 378.

Nabū, Marduk; Sin: 116.

Sin; Nabū, Marduk: 1016.

Sin, Ningal, Nusku: 1150, 8.

*Four gods:*

Ašur, [. . .]; Nabū, Marduk: 86.

Ašur, Bēl; Nabū, Šamaš: 76, rev. 6.

Ašur, Bēl; Šamaš, Marduk: 328.

Ašur, Ištār; Bēl, Nabū: 1389.

Ašur, Ištār; Nabū, Marduk: 177.

Ašur, Nin.lil; Nabū, Marduk: 149 [1220, 5-6?].

Ašur, Šamaš; Bēl, Nabū: 756 862 1245.

Ašur, Šamaš; Marduk, Nabū: 141 [722].

Ašur, Šamaš; Nabū, Marduk: 1410, rev.

[Ašur?], Šamaš; Sin, Ningal: [1228].

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Bēl: 377 [894?] ("and the great gods").

Bēl, Nabū; Bēlit of Erech, Nanā: cf. 815.

Bēl, Nabū; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Bit-Kidmuri: 186.

Bēl, Nin.lil; Nin.ib, Nusku: 797.

Bēl, [Šarpani]tum; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 1217.

[Nabū], Marduk; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 696.

Nabū, Marduk; Sin, Nin.gal: Letters of Arad-Ea: 27 29 [612?]  
667 669.

*Five gods:*

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Adad, Marduk: 603.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 1098.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Nabū, [Marduk?]: 1150.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Nin.ib, Gula: 719.

Bēl, Bēlit šumi (MU); Nabū, Tašmēt, Nanā: 426.

Bēl, Nabū; Nin.lil, Bēlit of Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela: 187.

Bēl, Šarpanit; Nabū, Nanā, Tašmēt: 54 (to a princess).

Marduk, Šarpanit; Nabū, Tašmēt, Nanā: 119 120 1385.

Nabū, Marduk; Sin, Nin.gal, Nusku: 28.

*Six gods:*

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Nabū, [...], Marduk: 654 (to the crown-prince).

Ašur, Sin, Šamas; [...]<sup>12</sup> Nabū, Nergal: 657.

Ašur, Šamaš; Bēl, Nabū; Sin, Nergal: 216.

*Seven gods:*

Ašur, Bēl, Nabū; Sin, Nergal; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 697.

Ašur, Bēl, Nabū; Sin, Šamaš; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 1384.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Bēl, Nabū; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: [979] 1092 [1107] 1171 1218.

Bēl, Bēlit ba[āti], Bēlit of Babylon, Nabū, Tašmēt; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 220 (to the secretary of the palace).

Nabū, Marduk; Šamaš, Bēl, [...]; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 889.

*Eight gods:*

Ašur, Šamaš; Bēl, Nabū, Nergal; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Bit-Kidmuri, Ištar of Arbela: [992] [1110].

Ašur, Šamaš; Bēl, Šarpanit; Nabū, Tašmēt; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 114 453.

<sup>12</sup> Jastrow (*Religion*, ii, 602) restores "Ištar (?)": I would suggest "Bēl" (cf. 371 778-9 and 216; see also 992+1110).

*Nine gods:*

Ašur, Šamaš; Bēl, Nabū; Nergal, La-aš; Išum; Adad; <sup>a</sup>BAD. IR (Brünnöw 1561): 434.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Bēl, Nabu; Nergal; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 662.

Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Marduk, Šarpanit; Nabū, Tašmēt; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: Letters of Arad-Nabū: 113 115 427 [495] [1133?] [1147?] ("who love thy kingship").

*Ten gods:*

... Ašur, Sin, Šamaš; Adad; Bēl, Nabū; Nin.ib... Nusku; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela: 923, 17f.

*Fourteen gods:*

[Ašur,] Sin, Šamaš; Adad; Marduk, Šarpanit; Nabū, Tašmēt; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela; Nin.ib, Gula; Nergal, La-aš: 6.

*Fifteen gods:*

Ašur, Nin.lil; Sin, Šamas, Adad; Marduk, Šarpanit; Nabū, Tašmēt; Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela; Nin.ib, Nin.ib,<sup>a</sup> Nergal, La-aš: 358.

*Twenty gods (or more):*

Ašur, Sin, Šamas, Adad; [...]; SAG.ME.GAR (i.e. Jupiter), DIL.BAT (i.e. Venus); Marduk, [Šarpanit]; Nabū, Tašmēt; LU.[BAD.SAG.UŠ] (i.e. Saturn), LU.BAD.GUD.BIR (i.e. Mercury); Šarra[t...], Šarrat Kidmuri, [Ištar of] Arbela; Nin.ib, [Gula], Nergal, La-aš: 7.

*Uncertain fragments:*

Ašur, Bēl, [...], [...], ...: 1250.

..., Ašur, [...], Ištar, Marduk: 1430.

Bēl, [Šarpanit]tum, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Šamaš(?) ... 1166.

... Nabū... Ištar of...: 1075.

..., Nin.lil, ..., Aia, Adad..., Nabū, Tašmēt, ..., [Ištar of] Arbela; Nin.ib, Gula, ...: 1166.

..., Zamama, Nergal, DITAR (i.e. *daianu*, judge, a title of Šamaš) ... 916.

<sup>a</sup> Van Gelderen (B.A. iv, 510) considers this repetition a dittography; Clay (*The Empire of the Amorites*, p. 75) affirms with more plausibility that "both the god and the goddess are addressed" (i.e. *Inurta* and *Ninurta*), a view confirmed by the list of gods in 6, given above, which is practically identical and has "Nin.ib, Gula".



The interest of these lists transcends epistolary usage; they seem to grant us a unique glimpse into the private religion of the times. A considerable difference in matters of worship between individuals, cities, and professions appears in the choice of the gods invoked in these introductions; the patron gods of the city or of the profession of the writer, the gods with whom he feels himself in closest relation, are asked to bless the king. Physicians call upon Nin.ib and Gula, the healing gods (cf. e. g. Harp. 108-110). Priests would not omit, in their lists, the names of their own gods: Nabû-pašir, a Sin priest, invokes Sin and Nin.gal; Arad-Ea, probably also a Sin priest, adds Nabû and Marduk to the list of his own gods (Sin and Nin.gal or these two and Nusku); a priest of Nin.ib invokes Bēl Ašur and Nin.ib (Harp. 493). Military men often omit the invocation of the gods. Sometimes it is possible to know the city from which the letter was sent by the names of the gods invoked: at Erech they call upon "Erech and E.Anna" or "Ištar of Erech and Nanā"; at Nippur "Bēl (written En.lil), Nin.ib, and Nusku"; at Aššur, "Ašur and Nin.lil (or Ištar)" or "Ašur" alone; at Babylon "Marduk and Šarpanīt"; at Nineveh "Ištar of Nineveh" (186); at Arbela, "Ištar of Arbela" (671). Similarly the patron gods of the city are invoked in letters from Kutha (?) (1254), Dūr-Šarrukīn (167), and Dilbat (326 764 994). Sin and Nin.gal are found in letters from the centers of the worship of the moon god: Ur, Harraṇ, Kisig, and Šattēna.

## (2) *The wishes.*

The good wishes sent to the king may be classed as personal and political.

The first group contains wishes that could be sent to any private individual. The three blessings that the gods are asked to grant the king are long life, health and happiness, and offspring. The writers hope that the gods will give to the king "long days, protracted years",<sup>19</sup> "length of days, lasting reign,"<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Umē arkūte šanūte darūte annu šarri bēlia liddinū*; Harp. 86 259 260 262 350 493 496 696 744 811 992 1117 1128 1173 [1217?] 1220 [1243]. "Many days (*umē ma'dūte*), long years"; 525 530 733 1092, 603 (cf. 797,7) reads: [...] *bādāši umē arkūte* etc. 990 has "*umē arkūte*" only.

<sup>20</sup> "*Araku umē labar palē līšlū*"; 280 (Harper reads "*ki-lī-šū*") [281] 285 [286] [1402?] [1430]; cf. 462 839.

they beg the gods to "prolong the days of the king",<sup>21</sup> "to keep him alive one hundred years",<sup>22</sup> "to lengthen his reign",<sup>23</sup> "to bless him for many years",<sup>24</sup> in a word: "long live the king in Assyria!"<sup>25</sup> In writing to the queen dowager they express the hope that the gods "may grant life to the king."<sup>26</sup> The same thought is expressed more concretely in the wish that "the king may hold his grandchildren on his knees";<sup>27</sup> nay, they add with a touch of humor, "may the king see gray hairs in their beards!"<sup>28</sup>

The formula commonly used to wish the king happiness and good health reads, literally: "May (the gods) give the king my lord well-being of the heart, well-being of the flesh".<sup>29</sup> Another common expression is: "May the heart of the king be of good cheer!"<sup>30</sup> The wishes for long life are variously combined with those for health and happiness: may the gods grant the king "long days, years of good health",<sup>31</sup> "long days of happiness and health,"<sup>32</sup> "happiness, health, length of days",<sup>33</sup> "long

<sup>21</sup> "Umē la šarri šurrikū": [80 at the end?] 119 120 ([471,5], cf. 1383, rev. 2).

<sup>22</sup> "C lundāte ana šarri bēlia luballitū": 113-115 494 [495]; cf. 368.8; 453.6.

<sup>23</sup> "Lāšalōirū polūkū": 716.

<sup>24</sup> "Šanāte ma'dāte likrubū": 223 (to the *erešu* or gardener).

<sup>25</sup> "Šarru bēlia ina <sup>ma</sup>šarru lū dāra": 1173.

<sup>26</sup> "Šarru bēlia luballitū": 917.

<sup>27</sup> "Mār-mārē-šu šarru bēlia ina hurkišu (ina siḫiḫū: 453, 16) lintuḫ": 178 406, rev. 12-15 [1126].

<sup>28</sup> "Purbumāte ina tiknītunu limar": 178; cf. 113, rev. 15ff. ("their sons and grandchildren will grow old, the king my lord shall see it!").

<sup>29</sup> "Tūb libbi tūb šerē ana šarri bēlia liddinū": 5 108-111 119-120 186 248 280-282 284-286 [313?] 378 391-392 437 [456] 465 496 514 521 525 570 [662?] 740 795 [liḫbū: may they command] 852 [873] 1092 [1173] [1179] [1219] 1220 1243 1370 [1388] [1402?] [1430]. In 992 "ḫudū libbi" (joy of the heart) is added; in 1150 "liddinū" is wanting. Other variants: "tūb libbi ḫud libbi (696); "tūb šerē ḫud libbi... liḫrukū" (744).

<sup>30</sup> "Libbu ša šarri bēlia iū tūb" (cf. Ylvisaker, *Gramm.* 50<sup>3</sup>): 5 12 188 200 225-226 261 [313?] 424 548 [594] 730-732 883 919 970 [977] [1008] [1011] 1074 [1179] [1193]; "iū tūb-šu": 178 227; "ma'dis lū tūb": 349; "uddannī": 178 227 [637] 730-731 919 etc.

<sup>31</sup> "Umē arkūte lundāte tūb šerē": 1171; umē rukūte: [1023]. "Umē arkūte šanāte ma'dāte tūb libbi" (long days, many years of happiness): 1143 1384.

<sup>32</sup> "Umē arkūte ša tūb libbi tūb šerē luballitūka": 137. "Umē arkūte tūb šerē u ḫud libbi... liḫrukū": 337-340 476 744 746 1202; cf. 257.

<sup>33</sup> "Tūb libbi tūb šerē arak umē ša šarri bēlia": [456] 791-792 839 1402? 1430. With the addition of "laḫar palē" (length of reign): 280-1 285-6 794. "Araku umē tūb libbi tūb šerē": 282 458. "Tūb libbi tūb šerē

days of happiness, many years of rejoicing, contentment, and gladness".<sup>34</sup>

Offspring was the highest blessing. The culmination of a poetic description of national prosperity is: "procreation is blessed" (*jaliltu ašra!*) (Harp. 2, obv. 20f). A not uncommon wish is: "may (the gods) give the king my lord old age (and) progeny".<sup>35</sup> The following, on the contrary, is found only once: "May the great gods establish the foundation of thy offspring like heaven and earth".<sup>36</sup>

Political good wishes to the kings of Assyria refer to the security and success of their rule: "may (the gods) make firm the throne of the king my lord",<sup>37</sup> may they give him "a scepter of righteousness, an everlasting throne".<sup>38</sup> The writers wish the king "peace",<sup>39</sup> they hope the king will attain his desire,<sup>40</sup> see prosperity,<sup>41</sup> and be granted by the gods the wish of his heart.<sup>42</sup> These various good wishes are also found in manifold combinations.<sup>43</sup> Stereotyped wishes are found in the body of some

*araku ūmu ma'dātu*: 521. "Arak ūmē jūb libbi u labar palē": 520 700 (1136?).

<sup>34</sup> "Umē arkēte la jūb libbi lanāte ma'dātu la ulṣu hidāti u rišāti": 530.

<sup>35</sup> "Šibūtu liltūtu ana šurri bēlia liddinū": [26] 76.rev. 10 353.rev 378 453 (cf. 733 797: *Sebi-e*); "lulabbū" (satisfy): 113-115 177 494 (495) 970.

<sup>36</sup> "Ilāni rabūti hima lamē u iršilim iḏi piri'ka lukinnū": 334.

<sup>37</sup> "Kussā la šurri bēlia lukinnū": 119-120; "ana darāti", forever: 177, cf. 525. "Iḏi kussā larrāti la šurri bēlia (larrātika: 1107) ana amī šāti lukinnū" (may they establish the foundation of the royal throne of the king my lord unto the last day): 453 [970] [1075?] [1107]; cf. Kussā la darāti" (eternal throne): 525 (cf. 812 923, 19); "Kannu iḏu kussā larrātu" (firm foundation of the royal throne): 328 (ana amī šāti) 1387, 8; "Šarrāti la dārāta palē arakē" (eternal kingship, long reign): 916, 13.

<sup>38</sup> "Jaltu iḥirtu kussā dārū": 260 262 350 811 [1117] [1128] "jaḥṣu iḥirtu re'ātu tenilāti" (righteous scepter, rule of mankind): 797.

<sup>39</sup> "Šulmu la'palā" (greet?): 258 263 (to the queen dowager); 345 (private) 750. "Šulmu ana dārī" (eternal peace): 514 806. "Maṣar šulmi balāfi itti šurri bēlia liḫḫidū" (may they appoint at the side of the king a watchman [guardian angel? cf. 1133.9] of peace and life; cf. Behrens, *Briefea* 40): 113 (sic) 427 453 778 779 1133.

<sup>40</sup> "Šurru jibussu l kḫud": 844, rev. 10.

<sup>41</sup> "Nimallu lukallinū": 9 12; cf. "nimallu šurru bēlia iṣmur": 1383, rev. 3 (may the king see the prosperity of the crownprince).

<sup>42</sup> "Šumrat libbi ana šurri bēlia lulakkidū": 141.

<sup>43</sup> "May they give the king my lord long days, endless years, protracted life, youth (*ṣaḫur*), conquest (*kašādu*): 493; "may they grant unto the king a life of long days, happiness, health, a lasting reign, and a firm foundation



letters after the mention of a royal votive gift (340,17-22; 404, 10-15) or of a religious ceremony (113 667 858 923; cf. 379, rev. 8f; 1383). Wishes for the royal princes are also found in letters to the king (404,13ff 434,7 453,13ff 1383,rev. 1-4). The longest complimentary introductions, presenting the richest variety of formulae of greeting, are to be found in the letters of Adad-šum-ušur (letters to the king: 1-3 5-9 11-14 16 357-360 362-365 650-653).

In a number of letters we find, after the greeting, the words: "All is well with so and so".<sup>44</sup> This expression is applied to the nation,<sup>45</sup> to cities,<sup>46</sup> to temples,<sup>47</sup> to the military forces,<sup>48</sup> the palaces,<sup>49</sup> and the officials.<sup>50</sup>

of the king's royal throne unto the last day": 328; "peace, life and long days": 279; "might and power" (*illu dandānu*): 1060 (partly obscure). 371, 14-18 expresses the hope that the king's throne will pass down to his descendants and family forever. Nabū-bēl-šumāte writes to the king that he is sending his messenger with horses and men to greet him (832 833 835 836 837, cf. 721, 5ff). "Bēl and Nabū will give the king a broad ear (i. e. a keen mind)": 211/rev. 13f, 1153/rev. 12ff.

"*Šulmu ana pulāni*" means "all is well with so and so", while "*lā šulmu ana pulāni*" means "greetings to so and so" (see Delattre in *PSBA* 22, 294ff; Ylvisaker, *Zur Babyl. Assy. Grammatik*, p. 63).

"*Māli ša larri bēlia*" (the king's country): 126 128-129 130 138-139 146 174 216 226-227 424 431 502-504 506-510 [637] 704 (?) 705 713 715 732 [8837] 1083. 978 adds: "*libbi māli addannīš lā lāba*" (may the heart of the land be greatly cheered). "*Assyria*": 92 196-197 199 200 397 730-731. "*The people of the land*": 893. "*Bū-Zamāni*": 757, 8 (the meaning of obv. 4: a. as. pī. me is obscure to me).

"*Calah* (232-233), *Dūr-Šarrakīn* (232), *Allur* (92 99 397), *Babylon and Bozrippa* (313), *Diri* (1093: to the secretary of the palace).

"*Ekurrite*": 92 196-197 199 216 232 [233] 397 730-371; "*bīl ilāni ša larri*" (the house of the gods of the king): 994 1074; "*bīl ilānīka*" (the house of thy gods): 1200. "*Elarra*": 92 [99] 397; "*Ekur*" (*maṣartī ša Ekur*, the garrison of Ekur): 831; "All is well with the city and temple of the king": 254 (to the queen dowager). "The garrison of E. Anna": 1200.

"*Halše*" (the fortifications): 200 208 238 424 502 504 548 732 932 (adds: "of the king my lord") 1349. "The fortification": 146 343 388, cf. 1093. "The fortifications and the forces of the king" (*emūku*) 261 264 ("emūki"). "*Bīrat*" (the stronghold): 138 -139 196-197 199 314 431 503 506-507 [508] 509 [510] 524 ("Bīrti ša larri") 704 705 730 731 893 (with *emūki*) 952 ("of the king") 1068. "*Maṣartī, maṣartī, or maṣartī*" (the garrisons): 175 (to the crownprince) 176 (adds: *addannīš, much*) 186 225 315 318 349 (645 adds: *gabbi, all*; cf. 187,rev. 5; to the crownprince).

"All is well with the palace of all Assyria": 216.

"The servants of the king": 343 757. "*Pīkātī Bīlīt parṣi*" (the ad-



In some letters the writer tells the king that he is praying for his lord's life and prosperity;<sup>32</sup> this is regularly done after the invocation of certain gods.<sup>33</sup> Occasionally the writer calls himself a "blesser" of the king.<sup>34</sup>

Mention should also be made of a number of unique forms of introductions.<sup>35</sup>

While most letters end abruptly after the discussion of the business in hand, we find at the end of some letters the date<sup>36</sup> or stereotyped expressions, such as: "May the heart of the king be of good cheer" (153 157 495 etc.), "let the king do as he pleases";<sup>37</sup> "let the king notice";<sup>38</sup> "I am writing the king about this matter" (1164); "let the king listen" (116); "I remind the king of it" (680); "for the rest, let the king send in-

ministration (?) of B. p.): 5 12 178 586 (cf. 1347.15) (see Delitzsch, *BA* 2, 20; Delattre, *PSBA* 22, 300; Behrens, *Ass. Bab. Briefe* p. 82, footnote 1). "Pikitti la bii kutalli": 9 [597]. "Pikittāli gabbu" (all the administrations): 970. "The court lady": 232 [233].

<sup>32</sup> 326 412 418 [718] [841-842] 844, rev. 13 880 [1089, 1208] 1230 1261 [1338] 1387 1431. See also: 219 (private), 324 (to the queen dowager), 1431 (to an official).

<sup>33</sup> "Sin and Ningal": 210 736 920 [974] 1274 1395; "Urāi and Nin.e.gal": 326 764. "Erech and E. Anna": 266-270 272 274-275 277 751-754 [859] [964 1135 1231 1309].

<sup>34</sup> "Kāribi la bēlia anaku": 844; "kāribi larri bēliu": 266; "Kāribbu" (thy blesser): 979 1092 1384 (all three by Marduk-Šallim-aḫē).

<sup>35</sup> "This is the rest of the words of the former letter" (i. e. the continuation of an unfinished letter): 435; "The words which the Babylonians speak in the presence of the king": 878 (cf. 1280?); "Let the king send instructions to so and so": 976. The meaning of "Egirtu la tallimāli" (safe-conduct?) is doubtful (446). "The word (dibbu) about the eclipse" 1006 (hi-bu, in 512, should probably be read "dib-bu": the word of so and so to so and so).

<sup>36</sup> 289 296 301 395 517 518 671 829 879 944 [1022] 1142 1151 1170 1210 1262 1406.

<sup>37</sup> "Šarru bēlia aḫi la ilī'u lipul(u)": 267 269 336 496 497 [501] 628 717 [779] etc. Variants: "hi la šarru ila'uni lipul": 732; "umā hi la ina pēn larri bēlia maḥiruni lipulū" (now let them do according to the pleasure of the king): 83 1060 1096; "as the gods of the king wish, let him do": 1203, obv. 8f. Harper omits "ilī'u" in 201; in 912 he reads: "li-din-nu-ūi" (for li-pu-aḫē?).

<sup>38</sup> "Šarru bēlia la šdi": 750 (šdi: 493 1234; idu: 498).

structions" (845); "now what the king wishes to say, let him say" (246); "preserve this letter" (269). Expressions of devotion,<sup>8</sup> good wishes,<sup>9</sup> and prayers (844) are also to be found at the end of Assyrian letters to the king.<sup>10</sup>

### III. PRIVATE LETTERS

1. Formulae of greeting similar to those of royal letters. The "gardener" (*erešu*), who has, without sufficient reason, been considered no other than the king himself, uses the form: "*Abū erešu ana pulāni; šulum iāši*" (order of the gardener to so and so; I am well); 1435. The introduction of 896 reads: "*Duppu pulāni ana pulāni; šulum iāši, libbaka lū jābka*" (letter of so and so to so and so; I am well, may your heart be of good cheer). In 1112 we come across the ancient Babylonian form: "*Ana pulāni šibēma umma*" (to so and so say).

2. Formulae of greeting similar to those of letters to the king.

One letter has nothing but the address and signature in the introduction (523), four merely add the usual greeting (*lū šulum ana pulāni*, greetings to so and so; 855 910 [933] 1093), and one (912) has the standard invocation of Nabū and Marduk after the address and signature. In a letter to the secretary of the palace (220) the address is followed by an invocation to seven gods (see above) and by wishes of "long days, happiness, and good health". The address "*ana dīnān pulāni lullik*", as we have noticed, is also used in writing to high officials (748 781 805 844 913 1185 1431); in one case (1185) the writer adds: "may Nabū and Marduk bless my lord". The introduction of 451 reads: "May Nabū and Marduk grant thee, as a gift, happiness, health, and long days". The initial formula of 1024 is also exceptional, in private correspondence: "*Mā pulānu ana pulāni ištibi*" (so and so says to so and so).

<sup>8</sup> "What the king commands" (*mīnu ša šarru iḫubbuni*): [32] [129] 136 143 179 371 440 445 737 1378.

<sup>9</sup> 733; 1249; 211 1153; [1098].

<sup>10</sup> In replying to royal letters the subject in hand is introduced by the formula: "*ina muḫḫi... ša šarru bēli iḫparanni mā...*" (concerning what the king wrote about...). In referring to a conversation with the king the formula is: "*ina muḫḫi ša šarru bēli iḫbuni...*" (concerning what the king said: cf. 18: "concerning what the king said yesterday...").

## 3. Formulae of greeting proper to private letters.

The standard introduction of private letters in the neo-Babylonian period reads: "*Duppu pulāni ana pulāni, lū šulmu ana: abia* (219), *aḫia* (214), *māria* (1201) *bēlia* (907), *kāši* (185 has *ka-a-si* instead of *kāši*)" ("letter of so and so to so and so; greetings to my father, brother, son, lord, or to thee"; according to the degree of familiarity between them).<sup>44</sup> Sometimes the greeting is omitted: "Letter of so and so to so and so": 527 623 830 [898] 906 949 1125. Invocations are seldom used and vary greatly: "May Bēl and Nabū greet (?) so and so" (345 806); "Greetings to my lord; may Bēl and Nabū declare the peace and happiness of my lord in Erech and E. Anna" (1129); "Greetings! May Šamaš declare thy life unto the last day!" (1439); "May Bēl, Nabū, Bēlit of Erech, and Nanā pronounce for you the judgment of Erech and of the gods" (815, a collective letter).

<sup>44</sup> This was also the standard form in private correspondence in the Sargonid period. We find it in: 185 214 219 [229] 806 854 897 901 907 1337 1407. 219 contains a prayer. "*Lū šulmu*" is omitted in 830 1201.



## THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE GUDEA INSCRIPTIONS

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THE PURPOSE of this paper is to discuss briefly one division only of the geography of the times of Gudea, as revealed on the Cylinders and Statues of that monarch, now in our possession. Gudea was patesi of Lagash, beginning about 2450 B. C., the supposed date of his accession to the overlordship of that great city.

The center of the politico-commercial activity of Gudea was the city of Lagash (modern Tello), situated in the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley, a few miles northeast of the modern town of Shatra, about an hour's ride east of the Shatt el Hai, a small stream, upon the banks of whose original channel the city of Lagash was probably built.

This great center was thus fixed in that wonderful alluvial plain, with an abundant supply of waters for irrigation, and presumably, from the inscriptions themselves, for shipping, in the Shatt el Hai, and probably within a few miles of an eastern irrigation branch of the Euphrates river.

The city of Lagash had been in existence at least from the reign of Mesilim of Kish in the third dynasty of that city (about 3600 B. C.). Hence Gudea came to the governorship of a city more than one thousand years old, splendidly situated physically and commercially, and with large prestige. Racially considered, it was located in Sumer, the southern division of ancient Babylonia, in distinction from Akkad, the northern section of that valley.

The political status of Lagash in Gudea's period seems to have been one of independence, as no mention is made in any of these documents of any clashes or battles between Lagash and its neighboring cities; no record is found of any tribute collected or paid, nor of any other marks of subservience or



sovereignty. Only one bit of military movement is mentioned and that was the conquest by Lagash of Anshan of Elam (Statue B vi 64-68), whence booty was brought and deposited in the temple of Eninnu. On the other hand, the Cylinders and all the Statues recite in enthusiastic and laudatory terms the religious activities of prosperous peace.

Gudea, the governor, seems to have been the first of a new line of rulers, as he nowhere refers to any of his ancestors. His aggressive spirit and devotion to the divinities of the city made him a force in the restoration of its crumbling temples of other days, and in the extension of the influence and power of the city. In the four great districts of Lagash—Nina, Uru, Urukugga, and Girsu—he demonstrated his devotion by his plans for his marvellous complexes of buildings. In Girsu he rebuilt Eninnu to his city-god Ningirsu. In Urukugga he constructed a temple to Gatumdug; and, in addition, he dedicated shrines to Bau, Ninbarsa, Eanna and others.

The material requirements to carry out such large building-plans, on the part of Gudea, were far beyond the available resources of Lagash, or even of Sumer as we see it from the known texts. Clay bricks were the only local available building material. All timbers, stone, metals, bitumen, etc., had to be imported, and some of them from territories on the edge of the known horizon of that day. It is largely in connection with such importations that we are introduced to the topography of the times of Gudea.

The first noticeable topographical lines laid down are mentionings of the two great rivers of that famous valley, the Tigris and Euphrates; the former is mentioned four times and the latter twice. Their chief characteristic is their value in producing abundant crops, and hence prosperity to the entire country. They were the feeders of canals, which promoted irrigation and navigation for the entire list of great cities that dotted that famous early valley.

Of all the cities which are known to have occupied a prominent place in the life of that valley in Gudea's day, we find the name of (a) Kish, the most ancient and strongest seat of Semitic culture, the chief city of Akkad; identified as the modern ruins and village of El-Ohêmir, less than ten miles east of the site of old Babylon, and on the east bank of the old bed of the

Euphrates. Its first king, Mesilim, of the third dynasty (3638 B. C.), was ruler of several cities, among them Lagash, thus revealing the comparative importance of Kish in that valley about 1200 years before the time of Gudea. This city is mentioned but once.

(b) Nippur was a city of which the god Ningirsu was prince. It was situated fifty-five miles southeast of Babylon, and seventy miles northeast of Tello, and on the east bank of Shatt el-Nil. It was the one city that contained the central shrine of the god Enlil, the chief of the gods. Its antiquity and importance have been abundantly proved by the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania. It is mentioned once only.

(c) Eridu (modern Abu Shahrein), stood about ten miles south of Ur, and fifty miles south of Tello. It was ruled over by Ea, called the king. To this city Ningirsu made a visit, and in this place his sister was born. Eridu is mentioned ten times.

(d) Shuruppak (modern Fâra), east of the Euphrates, near Shatt el-Kar, the southern extension of Shatt el-Nil, about forty miles northwest of Tello, and twenty miles south of Bismya. It is mentioned once, together with Kish.

Apparently Gudea was on peaceful terms with all these four cities, and doubtless fostered trade relations with them. But his elaborate building-plans required him to search farther afield for the many varieties of material needed for those constructions. His own domain included, outside of the districts of Lagash, the city of Anshan (and possibly of Susa) in Elam, which he had taken by conquest. For any required raw materials not found in these districts, he must needs resort to his commercial pacts and treaties with the rulers and governments of other regions.

Gudea states that he travelled from the lower to the upper country, and that Ningirsu his god opened the ways for him from the Upper Sea (Mediterranean) to the Lower Sea (Persian Gulf), in search, doubtless, for the raw materials necessary to realize his ambitious building schemes.

There were three known general districts outside of Babylonia (Sumer and Akkad) which contributed to his purpose. The most complete list is found on the large diorite Statue (B Col. VI), on whose knees is found the ground-plan of the temple.

(1) The first and best established section of the then known world was Amurru (Martu), the Westland, Syria and possibly Palestine. Of the places mentioned in this region we find: (a) Amanus, a mountain of cedar, which yielded cedar timber, said to have been fifty and sixty cubits in length, and *urkarinu* timber twenty-five cubits long. The fact that these statements follow immediately after the account of Gudea's journey to the Upper Sea seems to locate this mountain in the Lebanon. (b) In the same narrative a few lines farther along, we find: "Out of Basalla, a mountain of Amurru, he brought great blocks of stone, to fashion into stelae" (c) Again, "Out of Tidanu, a mountain of Amurru, he brought alabaster (or marble) for use in building the temple." In the same list with these mountains we find, (d) "From the city of Urshu, in the mountain of Ibla, he brought *zabalum*, great *ashuhu*, *tulupu* and plane-tree timber," the last of which were used for heavy beams; (e) then follows Umanu, a mountain of Menua from which were transported great blocks of stone, as they were from Mount Basalla in Amurru, already mentioned. Although the Ibla and Umanu mountains have not been identified, they stand in a list of mountains, of which three are specifically identified and located in Amurru.

(2) The next quarter of the world from which Gudea imported his materials was Elam and its mountains, on the east and southeast of Lagash. Reference has already been made to (a) Anshan the city (and district) that fell to Gudea by conquest; and (b) Susa, which was probably the source of some of the workmen who came to Lagash to assist in the building of the temple of Eninnu. (c) Kagalad, a mountain of Kimash, was a source from which copper was imported (Statue B Col. vi, 22, 23). Cyl. A (xvi, 15, 16) says, "Out of the mountain of copper in Kimash, they secured copper, and clay for making bricks." That Kimash was a city of Elam is confirmed by its mention in a list of Elamite cities conquered by Dungi of Ur during the last four years of his reign. (d) "Out of Madga, a mountain of the River Luruda, he brought asphalt" or bitumen. Madga has been identified (King, *Sumer and Akkad*, quoting RT 22, 153) with Madka, of which Hununi, patesi of Kimash, was governor, thus locating it, beyond doubt, in Elam.

Before taking up the third general district I wish to mention



the names of the three mountains whose situations are still in doubt: (a) From the mountain Barshib he imported two kinds of stone, *ha-u-na* and *na-lu-a* (Statue B. Col. vi, 59-63); it was located near navigable waters, either river or sea, because the stone was loaded on boats for transportation to Lagash; (b) the mountain Gubi; mountain of *hulupu*-wood, the source of that wood which was used in the manufacture of weapons, notably the *shar-ur*, which required a hard, tough and resilient wood; (c) From the mountain of *Ha-Hum*, he brought gold-dust or ore, which was used in overlaying the picturesque war-club or mace made in the form of three lion-heads, so set together that each looked towards a different third of the horizon.

(3) The third general district which contributed to the wealth of raw materials for Gudea's temples was the south, southwest, and west of Lagash. The four names which seem to be generally attributed to those areas are Magan, Meluhha, Gubi and Dilmun. These are all mentioned together in one list as the sources from which wood of many kinds was brought to Lagash (Statue D, IV 10/11). (a) Beginning with the last, Dilmun, mentioned only in this passage, general agreement identifies the name with the Bahrein islands in the Persian Gulf; but Meissner (*OLZ* 1917, 201f.), on the basis of Sachau's *Die Chronik von Arbela*, 23ff., identifies the name with Thälum in the region of the islands of Bahrein.

(b) The next country, mentioned but once, is Gubi; also the source of supply of timbers transported on boats to Lagash. There are several local names in the region of Muscat, spelled *Ghubba*, which might answer the requirements so far as the name itself is concerned, but like most other districts around the rim of Arabia, they are in these times especially devoid of timber.

(cd) The next two places, Magan and Meluhha, are the battle-ground of would-be connoisseurs of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian topography and geography. These two places are mentioned together in more than a score of passages in inscriptions covering a range of more than 2000 years, from the days of Naram-Sin to Assurbanipal. Identifications of these names with certain places are almost as numerous as the scholars who have attempted the task. Their locations have ranged from



Akkad and Sumer (Winckler) in Babylonia to Somaliland in eastern Africa (Albright). These conclusions are based on linguistic, geographic, inscriptional and modern local data, stretching from the times of Naram-Sin to the latest facts gathered from today's activities in various areas of southwestern Asia and Eastern Africa.

The latest published discussion (April, 1922) of the question of the ancient location of Magan and Meluhha is that by Langdon in the *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* for October, 1921. He reviews, criticizes and summarizes several of the most prominent positions taken by authors of earlier discussions. On the basis of inscriptional evidence of Naram-Sin, he locates these two lands and mountains, as they are both designated, on the western shore of the Persian Gulf, including the province of Oman. But he does not answer those who, like Haupt and Streck, claim that the Amarna letters and Assurbanipal texts furnish evidence that those lands were Egypt and the Sudan. He even admits that Streck's arguments are convincing, but he does not adopt his conclusions.

Lack of time will not permit me at the present moment to take up a full discussion of the problem, which I hope to do at an early day. But I should like to call the attention of students of those times to one line of investigation, which all the writers whom I have examined have failed to take into account. Almost every reference to those places includes some allusion to the sea, or to navigable waters, to boats, and to navigation.

No discussion of the problem of the location of Magan and Meluhha is complete without a study of, at least, three kinds of research:

(1) What is the character of the waters upon which any craft must necessarily have been propelled, in a journey to southern, southwestern, western or northern Arabia, or to Egypt, the Sudan or Eastern Africa? The currents, tides, winds and monsoons in the Red Sea and adjoining waters are today problems of navigation of no mean proportions; so that a writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says of those waters, "the movements of waters are of great irregularity and complexity, rendering navigation difficult and dangerous"; he says further, "the southwest monsoons bring navigation to a standstill in the summer, except in the case of powerful steamers."

(2) The second problem, especially troublous for the coast navigator, with few and far-apart shelters, was the long stretch of waters to be traversed to the lands and mountains in western Arabia and Africa, to secure *ushu*-wood, gold dust, diorite stone and other raw materials. The measured distances from Lagash to the points claimed as the identifications of those two names rather startle the impartial student of the problem. (a) From the head of the Persian Gulf (probably 50 miles south of Lagash) to Ras Musandam, the western headland at the narrow entrance to the Persian Gulf, as the crow flies, is about 600 miles, but along the coast 800 miles. (b) From that headland to Ras el-Hadd, the most southeasterly point of Arabia, is about 350 miles, with one good sheltered cove at Muscat. (c) From Ras el-Hadd to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb is about 1500 miles, with only one place, Makalla, 300 miles east of Aden, that makes any pretensions to be a port. Besides this one good shelter for sea-craft, there is a second at Ghubbat Hashish, about 150 miles southwest of Ras el-Hadd. Thus the minimum distance from Lagash to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb by water was about 2500 miles, as the crow flies, and 200 to 300 more if one should follow the shore lines. (d) The Red Sea, in a straight line from Bab el-Mandeb, to the north end whence branch off the Gulfs of Suez and Akaba, is about 1250 miles. The shore line particularly on the east or Arabian side is paralleled by almost invisible sieve-like coral reefs that are the terror of the navigator. Thus, from Lagash to the peninsula of Sinai by sea, is a distance of nearly 4000 miles through waters that even today will severely test the hardest sailing craft.

If, however, the boatman should attempt to row or sail across the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb (= "gate of tears," because of its perilous waters), he would find in the east channel, between the isle of Perim and the Arabian coast, a rapid current flowing into the Red Sea; and in the west channel, a current of salt water, though quite below the surface, flowing outwards into the Indian Ocean.<sup>1</sup> The far-off reaches on the seas of Gudea's time must be taken into account, if we would locate Magan and Meluhha in southwestern Arabia, Sinai, Egypt, or East Africa.

(3) A third question cannot be set aside without some investigation. What kind of sea-going craft were in use in Baby-

lonia 2500 B. C.? Were they of such build and character as to be manageable and serviceable, and safe on the different kinds of waters over which they would be obliged to ride to the far-off shores of Egypt or Eastern Africa? How were they navigated, and how successfully could they stem the tides and currents and winds that always agitate the course of their journeys? To answer these questions would greatly aid us in reaching the proper conclusions regarding the possible locations of the two much-discussed ancient lands. For the movements of the seas are nearly or quite as permanent as the directions and force of the winds; and the distance between points as fixed as the locations of the mountains. These phases of our problem must be considered, especially by those of us who would locate Magan and Meluhha at places from 3000 to 4000 miles from the city of Lagash, the center of Gudean culture in the twenty-fifth century B. C.

\* Facts regarding ports and coasts of Arabia are found in *Handbook of Arabia*, published 1920, by the Intelligence Division of the British Navy.



## BRIEF NOTES

### *A Nilometer in the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California*

The provenance of the limestone here reproduced is Nag'ed-Deir, on the east bank of the Nile opposite Girgeh. The length of the stone at the top is 15 in., at the bottom 15¼ in., the width 10¾ in., and the thickness on top 1½ in. and 2 in. at the bottom. The inscription reads:



"Year 23, month Mesore, the 23rd day:  
the mouth of the Nile under his majesty the king of  
Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-Rê, living forever."

The height of the river was indicated by a line below the inscription. The center of the line forms a mouth. Amen-emhät III (Ne-maat-Rê=Lamaris), in whose 23rd year the nilometer was set up probably at or near Nag'ed-Deir, is well known for the interest which he took in the proper regulation of the inundation and particularly for his work of reclamation of the Fayyûm district.

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*The nominal prefix n in some Hebrew names*

J. Barth in his study of "Das Nominalpräfix *na* im Assyrischen", *ZA* 2. 111-117, first elucidated the *na* prefix found in many Assyrian nouns, e. g. *napharu*, *naptitu*, *namraṣu*, *narkaptu*, etc. He showed that the phenomenon was due to a dissimilation of *m* into *n* before a following labial. With few exceptions this dissimilation works regularly, and the rule is now accepted as a commonplace. It has been still more exactly worked out by Jensen, "Zu den Nominal-Praefixen *m*(-a, -i, -u) und *n*(-a, i, -o) im Assyrischen," *ZDMG* 43 (1889), 192. Barth proceeds to say, p. 116: "Eine derartige Empfindlichkeit bei der Aussprache des *m*-Labials in diesem Präfix weisen die übrigen semitischen Sprachen nicht auf," although he admits we find "vereinzelte Spuren, die mit dieser assyrischen Form zusammenhängen." He instances *נברשא* Dan. 5, 5 Rabbinic *נברשא* for Syriac *ܢܒܪܫܐ*, and a few other possible cases.

But a few proper names, of ancient origin, in the Hebrew present this phenomenon.

(1) *נפתלי*. This is not to be interpreted, with *BDB* and König, *WB*, as from the Nif'al of *פתל*. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. 1, §203b, has recognized that the common noun *נפתלים* "striving", is originally an *m*-prefix formation (following Steinger, *ZATW* 1904, 141, on a similar but doubtful etymology). But the logical deduction has not been drawn by the lexicons for *נפתלי*. It is to be compared with Arabic *miftal*, instrument for twisting string, *maftalah*, bobbin. The tribe was named after a characteristic art.

(2) The place name *נבלט*, Neh. 11, 34, which has never been explained, is another case in point; it comes from *נבלט*. It is our only evidence for the existence of the root *balḏu*, so well known in Assyrian, in the Hebrew (which has preserved the related *בלט*, *פלט*). Also, if the vocalization is correct, it represents the archaic pass. participle of the Pi'el. May the name be possibly preserved in the Wādy Deir Ballūt, to the N of Lydda?

(3) In this case I oppose a position which has become almost axiomatic. Von Calice, *OLZ* 1903, 224, proposed reading the Spring of *נפתח* as "the Spring of *Meneptah*", Egyptian alternate form of Merneptah, the Egyptian Pharaoh. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, 222, hailed this as "eine schöne Entdeckung,"

and it has been almost universally accepted. The discovery appears to be capitally corroborated by an Egyptian text which refers to "the Spring of Menepshah which is in the mountain," in Zaru, i. e. Palestine.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly identification has been made either with Lifta or the Pools of Solomon. But if a native etymology can be had, it is to be preferred. And this can be found by regarding מנש as a regular transformation from מנשו. The word = Arabic *mīstāh*, "key" (where Hebrew has מנשו). The related Arabic *maṣṭah*, "lock, *Loch*," would be a natural figure for a spring entailing also the idea of a key. In balancing our judgment on the proposed Egyptian etymology we must reckon with the (almost?) entire absence of Egyptian place-names in ancient Palestine.

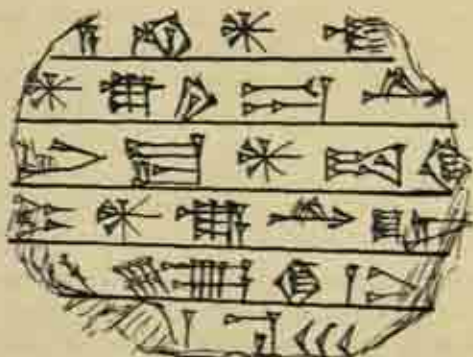
The parallelism מנש, מנש, "Memphis," may be of similar origin, but W. Max Müller holds, in *Ges.-Buhl*, that both forms may have come from Egypt.

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#### *An Inscribed Eye of a Babylonian Idol*

A lady in New York City owns an interesting object about the size and thickness of a \$20 goldpiece. It is composed of banded agate and is pierced by a hole through the entire flat diameter. It carries on its surface a six-line inscription written in the script of the new Babylonian empire, and is legible, except the last line which is partly broken off. On a wax impression of it sent to the writer the following inscription is found:



<sup>1</sup> For the text see Breaud, *Anc. Rec.* 3. 629ff.; Gressmann, *TuB* 249.



- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1. a-na <sup>ilu</sup> Nabû                  | 1. To the god Nebo              |
| 2. <sup>ilu</sup> Nabû-Kudurri (GAR-DU) ušur | 2. Nebuchadrezzar               |
| 3. Šar KA-DINGIR-RA <sup>ki</sup>            | 3. King of Babylon              |
| 4. mār <sup>ilu</sup> Nabû-apal-ušur šar     | 4. Son of Nabopolassar, king of |
| 5. TIN-TIR <sup>ki</sup> ana balati          | 5. Babylon, for his life,       |
| 6.           šu ike-eš                       | 6. presented (this).            |

Langdon in his *Neubabylonische Königinschriften* (VAB IV) has given in transliteration and translation readings from four similar objects. Of those, three are dedicated to Marduk, and but one, as this one, to Nebo.

The first two of these four were published by Schrader in the *Monatsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* in 1879; the first view is reproduced on p. 293 and discussed on pp. 292-294. A photograph faces p. 288, No. 2, but is not as clear as the copy on p. 293; the inscription appears on p. 202. It reads:

"To Marduk, his lord, Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, has presented (this) for his life."

The second gem was also published by Schrader in the same volume facing p. 288, No. 4, and is translated on p. 295; it reads as follows:

"To Nebo, his lord, Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, the son of Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon, has presented (this) for his life."

A third gem quoted by Langdon reads:

"Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, has presented (this) to Marduk his lord."

The fourth gem reads as follows:

"To Marduk, his lord, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, has presented (this) for his life."

This first gem (38a) is reproduced again by Menant in *Revue Archéologique*, III Série, 6, 79, and discussed on pp. 79-86. The Berlin object (38a) which Schrader published is only a glass-paste replica of the original which Menant saw in Florence. Jeremias has reproduced the same in *ATAO* p. 532.

Langdon does not say in his notes where the other gems are preserved.

The text of this New York gem closely resembles the second of the four collected by Langdon. It leaves out in the first line "his lord", reading simply "To Nebo," and *Kudurru* of Langdon is the ideog *GAR-DU*, and for Babylon, Langdon's copy reads as if both occurrences were the same ideograms, but this gem reads after Nebuchadrezzar *KA-DINGIR-RA*<sup>K1</sup>, and that after Nabopolassar's name *TIN-TIR*<sup>K1</sup>. While this is a small and apparently insignificant object, it is just one other remnant of an age which has a charm for both Semitic and Old Testament scholars.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Das Mahābhārata. Seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form.*  
VON HERMANN OLDENBERG. Göttingen: VANDENHOECK  
UND RUPRECHT, 1922.

Among the papers left by the late Professor Oldenberg, who died in March, 1920, were found what at first appeared to be scattered notes on the great Hindu epic. A careful scrutiny revealed that though inscribed on sheets of all sizes and laboriously corrected these notes were actually a completed work, which Oldenberg's colleague, Professor Andreas, has now made public, prefacing it with a single page of explanation and eulogy.

One may fittingly begin a review of Oldenberg's *Mahābhārata* with a commemorative word. Not long before his death he had published a work on the Upanishads, quite a new departure for him who had already become an authority on Buddhism and on the *Rig Veda*. It seems as if his energy needed always a new outlet; and not content with covering so many fields with the fructifying streams of his ripe scholarship, at the last he turned it upon the province of epic poetry, with which it is somewhat of a surprise to find him engaged at all; for all his earlier productivity had to do with the earlier age of the *Veda* and of Pali literature. But he had evidently occupied his leisure with something more human than religious tracts; and in this, his last volume, he gives us the result of much meditation. Not investigation. He comments rather than theorizes; and with one exception the present study may be said to be chiefly a review of the great epic as an aesthetic production, a comparison of Hindu and Greek epic poetry, observations on metre, on metaphor, an inquiry into the moods of the epic writers, etc.—in short, the epic as literature, as a human document.

The one exception has to do with Oldenberg's general theory of prose beginnings in connection with metrical verses, which latter he is inclined to think have in sundry instances been left stranded, as it were, with no vestige left of their original



prose environment. Rather dogmatically, as the reviewer thinks, on the basis of a few prose-and-metrical episodes, the author assumes rather than proves that the epic was written at first in prose and then converted into metrical tales, many of which, to be sure, have no prose attachment but may be supposed to have been composed after the prose epic had been converted into poetry. It depends somewhat on what one calls the original epic. If one finds in the Book of Beginnings the beginning of the epic, one may certainly point to the prose there embalmed and say, Behold the beginning of the epic in prose. But if one questions whether the whole Book of Beginnings is not really in the nature of an addition, whether it is not probable that there was an epic account of the gambling-scene and the resultant war as kernel of the whole, then the prose origin of the epic becomes a matter of grave dubiety. Similarly, why seek for the germ of epic form in the episodes now strewn through the immense poem, which has conglomerated into one whole a mass of originally discordant elements? Dahlmann's theory that the epic was at first a law-book, a theory damned by the author with scornful silence, might just as well be upheld on the basis of episodic preachings and the declaration in the Book of Beginnings that the epic is indeed a law-book as well as a *kāvya*. Oldenberg himself is not quite consistent in his exposition of the prose origin of the epic. He seems at one time to regard the original form as prose (since vanished) interspersed with verses; at another, as wholly prose with later poetic intrusions.

In regard to other problematic matters, such as the theory that the original epical theme was inverted and that its present heroes became its villains, the author speaks as briefly as sanely; he will have none of it. He suggests, however, that the whole rôle of the man-god Krishna was a later contribution to the original theme. For the rest, in commenting on the part played by bards and on the military caste in general, he relies, with generous acknowledgment of indebtedness, on the work of specialists who have traversed this field before him. He prefers to linger over the episodes; Sāvitrī and Damayantī impress him by their strength and delicacy; he shows how the character of heroes and heroines is depicted and dwells on the manner in which the poet leads them along the path of fate. He muses

on the general view of the world held by the epic writers and compares the wild forest of their imaginings with the Hindu jungle, the vagueness of their characterization in many cases with their vague ideas of space and time; the epic is a reflex of Hindu mentality.

In discussing the epic language and metres Oldenberg is content to be merely a narrator of facts, and in this part of the book one wonders what kind of a public he is writing for, since he is at pains to explain at length the simplest linguistic and metrical phenomena. Apparently he intended his work for a general but cultivated circle of readers, to whom metre, style, and composition of the epic (including the plot) would be matter of novelty, though he prefaces this with a revolutionary theory of origins which only a specialist could properly evaluate. The author's own style is felicitous and his work is agreeably lacking in the acrid contentiousness which disfigures so many works treating of the same subject.

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*Rudra. Untersuchungen zum altindischen Glauben und Kultus.*  
Inauguraldissertation von [Dr.] ERNST ARBMAN [Privat-  
dozent an der Universität Upsala]. Uppsala: APPEL-  
BERGS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG, 1922. xi+313 S.

Despite the evidence of human experience, we are so accustomed to divide gods, men, and things into two mutually exclusive categories, the good and the bad, that it is not easy for us to conceive of a deity like Rudra, who is at the same time a destructive beast and a benevolent physician. For the mere historical evolution, through a euphemism, of the terrible Rudra of Rig-Veda into the epic Śiva of the Hindu trinity does not explain a contradiction that exists in the earliest Veda and seems to be quite natural to Vedic anthropomorphism. The apparent inconsistency in Rudra's character is a part of the paleness of individuality, the diffuseness of attributes and functions, and the unmorality, according to our standards, that mark the entire Vedic pantheon. And it is this, together with a scholarly predisposition to seek in every god a definite force of nature, that has made so difficult a real understanding of Rudra's origin, personality, and history.

Arbman attempts to solve the problem by an analytic and synthetic study of all the material, both Vedic and post-Vedic. While he may not have caught the god in the moment of his creation, and while his evidence may not amount to proof, he has at least evolved a theory that seems reasonable in itself, minimizes several difficulties, and appears to survive every test of application; and that is about the best that can be expected in such matters. The book is a real contribution to methodology. The material is handled with delicacy and sureness of touch, interpreted with keenness of perception, and presented with fairness and logic.

The author's interest is directed primarily toward the popular element in the ancient Indian religion, an element to which recent scholarship is giving increased attention in its search for the origins of India's complicated religious life. Outside of the mechanized and ritualized religion of the Vedic priests, in the popular cult of demons, which by its very nature was largely excluded from the hieratic texts, he finds, with unvedic distinction of personality, the real god Rudra. His theory, in outline, is as follows.

In his original character Rudra is a gruesome, terrestrial demon, a product of primitive conceptions of death and its horrors. From this ancient demonic figure there runs, entirely within the popular religion, an unbroken line of development to the popular god Śiva. The Rudra of the later Vedic tradition is not a direct descendant of the Rig-Vedic Rudra, but represents a far more original type out of which the Rig-Vedic Rudra was, relatively late, developed, in order then, still later, to give way to his popular double. The cause of the development is to be sought in the religious sterility of the Vedic sacrificial priests. In essential characteristics the popular Śiva type represents the original Rudra.

Although Rudra was a god of death, he was no Yama to show departing souls the way to immortality or to rule over them in the abode of the dead. He has no connection with the Pitṛas. Rudra has many features in common with certain death-gods of other Indo-European peoples, with the Germanic Odin and the Greek Hecate. These agreements are certainly to be explained by close relationship, but Arbman postpones, without prejudice, a verdict on von Schroeder's claim that Rudra and



Odin represent a common inheritance from one and the same Indo-European type of god; at least Rudra-Śiva seems to belong to a more primitive, ruder type, perhaps to the corpse-eating demons of death.

Arbman sees in the Rudra of the Rig-Veda a priest-exalted but essentially demonic god who hurls his murderous missiles from heaven upon earthly creatures, but who has a positive side as a helper and benefactor of men when his favor is properly invoked. He has considerable individuality, but he is so lacking in concrete features that it is impossible to explain his original character with the Rig-Veda as the only, or even chief, source, as many scholars have attempted to do. But even in the Rig-Veda Rudra does not reveal himself in the thunderstorm; his bolt is merely the imagery of sickness and death—unless the same weapon is to make Varuṇa, Agni, Dyaus, and other gods and even demons into personifications of the thunderstorm. And the Rig-Veda itself shows that the connection of Rudra with the Maruts was one of association rather than relationship.

In the later Vedic literature Rudra appears as the same malevolent and benevolent individual whom we have just seen in the Rig-Veda, only here he is not a god of heaven, but an earthly being of a lower, more popular type, excluded from the *soma* sacrifice, friend and patron of thieves, seen sneaking in lonely places by herdsmen and maids, a demon of the mountains, the crossroads, and the wilderness, himself lord of the demon world. The evil which he inflicts consists of various maladies and epidemics.<sup>1</sup> To him one sacrifices when disease breaks out among men or cattle.<sup>2</sup> To Arbman, this late Vedic Rudra is, as we have seen, the real Rudra, descended through the popular religion from the original demon out of which the Brahmans independently developed the Rig-Vedic deity. Śiva likewise lives wild in the forest, wears an animal skin, in general stands close to primitive nature, and identifies himself with the popular Rudra of late Vedic tradition.

<sup>1</sup> See Arbman's references on pp. 23ff.

<sup>2</sup> Here is the *chiaam* of the two sides of Rudra. The god who causes the disease is asked to cure or prevent it: a sort of *similia similibus curantur*. This is not sufficiently stressed by Arbman.

This leads into a long discussion of Rudra's position in the Vedic ritual, and the relations between the Brahmanical religion and the popular cult, a discussion into which we cannot go here, but which is important for Arbman's argument. He discusses, among other ceremonies, the *trāyambakahoma*; the *bali* as an uncooked, merely exposed, popular sacrifice; the word *deva* as including both gods and demons; the Maruts and the Rudras; Rudra as *bhūtapati* 'lord of demons'; the *śatarudriya* as a rite applying to the world of demons and its ruler Rudra; the epithets of Rudra in the *śatarudriya*; (adversely) the identification of Śiva as a fusion of Agni with Rudra. An entire chapter is devoted to Rudra's essential character as a god of death.

There will be much resistance among scholars to Arbman's theory. The great majority of Western Vedists are on record as favoring the conception of Rudra as a god of the storm, especially the thunder-storm: Weber, Kuhn, Whitney, Lassen, Ludwig, Barth, Kaegi, Monier-Williams, Hardy, Deussen, Bloomfield, Hopkins, Macdonell. Hillebrandt views Rudra as a god of the climatic terrors of the tropical hot season that follows the rains, Bergaigne sees in him a form of *le père céleste*, and several have followed von Schroeder in considering Rudra the Indo-European leader of the souls of the dead, riding in the wind and storm. Arbman is closest to Oldenberg, who has recognized Rudra as an unheavenly product of the lower mythology, a death and disease bringing power of the mountains and forests, akin to the European fauns and satyrs. Winternitz and, in less degree, Pischel have agreed with him.

To the reviewer, the situation is about as follows. (1) The interpretation of Rudra as a god of the thunder-storm is decidedly unsatisfactory. Almost the only evidence for that theory is the bolt with which the Rig-Veda arms him, and his association with the Maruts. But the thunderbolt is almost as common a weapon in the Vedic pantheon as the club in savage society; and the association with the Maruts is not one of character. Moreover, and this seems not to be mentioned by Arbman, thunder-storms in northern India are not of sufficient frequency and severity to explain the Rig-Vedic picture of the god and his terrors: a pupil of the writer has lived eight years near Allahabad and has never seen even a tree struck by lightning. Rig-Veda makes Rudra a devastating slayer of men and cattle;

the inference is that whole communities are laid low by his wrath. (2) There is, as Arbman claims, a decided break in the continuity of Rudra between the Rig-Veda and the later Vedic texts, a break which seems best explained by assuming a resurgence of an ancient popular tradition, which itself best explains the still later Śiva. (3) Rudra appears even in the Rig-Veda as a god of sickness, pestilence, and death. This is probably his original character. (4) If this was his real character, then the demonic prototype of the late Vedic Rudra is more original than the celestial Rudra of the Rig-Veda, and the latter was largely a hieratic adaptation which did not have sufficient vitality to persist unchanged even within the Brahman tradition. (5) One hesitates at Arbman's early and definite localization of the god on the Muñjavant and in the Himalayas: the reviewer still retains a certain sympathy for Hopkins' tirade against Oldenberg's "Old Man of the Mountains."

Of the larger questions involved only this need be said here: The antiquity of the Rig-Veda gives a presumption but not proof of priority. There is no doubt that in Rig-Vedic times there was a deep current of popular religion, flowing from very ancient sources, and for the most part avoiding hieratic channels. Every attempt to reconstruct this primitive folk-religion and every attempt to determine priority must be judged on its merits. It may add to our understanding of the earliest Vedas; in Arbman's case it apparently does.

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HAROLD H. BENDER

*Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis im alten Indien.* Eine Untersuchung über die Wurzeln der indischen Mystik nach Rgveda und Atharvaveda. Von Dr. J. W. HAUER, Privatdozent an der Universität Tübingen. Berlin, Stuttgart und Leipzig: W. KOHLHAMMER, 1922. viii + 210 S.

It has occasionally been recognized that the Yoga doctrine which has been found in Buddhism unites with the codified system of practical philosophy known as Yoga in presupposing, in at least one current of Indian thought, a long period of less organized belief in the efficacy of a physically induced and ecstatic concentration of the mind as a means of establishing some kind of contact between God and man. But the stream



has not often been explored back of the Upanishads. As a philosophic system the Yoga is so closely connected with the Sāṅkhya that little effort has been made to find special origin for the distinctive practices that characterize the Yoga and have for many centuries played so important a rôle in the religious life of India.

Chiefly Oldenberg and Garbe<sup>1</sup> have found traces of *yoga* ecstasy in the Vedic hymns. Their view is succinctly put by Garbe: "Diese asketischen Kontemplationszustände des Yoga sind das Endresultat einer langen Entwicklung, die uns zurückführt bis in die Zeiten der Wildheit, zu den uralten Ueberreizungskulten, die von jeher allerorts auf Erden bei den Naturvölkern als Mittel zur Gewinnung von Zauberkräften geübt worden sind und von denen wir auch im Veda Spuren vorfinden."<sup>2</sup> But so relatively slight in extent and so out of harmony with the real life and spirit of the Veda have these traces appeared that they have been generally ignored by most scholars who have discussed its literature and religion.

Some phases of *yoga* must go far back. Life in India was continuous from the four Vedas to the Upanishads, and the practices of *yoga*, distinctive and exaggerated as they are in their application and purpose, are for the most part and at bottom ordinary human activities. Furthermore, there cluster around the word *tapas* in both Rig-Veda and Atharva-Veda the obvious nuclei of the physical asceticism which has always remained the mechanistic foundation of the mental asceticism of *yoga*. And there can be little doubt that here and there in the Vedas are to be found emergences of the ecstasy of a lower religious stratum which is alien to the spirit of the Vedas themselves, whether that stratum come, as Gough thinks,<sup>3</sup> from the non-Aryan aborigines of India or whether it represent a more primitive and popular Aryan practice that found little welcome in the aristocratic and hieratic productions of the Vedic seers.

<sup>1</sup> Hermann Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 400 ff.; Richard Garbe, *Sāṅkhya und Yoga*, Strassburg, 1896, pp. 34 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Sāṅkhya-Philosophie*, 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1917, p. 152. See also pp. 246 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Archibald Edward Gough, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads and Ancient Indian Metaphysics*, London, 1882, p. 18.

But Hauer goes far beyond this. He not only discovers genuine *yoga* ecstasy abundantly in the Vedas, but, in his own words (p. v), he views the Rig-Veda and Atharva-Veda in the light of religious-ecstatic experience. The first requirement in an estimation of his claim is an exact understanding of his use of terms. By *Yogapraxis* Hauer means the whole of India's ecstatic practices (*Uebungen*), whether they be ancient or modern, and whether they aim at the attainment of supernatural powers, communion with the gods, or union with the All-soul (p. 1). By the word "ecstatic" he designates all states in which the individual is more or less "taken out of himself" (*ausser sich*); i. e., all mental changes in which the waking consciousness, being concentrated upon one point (object, action, or thought), is altered, weakened, or even wholly or partly extinguished, so that the subconscious mental activity takes its place. Likewise, all means and practices that induce such states are designated as "ecstatic" (pp. 1-2). But, lest all this seem too general for identification, the author goes on to ascribe confidently to oldest India "eine Yogapraxis im eigentlichen Sinn d. h. ausgebildete, wirklich ekstatische Uebungen, wie sie das spätere Indien aufweist" (p. 3).

It will be seen that Hauer goes the whole road. Here is no talk of vague traces, of crude beginnings, of primitive practices that may have later developed into *yoga*. This is *yoga* itself in the hymns of the Veda.

Hauer's evidence lies mainly in his interpretation of nearly five hundred words, phrases, passages, and hymns in Rig-Veda and Atharva-Veda. The individual *yoga* activities that he identifies or infers include regulation of the breathing, sweating, the sitting posture, silence, solitude, begging, fasting, dancing, trembling, music, singing, shouting, consumption of toxicants and intoxicants, etc. He finds *yoga* in the *dikṣā* ceremony (pp. 65 ff.); in the *brahmachārin*, conceived as a genuine ecstatic, "der auf *brāhman* ausgeht [*car*], d. h. einer, der sich mit der geheimen Zauberkraft zu erfüllen trachtet" (pp. 79 ff.); in *tapas*, which is interpreted as magic heat and in which is found a strong element of religious suggestion (pp. 98 ff.). He discerns it in Vedic words like *dakṣa* (p. 30), *vīpra* (p. 49), *manyu* (p. 51), *man*, *dhī* (pp. 156 ff.). He sees it in various Brahmanical sacrifices (pp. 116 ff., 128 ff.), and in the *keśin* and the *vratya*,

whom he views as primitive yogins unconnected with the Brahmanical sacrifice (pp. 168 ff., 172 ff.).

In particular the *vrātya* and in general all *yoga* that is not associated with the sacrifice are derived by Hauer from the warrior or princely caste and from the lands to the east of the great Brahmanical centers of culture, especially from Magadha. Later this *vrātya* type obtained recognition from the Brahmans, who had developed their own ecstatic practices. This union of the two distinct ecstatic systems resulted in the classical *yoga* (p. 186). In Hauer's opinion all this raises to a certainty Garbe's claim that the Sāṅkhya is a Kshatriya philosophy (p. 187), and explains, through the origin of the *vrātya* in Magadha, the presence of *yoga* in Buddhism (pp. 187 ff.).

To the reviewer Hauer's textual evidence seems to divide itself into several classes:

1. Vedic passages, especially in late hymns, which do seem to contain signs of the religious ecstasy of primitive peoples. Here apparently belong the RV. *keśin* or *muni* (and x. 136) and the AV. *vrātya* (and Book xv), as well as much of the Vedic use and worship of intoxicating *soma*, and, for various aspects of *yoga*, hymns like RV. i. 164 and AV. xi. 5.

2. Assumption of Vedic *yoga* by inference, parallel, association, or other indirect evidence. Thus (pp. 9 ff.) ecstatic breathing is assumed for the Veda from its appearance in the Upanishads; from the quickened breath in the ecstatic dance of primitive peoples; from the blowing of the fire in the Agni sacrifice that is indicated in the Brāhmaṇas; from the association in RV. of the word *śuśma* 'snorting, panting' with Indra and Soma, of whom the one performs his deeds in ecstatic excitement and the other produces the excitement; from the ritualistic holding of the breath in the Sūtras; from the association in AV. of *prāṇa* 'breath' and *tapas* 'ascetic heat'; from the parallel in AV. of three phases of breathing, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna*; etc.

3. Passages in which appear merely the physical attitudes and actions which later are used in *yoga* discipline to cause the sub-conscious mind to transcend the waking consciousness, and which may thus be considered the remote beginnings of *yoga* practices. In this class the reviewer would include the sitting posture of priests and gods, to which Hauer devotes many pages (pp.



21 ff.), and most of his citations for mystic silence, solitude, and uncleanness of person (pp. 31 ff.).

4. Passages in which even extreme symbolism, poetic exaggeration, or religious fervor does not reach the ecstasy of *yoga*. A single example, more typical of the Veda itself, to be sure, than of Hauer's treatment, will suffice. In RV. v. 59. 6, where the worshipers beg the Maruts to come to them as heavenly bridegrooms, and in other hymns, Hauer sees reflections of the idea of a mystic sexual union between the ecstatic votary and the divinity. But the Vedic phrase has exactly the same imagery and the same purpose as Psalm 19. 5, where the sun "is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race."

5. Passages which by reason of the difficulty of their interpretation or by reason of the elusiveness of their application to *yoga* are at present incapable of final evaluation in this connection. Here one must place the Vedic references that seem to Hauer to point to the ecstatic side of Indra and other gods (pp. 41 ff.).

6. Passages in which the *yoga* interpretation appears to be incorrect, forced, or in some other way improbable. It is safe to say that no other hymn of RV. seems to Hauer quite so full of *yoga* material as the famous "frog-hymn," vii. 103 (pp. 19, 31, 68 ff.). He finds plainly in it the *dikṣā* ceremony, if not by name; and he sees *yoga* in the *soma* of the Brahmins and the sweating of the Adhvaryus, in the estivational silence, stillness, and fasting of the frogs, in their croaking, in their cloaking themselves (in mire), in their *tapas* (hot mud), and perhaps in their contorted posture and their leaping, as well as in the shouting of the students and the singing and praying of the priests (p. 71). But to the reviewer there is not the slightest asceticism, physical or mental, in the hymn, and not a sign of ecstasy in the *yoga* sense. It is just two things: a naturalistic poem about frogs, real frogs, and a sacerdotalized rain-charm.<sup>4</sup>

Hauer's book offers much that is new, much that is true, much that is important; and his general theory and his textual exegesis should be taken into account by future writers on the nature and purpose of the Vedic Collections.<sup>5</sup> His argument is

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bender, *JAOS* 37. 186 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mention should be made somewhere, however, of a carelessness in the

ably and honestly presented, but it is, after all, the brief of the plaintiff and leaves the rebuttal to others. One frequently gets quite a different impression in turning from Hauer's carefully selected and arranged material to the hymns themselves. The dissimilarity between the *milieux* of the Veda and the classical *yoga* then becomes more apparent, and the author occasionally seems to have read back into the earlier text that which is distinctly a development and expansion of a later time.

Hauer, of course, makes no such classification of his material as was suggested above, but he would put most of his examples into the first two classes, whereas to the reviewer all of the other classes loom very large. Especially does mere poetic and religious exaltation (Class 4) seem to explain much that may, in words, go far beyond existing belief and practice and still fall short of *yoga* ecstasy, which is a species of self-hypnotism. One wonders, for example, what scholars, three thousand years hence, would make of the fervent transubstantiationist hymns in our Presbyterian and Methodist *samhitās*. As a matter of fact, they are poetry (in a sort), and neither theology nor ecstasy. For the latter we must look to the Holy Rollers, or a negro camp-meeting.

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*Bhagavadgītā. Texte Sanscrit.* Dr. ST. FR. MICHALSKI-IWIENSKI.  
(Publications de la Société Asiatique de Varsovie: I.)  
Paris, PAUL GEUTHNER; Londres, LUZAC; Varsovie, ULTIMA  
THULE; 1922. pp. xiv+48.

The new Asiatic Society of Warsaw has made a worthy start in its series of Publications with this edition of the Bhagavad Gītā, the first ever printed in the Roman alphabet, and the first European edition since Schlegel-Lassen (1846), which is long since out of print.

The succinct introduction shows that the editor is thoroly at home in the enormous literature on the Bhagavad Gītā and related subjects. It also shows that he is not slavishly dependent on his predecessors. He does his own thinking; and his conclusions are judicious and impressive. He rejects, on grounds

citation of bibliographical references that is not excused, in 1922, by the fact that part of the investigation was pursued behind British barb-wire (p. vi).

which seem to the reviewer compelling, Garbe's dissection of the *Gītā*. Modern, western ideas of logic and consistency are out of place here. He views the *Gītā* as a whole (p. x), tho he shows that this view is quite reconcilable with certain opinions as to possible or probable stratifications in its text (pp. v, vi). Sāṅkhya to him means simply "la réflexion," not "number-system;" briefly yet effectively he shows that this is the original Hindu interpretation, and hints at the evidence (far too extensive to quote in full) which proves that in early times "Sāṅkhya" meant something quite different from the system of Iśvarakṛishna. He is an admirer of the *Gītā*'s thoughts, and grows eloquent in his appreciation of them (pp. x ff.).

As to the text itself, the editor states the familiar fact that there are almost no textual variants in the manuscripts and editions of the *Gītā*. Hence the editorial task is relatively easy. Presumably the great sanctity of the *Gītā* (somewhat, if only with reserve, comparable to that of the *Rig Veda*), its tremendous vogue as a sacred book among the Hindus, has protected it from many textual corruptions. Most of the variants of any consequence are listed on p. 46; a few others on p. v of the introduction. A rapid reading of the text has revealed few lapses. Obvious misprints are 2.5 *bhūñjīya* for °īya, 2.68 °ārthebyas for °bhyas, 4.35 *bhūtany* for °āny, 6.7 *mānāpamānayoh* for °yoh, 6.19 *negate* for *neṅgate*, 7.26 *bhavisyāṅi* for *bhaviṣ°*, 8.8 °gaminā for °gāminā, 9.11 *mūdhā* for *mūdhā°*, 12.1 *cāpy* for *cāpy*, 17 title *Śraddhā°* for *Śr°*, 17.21 *puṇaḥ* for *punaḥ*, 19.2 *karmāṇām* for *karmaṇām*, and, no doubt, 18.3 *manīṣiṇāḥ* for °ṇāḥ. It seems that the editor rather than the printer must be held responsible for 2.11 *gatasūn agatasūmś ca* (for *gatā°*, *agatā°*), 3.8 *prasiddhyed* with superfluous *d* and similarly 17.13 *riddhihīnam*, while conversely a *d* is lacking in 6.9 *sama-budhir*, 16.9 °*lpabudhayah*. It happens not infrequently that macrons over long vowels are printed so faintly as to be virtually invisible (e. g. in 2.66 *sāntir*, and the ī in 11.34 *yodhavirān*), which will trouble beginners. Frequently, also, the spacing between words is disturbingly irregular. But it is only fair to add that in general the typographical style and format of the book, and of the cover, are extremely attractive.

\*Add *bhūtabhāvāna* for °*bhāvana*, 10.15. (Postscript in proof.)



The reviewer would differ from the editor in judgment only at a few points of the text. In 11.37 I should read *latparam* for "*lat, param*;" in 8.20 I prefer (*'vyakto*) *vyaktāt* to *'vyaktāt*, cf. 8.18 *avyaktād vyaktayah*; in 11.43 *gurur* need not be changed to *guror* against, apparently, all native authorities; in 13.4 I do not see the need for Boehtlingk's emendation *viniscitam* for *'iāih*, even tho it is "confirmed by a *Mādhvapāṭha* of K." The editor's punctuation seems to me at times more confusing than helpful; why, e. g., separate *mām* from the following *eva* (7.18), or *āviśya* from the following *ca* (15.13), by commas?

These minutiae, however, are offered only in the hope of helping to render the text letter-perfect; they do not detract seriously from its usefulness. The book satisfies a long-felt want and will be welcomed by all Indologists.

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FRANKLIN EDGERTON

*Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi. Bde. I-V. Berlin, 1922.*

For the study of ancient culture, the cuneiform tablets discovered by Hugo Winckler at Boghazköi will prove to be of the greatest importance. Not only do they unveil the history of a large part of Asia Minor from the days of Šarrukin I (about 2800 B. C.)<sup>1</sup> down to the time of the destruction of the powerful empire of the Hittites (about 1200 B. C.), but they also show the development of culture during the second millennium B. C. and present a huge material for the linguist. Every student of the near East, therefore, is looking forward to the publication of the treasures unearthed by Winckler's excavations, and will be thankful to the authorities of the Berlin Museum who, in spite of all difficulties, are proceeding to edit this material so quickly.

The new publication which we beg to make known to the readers of this periodical bears the title given above.<sup>2</sup> In the course of the year 1922 not less than five volumes—each containing 50 plates about the size of the well-known Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum—have been published. A short

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the texts edited by Forrer in *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift (BoTU)*, 2. Band (Leipzig 1922), Nos. 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> Abbrev. *KUB*.

summary of the contents of these volumes will show their multiplicity and importance.

The first volume is the work of Dr. H. W. Figulla; it contains texts written in the official language of the Hittite empire which, as it seems, was not called Hittite but Kanesian<sup>3</sup>, while Hittite was the language spoken by the inhabitants of the cities of Arinna, Nerig, Zippalanda and others. But as we are accustomed to call the official language 'Hittite', it would not be wise to change this name into 'Kanesian'; on the other hand, we may call the genuine Hittite—a language sometimes occurring in ritualistic texts—proto-Hittite.<sup>4</sup> Among the tablets of vol. I, Nos. 1-10 represent duplicates of the important historical inscription of king Hattušil III., published in *KBo* III 6, and restore large passages of it. Nos. 11 and 13 belong to Kikkuli's handbook of the *τέχνη ἱππικῇ* other parts of which have been published in *KBo* III 2.5 and *KUB* II 12. No. 16 is a bilingual edict of an old king Tabarna, written in Hittite and Accadian. Unfortunately a great deal of the inscription is mutilated, but enough remains to corroborate the fact that the methods hitherto used in deciphering these inscriptions are correct.

Vol. II, also published by Figulla, contains in the main ritualistic texts used at the grand festivals of the Hittite kings, No. 2 being partially a duplicate of *KBo* IV 1. Though the general trend of these rituals is intelligible, the particulars offer considerable difficulties and will require special study. All the copies made by Dr. Figulla are beautifully done and will scarcely require any considerable improvements.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Forrer, *ZDMG*, Neue Folge, Vol. 1, p. 191 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A Proto-hittite text is contained in No. 14; v. col. II 14 [h]a-at-ti-ti ki-iš-tā-an ma-al-di 'in (Proto-) hittite he recites as follows' (follow Proto-hittite sentences); similarly I 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Veröffentl. d. Deutschen Orientgesellschaft).

<sup>6</sup> I 1: 1 40 read *DI*(l)-eš-ni; II 25 *ku-in* (l); II 75 *nu-ul-ma-al*(l)-kan; I 8: IV 37 *šib-šib-la-ir*(l); I 11: II 44 *š-wa-aš*(l)-nu-wa-ar; I 13: I 18 [ša]-a-an[l]-zi; I 49 *U*(l)[l](l). *MI*; II 16 *GĀN* missing after XX; III 6 *kat-kat-ti-nu*(l)-ul-ki-iz-zi-ia-š; III 30 *kat-kat-ti*(l)-nu-an-zi; II 46 [pi-e-š]u(l)-te-iz-zi; III 51 *š-e-te-ni*(l)-id; IV 42 *te*(l)-pu; I 16: I 16 *mi*(l)-in(l)-ma?; II 1: I 42 *ŠUM*(l). *HLA*; II 8: VI 5 *A*(l). *NA*. Most of these and similar errors may be due to the scribe.

Vol. III and IV have been copied by E. F. Weidner and are as well done as those of Figulla. These texts are for the most part written in the Accadian language. Vol. III contains fragments of public treaties, letters, historical fragments and syllabaries. No. 14 is especially valuable: it is a treaty between king Muršili and Tuppi-Tešup, the grandson of Azira the well-known Amorite chief. A Hittite duplicate of this inscription is No. 119. Nos. 63, 66 and 68 are letters of Waš-mū'a-Rea (Ramses II.)<sup>1</sup> to the Hittite queen Pudu-Hepaz. No. 71 is a letter beginning [a-na] <sup>1</sup>ha-at-tu-ši-li šarri rabt šār māt ha-a[t-ti] aḫi-ja ki-bi-ma um-ma <sup>1</sup>ka-da-aš-ma-an-tur-gu šarru rabū šār māt kára-<sup>2a</sup> du-ni-ja-aš aḫu-ka-ma. No. 72 restores the beginning of KBo I 10 showing that Hattušil's correspondent really is Kadašman-<sup>3</sup>ENLIL as was already surmised from the contents. No. 74 is a letter from Tuthalia of Hatti to Tukulti-Nimurta I of Assyria. All these texts are of great historical and chronological value. A good many fragments have been joined by Weidner to the documents published in KBo I and are assigned to their right places. Among the historical fragments we call attention to Nos. 85 and 89, Accadian duplicates of KBo III 1<sup>4</sup>. The rest of volume III contains vocabularies.<sup>15</sup> Though they are rather fragmentary, a special study may increase their value by finding out duplicates from the libraries of Babylonia and Assyria.

Vol. IV is of the greatest importance for the study of Hittite culture which, as we see, is largely dependent on Babylonia. Very valuable is No. 1, treating of ceremonies before war. The text itself is Hittite. It begins *ma-a-an-šá-an, I. NA ZAG KÚR LÚ. KUR ZÚR. ZÚR i-ja-an-zi*, 'if they perform offerings on

<sup>1</sup> So probably to be read instead of Abbi-Tešup; cp. the sign *dub* in KUB III 14: 2.

<sup>2</sup> Other letters of Ramses II. are Nos. 22, 25, 28(?), 66, 68, and some fragments in which the name is destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> Now transcribed together with several duplicates by Forrer in 2 BeTU 23.

<sup>15</sup> KUB III 94: II 12 we read *NA [ki-šá-na] a-la-lu-u [šá-šá-ki-ja-a-[ar]]*. As the Hittite verb means 'to go to bed, to repose' etc., we should expect *ša(l)-la-lu(-u)* in the Accadian column. The Sumerian pronunciation *ki-šá-na* would better fit in with *GIŠ.NÁ* 'bed'.—III 95: 10 perhaps *[na]-ru-u* (i. e. *nāru*) = *ku-na-tur* 'to slay'.—III 103: 1 10 *šá-ša-a-du* (i. e. *šahštu*) = *ma-at ku-[mar]* 'to [jump (away), to flee'].



the border of the enemy's land, (then[the offering priest] offers one sheep to the sun (-goddess) of Arinna and to [read: A.NA(l)] Tešup, the protecting deity, to all the gods, to Telibinu of Durmitta, the male and the female gods, the . . . gods, all the gods, to all the mountains and rivers. One sheep they offer to Zidharia<sup>11</sup>. At the end omina, taken from the kidneys of the immolated sheep, are given in the Accadian language and translated into Hittite. No. 3 contains proverbs in both languages, No. 4 sentences probably taken from hymns; cp. obv. 10 ff.: *ša-am-mi ši-e-ri a-na ku-ru-um-ma-at bu-li ta-pa-an-ni*<sup>12</sup> 'thou createst the herbs of the field as nourishment for the beasts' = Hitt. *ú-li-li-ja-áš-ma ki-ik-la-an LIL-áš. . . [ . . . ] a-da-an-na e-eš-ša-[at-ti]; kikkáš* therefore = 'herbs', *uliliš* = 'field', *ad-anna* = 'nourishment', *áššá-* = 'to create' (also = 'to produce, to effect'). No. 5 presents short sentences in phonetic Sumerian, translated into Hittite; e. g. l. 13 f.: *an-la hi-in-gal me-la-a ši-im-ši-im* 'from heaven abundance copiously (*me-la-a* = MEŠ. TA?) . . . ' = Hitt. *nu-ne-pi-ša-za i-i[a-da] hu-u-ma-an he-ja-u-tu-n[i. . . ]*; *nepiš* therefore = 'heaven' *ijada*<sup>13</sup> = 'abundance', *hū-man* = 'copious'. No. 6 (belonging to No. 5?) shows how intensely the Hittites studied Sumerian texts; there are two columns, one containing Sumerian sentences in the usual spelling, the other in phonetic transcriptions, e. g. Obv. 6: *lugal iškur gū-gal ka-lam-ma* = *lu-gal iš-kur ku-gal ga-lam-ma* 'King Adad, leader of the land'. Then follow Sumerian and Accadian texts of mythological or religious character.<sup>14</sup> No. 12 is an Accadian fragment of the Gilgameš epic<sup>15</sup>, mentioning a dream of Gilgameš's (Obv. p. 13) and the conflict between Gilgameš, Engidu and Ištar. Among the following texts we find portions of É.N.É. NU. ŠUB (Nos. 13, 24), of the exorcism of the evil spirits (No. 16), of the series <sup>16</sup>*šamaš ina dīnika* (Nos. 20, 21), a hymn to

<sup>11</sup> = *tabanni*.

<sup>12</sup> Also KUB IV 4: I 14 *i-ja-da* = Acc. *hi-en-gal-li*. The formation is like *ku-ša-ta* (Acc. *terpātu*) KBo I 35: 17; Arzawa-letter I 22.

<sup>13</sup> No. 11 is Sumerian and Accadian; l. 6 read <sup>17</sup>*pa-p(1)-nun-na* = (L7) <sup>18</sup>*bu-un-ni-in-ni*, showing that *bunene* is the correct pronunciation of the name of Šamaš's charioteer.

<sup>14</sup> Hittite fragments of the same epic are KBo VI 1: 30-32, where the hero is also called <sup>19</sup>*gi-gim-mai* and his friend <sup>20</sup>*en-ki-tum*; a Hurritic fragment (KBo VI 33) spells the name <sup>21</sup>*gal-ga-mi-ša-ul*.

Nimurta, the *ap-lim e-ša-ra* (No. 26; A 6 = *é-šár-ra*),<sup>15</sup> and portions of hemerologies (Nos. 42-46)<sup>16</sup>. No. 47 contains rites in Hittite with prayers in Accadian, the end (Rev. 32ff.) being a prayer to the stars.<sup>17</sup>

The next section contains medical texts, the first (No. 48) showing that the term *HU. HUR. RI* which recurs in Hittite omen-texts is identical with *BÚRU. HABRUD. TA* (or *DA*), i. e. *iššur hurri* (cp. I 2. 8. 12 etc. with left margin, l. 1). The tablet has the signature *DUB I (?)<sup>KAM</sup> LÛ. ŠĀ. ZI. GA.* The texts<sup>18</sup> published by Weidner evidently prove that Hittite medicine was in the main totally dependent on Babylonia. The same is true with the omen literature, samples of which are Nos. 63 ff. We find astrological omens taken from the appearance of the sun (Nos. 63, 64, probably belonging to the series *enuma anu illil*), omens of the *tirdnu* (the intestines; no. 65) and of a part of the body (?) called *MIR* (No. 66)<sup>19</sup>, omens of the series *šumma izbu* (Nos. 67-70) and—the most interesting fact—liver omens written on clay models of livers (Nos. 71-75). These clay livers are highly important for the identification of the different parts of the liver. We learn that the *KI. GUB* (= *manzazu*) and the *GĪR* (= *padānu*) are located on the obverse, the *DAN* (= *dandnu*) on the reverse. No. 72 shows that the *manzazu* may have the appearance of a saw-blade<sup>20</sup>, a picture of it being added. Sometimes the omen itself is Accadian, the interpretation, however, Hittite; e. g. No. 72 rev. *šumma*

<sup>15</sup> No. 30 is a medical text.

<sup>16</sup> Note the frequent use of *ZA* (= *amīlu*) in these texts, e. g. 44: 8 *ZA. BI BE-bar* (i. e. *amīlu bi ilabbar*). The text often gives several interpretations, e. g. l. 6: *šulmu* <sup>21</sup> *KI. II ašlat-zu ana bti-la alerraš bti-šu irappi* <sup>22</sup> 'welfare; secondly: he may bring his wife into his house, his house will become large'; l. 7 *lā mitgaru KI. II ašlata irāšši KI. III* (l. cp. l. 10) *zi-g[a]-a* 'not favorable; secondly: he may take a wife; thirdly (!): rage' (= *legū*).

<sup>17</sup> The beginning is Sumerian *lan ku-u-g[a] bi ku-u-ga* 'pure heaven, pure earth' (*kug* = *AZAG* = *ellu*); l. 33 *an bi-bi-la bi-bi-bi-la* (*bibil* = *EL* = *ebbu*).

<sup>18</sup> No. 59 does not seem to be medical, but probably is an omen text of the *izbu*-series.

<sup>19</sup> e. g. II 6 *šumma* (= *UD*) *ri* *MIR mla*-*bi-bi-tum i*-*bi-bi-a* *bi* *abun* *kanukki larri ma-lu-tum i-ri-e-i*-*ku* 'if the head of the *MIR* . . . , the full treasure houses of the king will grow empty'.

<sup>20</sup> *pl. lā-ar-bi-ri* (= *lallari*) is the 'edge of the saw'.

(=BAD) *rēš marti titu-ra-am ša širi šakin-ma me-šá uš-ta-ša-aš* LÜ-*āš u-i-it-ti-mi-e-ja-ni ar-ma-ni-in-at-ta na-āš* SĪG (=lazzija)-*at-ta na-āš-šá-ma-aš-ta LÜ-āš ha-at-ga-u-wa-ar pī-e-ta-az iš-pa-ar-zi-zi* 'if the head of the gall-bladder has a bridge of flesh and its water mingles, the man will be . . . and he will be sound and happy; or "a man will rise from a secluded place'. The rest of vol. IV is filled with small fragments and supplements to KUB III, IV and KBo 1. Of special value is the re-edition of KBo 1 27 (KUB IV, p. 50b) which is an Accadian duplicate (like KUB III 85. 89) of the great Telibina-inscription<sup>21</sup>.

Vol. V, copied by Dr. Walther, is a collection of prophetic texts like KBo II 2, etc., the interpretation of which still offers, at present, considerable difficulties. As these tablets are less valuable for the average student of Hittite culture, I will not tire the readers of this periodical with a list of corrections which I might offer. I may only call attention to the corroboration of the reading of the name of the prince of Mirā 'DIB+BA(?) KAK. TUR (KUB V 6: III 9, 21, 24) = 'maš-ḫu-i-lu-wa (ib. III 31), which already was suggested by a comparison of KBo IV 7: I 60 (DIB+BA(?) KAK-wa) and KBo IV 3: I 1 (DIB. B[A(?) KAK. TUR-wa) with 'maš-ḫu-lu-wa (KBo V 13: I 12).

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A. UNGNAD

### MINOR NOTICES

*Die Keilschrift.* Von Dr. BRUNO MEISSNER. Mit 6 Abbildungen. 2te, verbesserte Auflage. Berlin: VEREINIGUNG WISSENSCHAFTLICHER VERLEGER, 1922. pp. 112. \$0.25.

An excellent and inexpensive introduction to the study of the cuneiform signs and the grammar of Sumerian and Assyrian.

*Das Alte Testament und die evangelische Kirche der Gegenwart.* Von D. Dr. ERNST SELLIN. Leipzig: A. DEICHERT, 1921. pp. 103.

Directed against Friedrich Delitzsch ('Die grosse Täuschung') and A. Harnack. 'To discard in the twentieth century the Old Testament as canonical Scripture would be in direct contra-

<sup>21</sup> = *naššu* + particle *ālu*.

<sup>22</sup> Cp. note 9 above.



diction to the testimony of Jesus and the apostles who found in the Old Testament divine will and promise; it would have disastrous religious consequences, and above all would simply mean an anachronism and the greatest folly which the evangelical church might commit'. The author then pleads for a proper understanding and evaluation of the Old Testament by means of judicious criticism.

*Wächterrufe.* Zu Prof. D. Kittels Vortrag: Die Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Von Pastor Lic. MOELLER-Brekum: HERMANN JENSEN, 1922. pp. 72.

Exceptions to Kittel's delineation of the future tasks in Old Testament studies from the point of view of orthodoxy.

*Judenproblem.* Von ISAAC BREUER. Vierte Auflage. Frankfurt a. M.: KAUFFMANN, 1922. pp. 143.  
A thoughtful study.

*Vier Jahrtausende jüdischen Palästinas.* Von Prof. Dr. SAMUEL KRAUSS. Frankfurt a. M.: KAUFFMANN, 1922. pp. 157.

A concise history of Jewish Palestine from the beginnings to the present day. In the biblical part the author acknowledges himself to be entirely under the influence of Wellhausen.

*Zur Charakteristik der talmudischen Ethik.* Von Direktor Dr. L. LAZARUS. Zweiter, unveränderter Abdruck. Frankfurt a. M.: KAUFFMANN, 1922. pp. iv+48.

LESEK LAZARUS (1822-1879), an elder brother of the philosopher Moritz Lazarus, was director of the Jewish theological seminary in Breslau from 1875 to his death and taught Talmud and rabbinical literature in that institution. The essay on talmudic ethics, now reprinted without alteration, was first published in 1877.

*The British Museum with Bible in Hand.* Being an interesting and intelligent survey of all the exhibits on view at the British Museum which confirm the absolute accuracy of the Holy Scriptures. By FRANK G. JANNAWAY. London: SAMPSON, LOW, MARSTON & Co. pp. 92.

Prefaced is a facsimile of letter of approbation by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon.

*Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt.* Being a Personal Narrative of Events. By WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT. New York: ALFRED A. KNOPF, 1922. pp. xiv+416.

American re-edition of the English edition which appeared in 1905. A finely written account of the history of the English occupation of Egypt from the pen of the well-known traveller who took an active part in the struggle which he narrates, on the side of the native nationalist party. It is a record of intimate knowledge of the Orient, of courage, but also of one-sidedness and obstinacy. In the opinion of the author, he stands vindicated by recent political developments and he sees his country punished for the crime of occupation which he had sought to avert.

*Mainly East.* By Mrs. ALEC-TWEEDIE. New York: E. P. DUTTON AND COMPANY. 320 pages, with illustrations and a map. \$6.

An interestingly written account of travel through Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Palestine, and India between 1919 and 1921. After-war conditions are portrayed largely from the official British point of view, and as an index to the feelings entertained in certain sections of the English press the policies recommended will make interesting reading. The decision of the United States government in 1922 to take no part in helping to keep the freedom of the Dardanelles is commented on in an unfriendly tone. The authoress is unacquainted with Oriental languages.

*The China Year Book.* 1921-2. Edited by H. G. W. WOODHEAD, C. B. E. New York: E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY. pp. x+1064. \$10.

A useful compilation dealing with the area and population of China; geography; geology; fauna; flora, forestry & reforestation; climate & meteorology; people & language; newspapers & periodicals; products; mines & minerals; money, weights & measures; commerce; finance; currency; the new consortium (official documents); public justice; communications; defence; education; Greater China; the Russian problem in China; war & post-war problems; river conservation & harbors; manufactures; opium; religions (with Mission statistics); the famine in North China;

the Chinese customs tariff; the Chinese government (historical sketch and the present organization); brief biographies of prominent Chinese; and miscellaneous matters; also customs-revenue and trade statistics. There is a map of China showing railways.

*Gods, Goblins and Ghosts.* The weird legends of the Far East.  
By BERTHA LUM. Philadelphia: J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY, 1922. pp. 65.

A sumptuous publication with beautiful illustrations.

*Mysterious Japan.* By JULIAN STREET. Garden City, N. Y.: DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY, 1922. pp. xii+349.

Chapter XX deals with the problem of Japanese immigration to the United States. The volume is replete with vivid description.

*Zen Buddhism and its Relation to Art.* By ARTHUR WALEY. London: LUZAC, 1922. 32 pp. 2sh. 6d.

A pamphlet which "makes no attempt at profundity", but which nevertheless gives a remarkable informative and readable, tho brief and popular, account of the fundamental ideas and historic development of Zen Buddhism, as well as of its "relation to art" (without illustrations, however; for them the reader is referred to the Japanese art publications *Kokka* and *Shimbi Taikwan*).

*Vedic Antiquities.* By G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, Doctor of the University of Paris; Professor, College, Pondicherry. London: LUZAC, 1922. 29 pp. 1 sh. 6 d.

The author believes that he has discovered tombs of the Vedic period in the Kerala province, and that such tombs are quite exact imitations of human habitations of the same period. He also finds interesting survivals of Vedic practices and traditions in out-of-the-way parts of this region.

*Bālamāgha. Māgha's Śisupālavadhā im Aussuge.* Bearbeitet von CARL CAPPELLER. Stuttgart: W. KOHLHAMMER, 1915. xx+188 pp. \$1.60.

Sanskrit text and German translation of an abridged form of this Sanskrit "court-epic". The abridgment, made by Cap-



pellor, omits Chapters 5-11 and 19 entire and about one-half of the rest. The parts omitted are the most artificial and difficult sections.

*Select Works of Sri Sankaracharya.* Sanskrit Text and English Translation. Translated by S. VENKATARAMANAN. 2nd ed.

Madras: G. A. NATESAN AND CO., n. d. 240 pp. 2 Rs.

The works attributed to Śankara which are here translated are all in verse, and were, says the translator, intended to "expound in a popular style" the Advaita philosophy. The translation likewise aims to be popular and "free of technical words and phrases"; "in some instances literal and technical accuracy has been purposely sacrificed in order to make the translation readable and comprehensible by itself independently of the text."

*Eminent Orientalists, Indian, European, American.* Madras:

G. A. NATESAN AND CO., n. d. 378 pp. 2 Rs.

Biographical sketches, by various Hindu authors, of twenty-six "eminent orientalists", including Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Fergusson, Telang, Max Müller, Bühler, Monier Williams, Whitney, Deussen, Bhandarkar, etc.

## OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

(Some of the following will be reviewed in later issues.)

*A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform and other Epic Fragments in the Pierpont Morgan Library.* By ALBERT T. CLAY. (Yale Oriental Series. Researches. Volume V-3.). New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922. pp. 86+plates vii.

*Hebrew Tribal Economy and the Jubilee.* As illustrated in Semitic and Indo-European village communities. By HENRY SCHAEFFER, Ph.D., S.T.M. Leipzig: J. C. HINRICH, 1922. pp. viii+198.

*The Prophets of Israel.* In history and criticism. By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B. London: ROBERT SCOTT, 1923. pp. vi+196.

- Wie wurde Sichem eine israelitische Stadt?* Von Prof. Dr. ERNST SELLIN. Leipzig: A. DEICHERT, 1922. pp. 84.
- The Book of Job.* A revised text and version. By C. J. BALL. New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH, 1922. pp. vii+479. \$6.
- A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra.* By CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY, S.T.M., Ph.D. (Contributions to Oriental History and Philology No. VII.) New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922. pp. xii+69.
- The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fātimid Caliphs.* A contribution to their political and communal history based chiefly on Genizah material hitherto unpublished. By JACOB MANN, M.A., D. Lit. Vol. II. New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH, 1922. \$7.
- Jacob Steinhart.* Von ARNO NADEL. Mit 34 Abbildungen. (Graphiker der Gegenwart.) Berlin: VERLAG NEUE KUNSTHANDLUNG, 1920. pp. 48.
- Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum.* Von ADOLF ERMAN. Tübingen: MOHR, 1922.
- Die sumerische Tempelstadt.* Von Dr. A. SCHEIDER. Essen: BAEDEKER, 1920.
- A Thousand Miles of Miracle in China.* A personal record of God's delivering power from the hands of the imperial Boxers of Shan-si. By ARCHIBALD E. GLOVER, M.A. London: PICKERING & INGLIS. pp. xvi+372.
- Choix d'objets d'art d'extrême orient conservés dans les Pays Bas.* Par T. B. ROORDA. La Haye: NIJHOFF, 1920.
- Plays of Old Japan.* Translated by LEO DURAN. New York: THOMAS SELTZER, 1921. pp. xii+127.
- Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba.* Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von Dr. W. CALAND. Göttingen: VANDENHOECK UND RUPRECHT, 1921.
- Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal.* By NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI. Cambridge (Eng.): HEFFER, 1922.
- Amourism or Premāmrita.* By R. S. TAKI. Bombay: G. P. MURDESHWAR, 1922.

*India in World Politics.* By TARAKNATH DAS. New York: HUEBSCH, 1923.

*Fox Footprints.* By ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH. New York: KNOFF, 1923.

*Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus.* Von HERMANN OLDENBERG. 2te, unveränderte Auflage. Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1923.

*The Reed of Pan.* By A. C. BENSON. London: MURRAY, 1922.



## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The second half (Parts 3 and 4) of Volume 42 (year 1922) of the JOURNAL has not yet been received in this country as this issue goes to press (May 1, 1923), altho final proofs with instructions to print were sent to the printers in March. It is hoped that by the end of this year we shall have reestablished regularity in the appearance of the JOURNAL.

## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The British Society for Old Testament Study, which includes in its membership the best-known Old Testament scholars of Great Britain, is devoted to the advancement of Old Testament studies and kindred matters, and has a Publication Fund from which it subsidizes important publications in such fields. It meets twice a year; its last meeting was held in London, January 2-4, 1923, under the presidency of the Rev. Canon G. H. Box, whose presidential address dealt with the need for widening the scope of Old Testament studies. Other papers were read by the Rev. Principal H. Wheeler Robinson and by Prof. M. A. Canney. Several foreign visitors, from India, South Africa, and the United States, were present. The secretary, Rev. T. H. Robinson, Lynwood, Llanishen, Glam., writes that "the Society would always welcome at its meetings any American scholars who are interested in the Old Testament and allied studies," and that he "would be very happy to supply to any such visitors to this country information regarding our meetings."

Dr. Ernst F. Weidner, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Wilmersdorferstr. 95, announces that he is about to begin the private publication of a periodical, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, which will appear beginning 1923 in quarterly issues of 48 pages each, long folio size and shape (approximately "foolscap"), "clearly and legibly typed and multigraphed". The prospective contents are thus described: "eine Reihe von Aufsätzen philologischen, historischen und kulturhistorischen Inhalts, von denen jeder höchstens 10 Seiten umfassen soll, kurze Mitteilungen gleichen Inhalts, Rezensionen, soweit der Kritiker wesentlich neue Gesichtspunkte beibringen oder zahlreiche Einzelzusätze machen kann (kleine Rezensionen und Anzeigen sind ausgeschlossen), und eine ausführliche Uebersicht über Ausgrabungen, Museums-Erwerbungen, Vorträge, wissenschaftliche Gesellschaften und Personalien, die in der Folgezeit auf den ganzen vorderen Orient ausgedehnt werden soll." A *Beilage* each year will contain a bibliography. The price for the U. S. will be Five Dollars a year. It is proposed to strike off only one hundred copies. The first issue contains contributions by Meissner, Langdon, Ungnad, Ebeling,

Unger, Schroeder, and Weidner. Contributions are invited from scholars in these lines all over the world; they may be composed in German, English, French, or Italian.

A "Société Asiatique de Varsovie" has recently been formed in Warsaw, Poland, and has begun a series of *Publications*, of which the first two have appeared, viz., *Bhagavadgītā* (Texte Sanscrit), and *Atmabodha*, both published in 1922, both by Dr. St. Fr. Michalski-Iwinski, who is Secretary of the Society. A review of the former of these works is printed elsewhere in this issue of the *JOURNAL*.

The Oriental Club of Philadelphia, at a meeting held on May 10th, adopted a minute in memory of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, one of the Club's founders, who died April 20, 1923. The concluding paragraph of this minute reads as follows:

"This Club, composed largely of men who are professionally engaged in study and research on Oriental subjects—subjects which are fairly recondite and removed from the interest of the everyday man—feels that it was given a peculiar strength in having the unfailing interest and support of this eminent jurist and public man, and through him a link between the world of study and the great outer world. The members of the Club have always felt that in an age and a land in which the great mass of the people have considered study that is not of direct material benefit to them as almost eccentric, there was profound encouragement in the fact that a man of his type should not only take a contrary view, but indicate by his presence and his interest that to him these studies were of major, and not of secondary importance. Judge Sulzberger had a profound respect for scholarship and for every scholar. He was tolerant of all opinions founded upon genuine study, and was a tower of strength in the studies to which this Club is devoted. We shall miss his inspiration and his genial personality."

## PERSONALIA

Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Ethnologist in the Bureau of American Ethnology and Professor of Ethnology in George Washington University, has been elected president of the Anthropological Society of Washington, D. C.

## THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM IN LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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IN LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE three difficulties confront us at the outset—pronunciation, vocabulary, and construction. Three elements are involved in correct pronunciation—articulation, timbre, and rhythm.

Articulation is the proper joining of organ to organ for the clearcut production of any and all "letters". It can be noted by watching the positions of lips, tongue, and larynx. Sometimes a wedge between the side teeth is a help to seeing. A slip of paper before the lips will differentiate between an aspirate and non-aspirate p, t, ch, or k.

Timbre is tone-quality and depends on organic basis, or the way in which the native holds his speech organs. It is copied best in singing, audible yawning, or in the hesitant "-uh", which so often follows the words of an unready speaker.

Rhythm is the tune of language, its pitch, time and stress. It is best analysed by humming a short sentence, after it has been spoken. Then contrast one's own and a short foreign sentence. It is the rhythm which enables us to tell the meaning of the sentence "Tell the lookout to look out and cry Look out." In this the first "lookout" has the high-low, the second the level-level, the third the high-higher pitch. Rhythm is best notated by dashes and glides which correspond in elevation relatively to the pitch changes of the speaker's voice.

Failure to master these three in combination always makes the speaker reveal himself as a foreigner. The minimum attainment in pronunciation is easy intelligibility; and the hearer, not the speaker, must be the judge of this attainment.

In vocabulary we have a range from the active command of a few hundred words to the passive command of the twenty to forty thousand words of the educated native. First there are the essential words used by all; then those words known by every



adult; and lastly the technical terms known only by the skilled. In a study of Business Vocabularies made by the Russell Sage Foundation, pamphlet E 126<sup>1</sup>, we note that 2,000 letters give a vocabulary of 2,001 words, used and re-used to a total of 23,629 times. Some words are of a much greater frequency than others, for 43 words are used 11,815 times; that is, 2% of the words in the vocabulary make 50% of the text.

A study in the Gospel of St. John in Hindustani, as compared with Chapter IV of the same Gospel, shows that the Gospel text has 37 pages; chapter IV has 1/17 as much. The Gospel words are 11,200; the chapter's 1300; total vocabulary respectively 1,028 and 305; nouns 49%<sup>2</sup> and 25%<sup>3</sup>; verbs 14%<sup>2</sup> and 16%<sup>3</sup>; pronouns 1 1/2%<sup>2</sup> and 16%<sup>3</sup>; prepositions 4 1/2%<sup>2</sup> and 20%<sup>3</sup>. From this we conclude that the dictionary value and the practical value are very different, so that it is safe to say that in aiming to master a language one should make his acquisitions in about the following ratios for the first 1500 words: nouns 40%, verbs 27%, adjectives 8% with cardinals and ordinals 10% more, adverbs 6 2/3%, prepositions 3 1/3%, with all forms of pronouns, conjunctions, interjections and particles and articles, if any. As a guide for determining the 1500 words I would suggest John's Gospel plus the words of buying, selling, housekeeping, traveling, visiting. The tendency in picking up a vocabulary is to gather nouns faster than verbs and words faster than the ability to assemble them into proper sentences.

This last difficulty, of construction, demands most careful consideration. Words are the material of speech. We might liken substantives and predicates to the bricks, but case-endings, or positions, or prepositions, to the cement by which our linguistic edifice becomes knit together. Sentence forms might be likened to the ground plan of our edifice. Simple indicative sentences make the vestibule, but compound sentences open out a hallway. The imperatives form our office and workshop, but if we wish to erect a superstructure, then we must master the complex in its various ifs, its as's, its whens, its thoughts;

<sup>1</sup> Another good list, Eldridge's, can be had from Dr. C. P. G. Scott, Yonkers, N. Y.

<sup>2</sup> Of total vocabulary.

<sup>3</sup> In frequency of occurrence.

and to adorn it we must master the participle in all its permutations and combinations. Some are content to live in a simple shack and make the imperative do duty for the whole. Others are satisfied with a single simple tense, not thinking that thereby they are betraying their own simplicity. But the real student will lay his foundations broad and deep enough to carry any superstructure he may find time to rear.

To do this he must note that *the sentence is the unit of speech*. He must aim at a *command of every typical unit*. So he must be able to interchange these units in all their subjects, predicates and modifiers without hesitation. Above all he must drill until he can deliver these units at the rate of *five syllables per second*. This cultivates the motor-memory to the point where command of these constructions becomes automatic. Then the language is mastered.

In planning one's own study or testing a language method, one should see if it includes the imperative, the indicative mode in the present, past and future tenses, the present and past participles, and a simple conditional. It is quite likely that one may need two or three forms of the imperative and of the second person in all tenses, to be polite to others. If one is giving his whole time to one language, he may be satisfied with the above for a few months; then he must branch out into the subjunctives and complexities of expression.

The time necessary to learn a language varies. Probably 900 hours, distributed over 150 days, or six months, would suffice for *mastering* a vocabulary of 1500 words with the major constructions. By this time one should be at loss for no word within his vocabulary, or how to use it. After this he may acquire words at rapid rate. One African missionary said he learned 100 words a day by the Loiset method. Fast or slow, the test of mastery is ability to deliver your thought at the rate of five syllables per second.

One of the best tests of one's mastery of a language is found in the ability to ask and answer any sort of a question regarding any fact, or time, or place or manner or number or size, or person, or material, or comparison, or price, or frequency, or reason, in the proper voice and in the tense or person or number of the indicative mode, as well as in the conditional form.

The methods to be used involve this principle that *every lan-*

*guage must be the medium of its own impartation.* Primary is the Slip Method, i. e., reciting the vernacular from slips, on which English sentences are written, in any order at normal speed. Then the Dramatic Method, playing at buying, selling, house-keeping, travelling; the Picture Method, the Question and Answer Method, Story Telling, the Object Method, for which one's first sentence must be "What is this?" and the second, "Please say it again".

Reading may follow ability to speak but not precede it; and writing is the best training in reading.



## A SUPPOSED WORK OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ

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ANY ADDITION to our knowledge of the literary activity of al-Ghazālī, the great Mohammedan theologian of the eleventh century—the greatest theologian that Islam has produced—must be welcome to every student of Arabic letters. It was, therefore, with more than ordinary interest that, some time ago, I hit upon a ms. in the Collection of the New York Library, said—in the colophon—to be by him, but bearing a title which I could find in none of our ordinary works of reference. We are pretty well informed about the works of al-Ghazālī—from the long account of his activities to be found in al-Subkī's *Tabaqāt al-Shafī'iyyah*<sup>1</sup> of the fifteenth century, through Brockelmann, to the excellent articles of our colleague Professor Macdonald in our own JOURNAL<sup>2</sup> and in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

The title of the ms. was الفرق بين الصالح وغير الصالح i. e. "The difference between a Righteous and an Unrighteous Man". A glance at the work, the first third of which is wanting in the ms., showed me that it dealt with the functions of a ruler, and with the duties that lay upon those appointed by him to positions of trust. It was interesting enough by reason of its matter and its fund of anecdotes; and I translated a good two-thirds of the New York ms. As I translated, I began to feel that I was upon familiar ground; I remembered that al-Ghazālī had written just such a speculum or "Manual of Ethical Guidance for Kings" addressed to Mohammed the Great Seljuk in the year 498 A. H. (=1104 A. D.), but under quite a different title نصيحة الملوك "Refined Gold concerning Advice given to Kings"—or, as it is usually cited for short, نصيحة الملوك. The question arose naturally, What was the relation of the one work or title to the other?—especially as Muḥammad Murtaḍa

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv, pp. 101-182.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xx, pp. 71-132.

al-Husainī (the learned author of the *Tāj-al-'arūs*), who wrote in 1790 a ten-volume commentary on the *Ihyā*, al-Ghazālī's chief ethical work, and who in the introduction gives a life of his author and list of his works arranged in alphabetic order, mentions not only the نصيحة الملوك but especially the title in our New York ms. with these words: الفرق بين الصالح وغير الصالح ذكر: i. e. "The Difference between the Righteous and the Unrighteous" al-Ghazālī mentions it in his *Nasīhat al-Mulūk*. Further on, under the letter *nun* he says: نصيحة الملوك i. e. "Nasīhat al-Mulūk", written in Persian. Someone translated it into Arabic and called it 'The Refined Gold'.

The question is taken up by three former owners of the New York ms. who have placed the following observations upon the back of the right side cover and upon the fly-leaf:

A.

قال العلامة السيد محمد بن محمد الحسيني الزبيدي الشهير بمرتضى في مقدمة شرح الاحياء في الفصل التاسع في ذكر مصنفات ابني حامد الغزالي ورتب ذكرها على حروف المعجم قال ذكره في كتابه نصيحة الملوك انتهى فيعلم من هذه العبارة ان السيد محمد مرتضى لم يكن يعثر على نسخة كتاب الفرق وانما ذكره وعلم به من ذكره نفث الغزالي له في كتابه نصيحة الملوك وكذلك ملا كاتب صاحب كشف الظنون لما لم يعثر عليه ولا على ما عثر عليه سيد محمد مرتضى لم يذكره في كشف الظنون وتبدلت جهدي في الفحص عنه في خزائن الكتب الشرقية حتى استكتب الورق المنخرم من اول نسخة هذه فلم اعثر على شيء فهذه النسخة وجدت في هذه البلاد وقد سئلت القب انتساب احد الابرار الكرميليين الرمليين الى بغداد ان يفحص عن نسخة هذا الكتاب في المكاتب اوروبا فلهذا يكون هناك منها نسخة تكمل منها هذه النسخة النفيسة انشا اله تعالى واله جل جلاله ولي التوفيق.

"The learned Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Husainī al-Zabīdī, known as al-Murtaḍā,<sup>1</sup> says in his preface to his Commentary upon the *Ihyā*, in section 9, in his account of the works of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet, 'he mentions it in his book *Nasīhat al-*

<sup>1</sup> Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.* I, p. 422.

*Mulūk*'. From this expression it is clear that the Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍa had himself never set eyes upon a copy of the *Farḡ*. He mentioned it and knew of it only through al-Ghazālī's referring to it himself in his book *Naṣīḥat-al-Mulūk*. In the same manner Molla Kātibī, author of the *Kashf-al-Zunūn*, since he had not seen the book nor had he seen the reference made to it by Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍa, did not mention it in the *Kashf-al-Zunūn*. I have taken all pains possible to find a copy in some eastern library, in order that I might fill out the signature that is torn at the beginning of this copy. I have been unsuccessful. The present copy I found in this country. I even asked the priest Anastasius, one of the Carmelite fathers sent to Baghdad, to look for a copy in the libraries of Europe; perhaps there may be a copy there from which the present valuable copy may be completed. So God will etc. etc."

B. On the fly-leaf at the beginning:

هذا كتاب الفرق بين الصالح وغير الصالح لابي حامد محمد بن  
محمد الغزالي وكثيرا يحبل في كتابه نصيحة الملوك الى هذا الكتاب  
وكتابه نصيحة الملوك فارسي وهذا الكتاب قد رتبته على سبعة ابواب  
حسنة

الباب الاول في سيرة السلطنة وسيرة السلطان  
الباب الثاني في سيرة الوزارة وسيرة الوزراء  
الباب الثالث في ذكر الكتاب وادابهم  
الباب الرابع في سموهم الملوك  
الباب الخامس في ذكر حكمة الحكماء  
الباب السادس في شرف العقل  
الباب السابع في نعم النساء

ثم ان هذه النسخة من كتاب الفرق بين الصالح وغير الصالح  
بكلم علي بن ابي العثاثير احمد الامام الغزالي فرغ من نسخها في  
حادي عشر ذي الحجة سنة ثمان واربعين وستماية واصل الله ان يدقق  
نسخة تكتب ورقتين الاولتين المخروستين ولم اعثر على نسخة اخرى  
في البلادنا الشرقية الى الان حرره مالك النسخة ابو محمد الحسن  
بن ابي الحسن الهادي (?) بن محمد علي بن صالح بن محمد بن زين  
العابدين بن نور الدين علي بن علي بن ابي الحسن الرضا



العالمى فى شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ١٢١٨ هجرية وقد عدده السيد محمد مرتضى الزبيدى فى الفصل الذى عقده لعد مصنفات الامام ابى حامد الغزالى فى اول شرحه السسمى اتحاف السادة فى شرح احيا العلوم هذا الكتاب فى مصنفات الغزالى لكن يظهر منه انه لم يكن يتيسر له رويته لانه قال كما يحيل عليه فى كتابه نصاب الملوك وقد اكثرت السوال عنه فلم اعثر على غير هذه النسخة الشريفة ثم اعلم انه يظهر من؟؟ كلام له فى الباب الثانى فى الوزارة ان ايام؟؟ ايضا كان فى ايام السلجوقية فراجع وكتاب نصاب الملوك ايضا الفه للسلجوقية وقال فى كشف الظنون كتاب الفرق بين الصالح وغير الصالح للامام ابى حامد محمد بن محمد الغزالى ذكره فى كتاب نصيحة الملوك انتهى ويظهر انه لم يراه ملا كاتب ايضا.

"This is the book 'The Difference between a Righteous and an Unrighteous Man' by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī; and very often he refers to this book in his [other] book 'The Mirror of Kings'. But his book *Nasīḥat-al-Mulūk* was written in Persian. This book the author has divided into seven excellent chapters:

1. Chap. 1. Upon the Rule of Sultans and the Mode of life of a Sultan.
2. Chap. 2. Upon the Rule of Viziers and their Mode of life.
3. Chap. 3. An account of Scribes and their Good Breeding.
4. Chap. 4. Upon the loftiness of Purpose of Kings.
5. Chap. 5. An account of the wisdom of the Wise.
6. Chap. 6. Upon the excellence of Understanding.
7. Chap. 7. Upon the Description of Women.

This copy of the *Kitāb-al-Farq* was written by 'Alī ibn Abī-l-Ashā'ir al-'Imām al-Ghazālī. He finished copying it on the 11th of Dhu-l-Ḥijjah in the year 648<sup>1</sup>. I ask God that he may throw in my way [another] copy, from which we could make good the first two signatures which are wanting. But I have not yet been able to hit upon another copy in our excellent country..... the possessor of the present copy Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan etc. etc. in the blessed month Ramaḍān in the year 1218<sup>2</sup> of the Hijrah. The Sayyid Muḥammad Murtaḍa al-Zubīdī has counted this book in the number of the writings of the 'Imām Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī in the chapter

<sup>1</sup> L. e. 1250 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> L. e. 1864 A. D.

devoted to the subject at the beginning of his commentary entitled *Ithāf al-Sādah fī sharḥ iḥyā al-'ulūm*. But, it appears from the manner in which he writes, that he had never set eyes upon the book, because he uses the words 'as he refers to it in his book *Naṣā'ih al-Mulūk*'. I have inquired far and wide but I have not been able to find any other than this present excellent copy. Know also, that it appears from an expression (?) that the author uses in the second chapter, in which he deals with the office of Vizier, that the writer (?) lived during the days of the Seljuk kings. He makes a second remark to that effect. Now, the book *Naṣā'ih al-Mulūk* was also composed by him for the Seljuks. In the *Kashf al-Zunūn*, the author mentions the title *al-farḥ bain al-ṣāliḥ wa-ghair al-ṣāliḥ* by the 'Imām Abu Ḥamid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, adding 'he [the author] mentions it in the book *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. It is plain [from this] that Mollah Kātib, also, had not seen it'".<sup>1</sup>

C. A third owner of the ms., and evidently its latest before it came to this country, has written the following upon the last fly-leaf, and tries to solve the difficulty by ascribing the book to quite a different author. He says:

اعلم ان كاتب هذا الكتاب هو علي بن ابي العتاش الغزالي  
واطن (?) انه (?) علي بن احمد الغزالي الذي ذكره السيد محمد  
مرتضى في شرحه على الاحياء قال العلامة علي بن احمد الغزالي  
مولف كتاب ميزان الاستقامة لاهل القرب والكرامة توفي سنة ٧٢٩-  
وقال ملا كاتب جلبي في كشف الطنون ميزان الاستقامة لاهل القرب  
والكرامة لعلي بن محمد الغزالي المتوفى سنة وهو غير الغزالي  
المشهور انتهى فتأمل.

"Know that the author of this book is 'Alī ibn 'Abī-l-Ashā'ir al-Ghazālī. I think that his real name is 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, whom al-Sayyid Murtaḍa mentions in his commentary upon the *Iḥyā*. His words are: 'Says the learned 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, the writer of the book "The Balance of Honesty for those who are near to God and are worthy of his favor";

<sup>1</sup> The plural is often found in place of the singular when the work is cited.

<sup>2</sup> It is equally plain that the writer is wrong—no mention of it is to be found in the printed copy.

he died in the year 721'.<sup>9</sup> Molla Kātib Chelibī says in his *Kashf-al-Zunūn* 'The Balance of Honesty etc.' by Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī who died in the year [date omitted]. He is not the celebrated al-Ghazālī. Remember this!"

Now the *Tibr al-Masbūk* has been printed; and I have had before me both the edition of Cairo 1899 and that which is on the margin of al-Turṭuṣhī's *Sirāj-al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1888/9. I have gone through it with some care and I cannot find that al-Ghazālī mentions anywhere in the book a work by himself entitled *al-Farq*. More than this: I have compared the New York ms. with the printed *al-Tibr*, and find that it gives exactly the same text, without any difference whatsoever, except in so far as one ms. would show readings that are at variance with those of another. I had, at first, supposed that our ms. might contain merely an abbreviated text of the *Tibr*. We know that several of al-Ghazālī's works were so abbreviated. His *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* was put out in a shortened form by a certain Muḥammed ibn Yahya al-Baṣrī. The *Mukāshafāt-al-Qulūb* in the Bulak edition of 1883 is a *Mukhtaṣar*; and the *Ihyā* itself was abbreviated in a Persian translation. But our ms.—with its differing title—is the *Tibr al-Masbūk* word for word.

Are we then in the presence of two different titles for the same bit of writing? Both Gosche and Macdonald have noticed that in the prologue to the *Tahāfut*, the *Maḥāsīd* is called *Mi'yar al-ilm*—the reference being undeniably to one and the same work. And it is interesting to note that when a Turkish translation was made of the very book about which I am writing its title was changed to *نتیجة الملوك* "The Practice of Kings"; and it should be remembered that Kātib Chelebi, s. v. *تصیحة الملوك* says that this was the title of the Persian original and that the translator into Arabic gave it the title *التبر المسبوك*.

We are therefore, I think, forced to the conclusion that despite the statement of al-Murtaḍa and despite the notes written by the possessors of the New York ms., we are merely in the presence of one and the same treatise, which has circulated under two different titles. The uncommon one of the two

<sup>9</sup> i. e. 1321 A. D.



existed already in the thirteenth century, the date at which our ms. was written. We can hardly accept the suggestion of one of the owners that the author is not the great al-Ghazālī. And, I am afraid, we must convict another of the owners of a slight dishonesty, for he has copied the titles of the chapters which are wanting in the ms. from the other work, not noticing that he had himself laid stress upon the fact that no other ms. of the *Farḡ* was available from which to take them. But mss. often have a peculiar history—and so have their owners.

# THE FORM AND NATURE OF E-PA AT LAGASH

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TWO RULERS of Lagash who lived about 500 years apart tell us of building a structure which they designate by the ideograms E-PA. They are Ur-Nina, who lived about 3000 B. C., and Gudea, who lived about 2500 B. C. Gudea makes it clear in his inscriptions that this structure was a seven-staged ziggurat on the top of which was a chamber for the wife of the god similar to that on the top of the eight-staged ziggurat at Babylon described many centuries later by Herodotus<sup>1</sup>.

The passages in Gudea which make this clear are the following. In the inscription on statue D, after telling how he built the temple Eninnu for Ningirsu, he says (col. ii, 11 ff.): *é-pa é-ub-imin-na-ni mu-na-rú šag-ba nig-sal-us-sá* <sup>a</sup>*ba-ú nin-a-na-gè si-ba-ni-ša-ša*; "Epa, his temple of seven stages (or zones) he built. In it the bridal gift of Bau, his lady, he placed".

On statue G, i, 11 ff. after he has spoken similarly of building Ningirsu's temple he says: *nin-gir-su lugal-a-ni é-pa é-ub-inim é-pa-bi sag-bi-šú é-a* <sup>a</sup>*nin-gir-su-gè nam-dug-tar-ra mu-na-rú nig-sal-us-sá šag-šul-la* <sup>a</sup>*nin-gir-su-ge* <sup>a</sup>*pa-ú dumu an-na dam ki dg-ni mu-na-la-ag-gè dingir-ra-ni* <sup>a</sup>*nin-gi-zi-da egir-bi ib-uš*; "for Ningirsu, his king, Epa, a house of seven stages, to its height he built up. For Ningirsu, who decreed good, he built it. The bridal gift, the joy of the heart of Ningirsu and Bau, the child of Anu, the spouse whom he loves, he caused it to cover. His god Ningishzida into it he carried up."

It is clear from these passages that Epa was a seven-staged ziggurat. The mention of the bride-price, or bridal gift, or marriage portion, and the carrying up thither of Ningishzida, who appears to have been a form of Tammuz, make it also evident that on the top of this ziggurat there was a chamber,

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus i, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Statue E, i, 16 ff. and I, ii, 12ff. contain the same statement about the building, but omit reference to the bridal-gift.

similar to the one at Babylon, later described by Herodotus. Amiaud long ago recognized the Epa as a ziggurat<sup>1</sup>, but he apparently did not recognize the presence of the shrine on its summit.

Peters in his *Nippur*<sup>2</sup> hazards the opinion that the earliest builder of Ziggurats in Babylonia may have been Urengur, who about 2450 B. C. founded the dynasty of Ur and became the greatest builder in Babylonia before Nebuchadnezzar. Peters was led to this thought because he found no ziggurat below that of Urengur at Nippur and because Urengur was also the builder of the great ziggurat at Mugheir or Ur. This opinion is, as can be shown from the inscriptions of the rulers of Lagash, clearly mistaken. These rulers—at least two of them—built ziggurats, and one of them built his ziggurat about 3000 B. C.

The Epa built by Gudea consisted of seven stages, like the ziggurat of the temple of Nabu at Borsippa built many centuries later by Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>3</sup> Ziggurats were of three kinds; possibly of four. There were those of seven stages, those of four stages, such as are pictured on the walls of the palace of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik,<sup>4</sup> and those of eight stages (doubling the four) like that of Esagila at Babylon described by Herodotus.<sup>5</sup> Peters states that the ziggurat at Nippur, excavated by him and Haynes, consisted of three stages.<sup>6</sup>

If there were ziggurats of three stages they were built to correspond to the sacred number three, which represented the three elements, air, earth and water, corresponding to the triad of gods, Anu, Enlil, Enki.

It seems probable that the four-staged tower embodies the idea of the sacred number four, which stood for the four points of the compass. For the ziggurat of seven stages there are two possible origins. Such ziggurats may have resulted from a combination of three and four, or they may have been built

<sup>1</sup> See *Records of the Past*, New series, II, pp. 90, and 100; also *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II, p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> India House Inscr. iii, 65 ff.; cf. KB 2, 17 and VAB iv, 129.

<sup>4</sup> See e. g. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, pp. 311, 312.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 124.



to represent the seven zones into which the universe was supposed to be divided by the seven planets known to the Babylonians. Jensen, more than thirty years ago,<sup>9</sup> recalling the seven zones (*un-tupqātu*) into which Erech was divided by its walls, held that these "stages" or as he called them "inner rooms" in the Epa of Gudea, were built to correspond to the world-zones. If we could be sure that the idea of world-zones was suggested by knowledge of the planets, these passages would reveal the Babylonians as possessing a high degree of astronomical knowledge before 2500 B. C. I am inclined to believe that this is the case, although the idea of the seven world-regions may have been suggested by the fact that seven is the sum of two sacred numbers three and four, and so may be older than the knowledge of astronomy.<sup>10</sup> In any event these passages in Gudea prove the antiquity of the material elements connected with the worship on the ziggurats, which Herodotus describes.

When now we turn to the inscriptions of Urnina, we find him claiming to have built ziggurats of two kinds. In two passages he declares that he built an Epa in connection with the temple of Nina, his favorite goddess.<sup>11</sup> As we now know that the Epa was a seven-staged ziggurat, it thus becomes evident that this type of structure, so far from having been introduced by Urengur, was known in Babylonia about 3000 B. C. This fact carries back five hundred years our knowledge of the type of cult carried on on the Epa. If the Epa resulted from astronomical ideas, they, too, would be proved to be correspondingly early.

Urnina seems also to have built another kind of ziggurat, or at least a structure which was probably a ziggurat, which he designated KI-NIR,<sup>12</sup> which may mean "ziggurat-dwelling"—*ki* meaning "dwelling" and *nir* meaning "ziggurat".<sup>13</sup> Urnina built three KI-NIR structures, one in connection with the temple of Urnina, another in the temple of Ningirsu, and a third in the temple of Lugal-erim. That the KI-NIR was a ziggurat

<sup>9</sup> *Kosmologie*, 170 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 174 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Tablet A, iii, 3.; Door-socket inser., l. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Threshold-stone, l. 13, Tablet E, iii, 3, Tablet B, iii, 6, Tablet A, iii, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. OBW 2823 and compare Haupt, ASKT 203 where we have *igi-4-nir*, literally "tower before the temple", defined as ziggurat.

is further proved by the fact that in his Door-socket inscription, ll. 21-23, Epa is put in apposition with it. This makes it clear that both structures were ziggurats.

As we have shown the Epa was a seven-staged ziggurat. The *Kinir* may not necessarily have had so many stages. Probably it ordinarily had only three or four.

If KI-NIR represents a temple with a ziggurat, KI-NU-NIR,<sup>44</sup> the name of the temple of Dumuzi in Girsu, mentioned by Urbau and Gudea, would mean "temple without a ziggurat."

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<sup>44</sup> Ur-lan, Statue, vi, 10; Gudea, statue B, ix, 3; it is also frequently mentioned in the contracts, as e. g. in *BTC* 268 rev. 8.

# THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA VEDA BOOK TEN

EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

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## *Introduction*

THE TENTH BOOK of the Pāippalāda is here presented, elaborated in the manner of the preceding books: no new problems present themselves in this book, the shortest yet edited.

*Of the ms.*—This tenth book in the Kashmir ms begins f133b8 and ends f138b7, covering five folios. There is one real defacement causing a lacuna at the end of lines 3 and 4 of f134b: a crack across f135 does not make the signs illegible.

*Punctuation, numbers, &c.*—Punctuation within the individual hymns is irregular, as in previous books, and frequently the colon mark is below the line, not in it. No accents are marked. The hymns are grouped in two anuvākas: the hymns of the first are numbered in regular succession, 1 to 6, but "anu 1" does not appear after the sixth hymn; in the second anuvāka there are ten hymns numbered in regular succession except the tenth after which appears no numeral either for kāṇḍa or for anuvāka. In editing I have given sixteen hymns as the ms indicates, altho the last six might have been given as three; but the constraining reason for such combination in Book Nine, namely the ms method of indicating a refrain, is not present here. There are a few corrections marginal and interlinear.

*Extent of the book.*—The book as edited has sixteen hymns, of which one is partly prose and four are only irregularly metrical. If there is a stanza norm it would seem to be ten; eight hymns are edited as having ten stanzas; this breaks the regular progression of the stanza norms which runs from four to twelve in Books 1 to 9. Assuming the correctness of the stanza divisions as edited we make the following table:



2	hymns	have	5	stanzas	each	=	10	stanzas
1	hymn	has	6	stanzas		=	6	"
8	hymns	have	10	"	each	=	80	"
2	"	"	12	"	"	=	24	"
2	"	"	13	"	"	=	26	"
1	hymn	has	14	"		=	14	"

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160 stanzas

*New and old material.*—Thirteen hymns may be properly called new, tho some of them contain stanzas or pādas already known: 121 of the 160 stanzas are new. The hymns which are Ś 19.27 and 31 appear here, the only complete hymns in the book which are not new.

## ATHARVA-VEDA PĀIPPALĀDA ŚĀKHĀ BOOK TEN

### 1

[f133b8] *atha daśama*-[9]*syārambhaḥ* ॐ ॐ *om namo nārāya-*  
*nāya ॐ om hāsva tejane dhe*-[10]*no lambanastani | na tad vido*  
*yad aśchasi | yad avittam na tad ghasaḥ |*

The introductory phrases are correct. If, as seems likely, pāda a ends with *tejane* three syllables are lacking at the beginning; b seems possible tho lacking one syllable; in c read *icchasi*, remove colon, in d read probably *āvittam*.

*patro*[11] *yas te prṣṇibāhum astakam sāmānam kṛdhi | atho*  
*duhitaram naptem atho tvam*[12] *sāmānā bhava |*

Read: *putro yas te prṣṇibāhus tam u tvam sāmānam kṛdhi |*  
*atho duhitaram naptim atho tvam sāmānā bhava ॐ ॐ*

This stanza has appeared Pāipp 5.1.3; there I departed from the ms and suggested *sāsanam* and *sāsanā*, but the double testimony of the ms is against this. In 5.1.3c *naptrim* is the reading.

*asāme kuru māinagur asya śvasārūte nindate ma te snuhi te*  
| [13] *paretakastu pakam vah punar dadāmi yonau*

I am not at all sure of the word division or end of the stanza; with *pakam* and *yonau* the last pāda would be possible.

*ehada tvam hada tasyās tapatu si*-[14]*ṣṇikam | tasyādhi putrān*  
*bhrātṛnś ca tasya goṣṭham vi tāvata |*

The first word here may be *vehad*, but the rest of the pāda

I cannot solve: in b perhaps some form of snih is at the end; in d perhaps vi dhāvata.

yasyasota nāstī vākī-[15]r yasyām ā vā havirgrhaḥ dunnāmnīs  
latra gaśchatu latra sarvāḥ paretana

In a read yasyām and possibly vāsīr, in b °grham; in c dunnāmnīs and gacchata.

parī[16] dhāmānīty ekā |

It seems probable that this refers to Ppp. 2.4.3 (=Ś 2.14.6), which is as follows: pari dhāmāny āsūm āsūḥ kāsthām ivāsaram | ajāiṣam sarvān ājin vo naśyatetas sadānvāḥ. This is stanza 6 in the hymn here.

anna śvārāna koṣe carām alko goṣṭhān vicāriṇīm | a-[17]lko yas  
svapne paśyāmi tā ita nāśayāmasi |

In a we may read yām naśvarām (or naśvarīm), in c yās, in d ito.

kaṇvā yā gardabhīva [18] nirdhajat sūkarīva tasye prati pravartaya |  
taptam aśmānam āsinīm |

In b read nī dhrajat, in c tasyāi, remove colon after c; for āsinīm possibly aśanim.

yoni-[19]r yābhī gaśchāt priyam kastāu pastāuṣinīm kastāu  
pamasyāśchidyād athāinām [f134a] cūtayātāi | paramām cel  
parāvatām

For pāda a we may probably read yoner yābhī gacchāt priyam; for the next two pādas I can suggest nothing; I would put colon before athāinām, reading the last two pādas together as they stand: or read parāvatam.

yā bhadrā yām śivā yorjā payasā saha | [2] agniḥ tvāsmākaṁ  
grhe gārhapatyō nī yaśchatu |

In pāda a read yā for yām, in d yacchatu.

idam vo devas savitadam [3] devo vṛhaspatiḥ idam vo viśve de-  
vāvasānam ajukṣāt |

Place colon after pāda b; in cd read devā avasānam aghukṣanta.

pari prāgā-[4]d devo agni rakṣohāmivacātanaḥ sedhan viśvā apa  
dviḥ dahan okṣāṁsi [5] viśvāḥ |

Place colon after pāda b; read rakṣāṁsi in d; this stanza occurs KS 38.12.

*paryame gām aneṣata pary agnim aharṣata | deveṣv akrataś  
śravaṣ ka i-[6]mām gā dadharṣati z 1 z*

Read: *parīme gām aneṣata pary agnim ahrṣata | deveṣv  
akrata śravaṣ ka imān ā dadharṣati z 13 z 1 z*

This stanza as emended appears RV 10.155.5 and VS 35.18,  
and with ab reversed at Ś 6.28.2.

## 2

*[f134a6] tvayīndriyaṁ tvayi varcas tvam dharmapatir bhava |  
[7] tvam ularo bhrātṛvyebhyas tava lakṣmīḥ payasvatī*

Read *uttaro* in pāda c.

*bharetām aśvinā vahan tava rā-[8]ṣṭraṁ divi śrulaṁ tvam āyuṣmān  
sapatnahollaro dviṣato bhava*

It seems probable to me that we should read *tavetām* at the  
beginning of pāda a; for *vahan* possibly *vāhau*; in b read *śṛitaṁ*.

*tikṣṇaśṛṅgo vṛṣa-[9]bhas samudrāvākṣatodaka tvam | sahas-  
ravīryās tavābāho gavāṁpati*

For pāda b read *samudra ivākṣatūdakaṁ*; in c °*vīryas*, in d  
*gavāṁ-pate*.

*bhrātṛvya-[10]ś ca saputras ca yas tvā śattro jighāṁsati | śriyantaṁ  
sarveṣāṁ dadātu ya itam ve-[11]da z śriyantaṁ sarveṣāṁ mādāyo  
grha vi dhāraya*

In pāda a read *sapatnaś*, in b *śatrur*: *śriyantaṁ* °° *veda* does  
not seem to belong to the verse and I would drop it out, but  
it seems to indicate that pāda c is *śriyantaṁ sarveṣāṁ dadāt*;  
for d we might read *atho grhaṁ vi dhārayat*. The restoration of  
cd is uncertain and I think *śriyantaṁ* must be a corruption:  
*śriyam* ca might be a good emendation.

*tvam | vaśi satyākūti-[12]ś satyadharmā gaveṣyaḥ anāṣṭras tvam  
sarvāstrī tvā bhrātṛvyaṇām śriyam ruha |*

Remove colon after *tvam* which surely belongs in this stanza;  
in b read *gaveṣyaḥ*; in c *anāṣṭras*, probably *sarvāstrī*, and *tvam*.  
This is stanza 5.

*[13] tubhyaṁ śrayantu balayas tubhyaṁ śulkā pra dīyatām.  
tubhyaṁ virāḥ payo ruhāṁ tvam [14] vāñchantu viśo mahī z*

In pāda a read *tubhyaṁ*, in b *śulkaḥ*; pāda c might stand but  
*duhām* would improve it; in d *viśo mahiḥ*.



*vāñchantī tvā vṛhadrāṣṭraṁ dvīṣis teṣāṁ sukhāhita | [15] tvam devānāṁ bhava priyas tvayi gāvo adhiśruta |*

In pāda b read tvīṣis and sukhāhita; in d adhiśritāḥ.

*tvayīndriyaṁ tvayi varcas tvam [16] yajño adhiśrutaḥ tavāyantu havam devīs tvam priyo haṁ vṛhaspatiḥ*

In pāda b tvayi should probably be read, and adhiśritāḥ; in c devās would seem more probable; in d I think we may read ha vṛhaspatēḥ.

*agnī-[17]śomā pavamānau virād devī payasvatī | atandhram sarve rakṣantu rāṣṭraṁ te nāpa dā-[f134b] dyaṁ*

Read atandram in pāda c, and at the end of d possibly dadhyuḥ or dadhan.

*agnir iva tṛṇaṁ pradhyā kaṣkūlam ivā ruja | śriyaṁ bhrātṛvyāṇāṁ adhas tvām̐dī-[2]kam ivādīpuṣkarāt. z 2 z*

Read: agnir iva tṛṇaṁ pradhyā kaṣkūlam ivā ruja | śriyaṁ bhrātṛvyāṇāṁ adhas †tvām̐dikam ivādhipaṣ karāḥ z 10 z 2 z

In pāda a pradhyā seems a fair conjecture but prati might be as good; I do not find kaṣkūlam, but it might be equivalent to kūlāmikaṣam.

### 3

*[f134b2] aśvāiva ratham ā dhatsva sinhāiva puruṣaṁ [3] hara | hastivarad valāṁ bhañdhi bhrātṛvyāṇāṁ śriyaṁ ruha |*

Read aśva iva in a, sinha iva in b, possibly "ārvān balaṁ bhañdhi in c.

*ut te kṛṇo \*\*\* [4] po vrahma devāir abhiṣṭutam | āprītam ivar-  
āḍukam etaṁ khadīram āha \**

Read: ut te kṛṇotu kaśyapo vrahma devāir abhiṣṭutam | āprītam ivarāḍukam etaṁ khadīram ā hara z 2 z

There is a lacuna covering the end of lines 3 and 4; three characters seem to be missing from line 3 (tho there is a trace of the "tu" of kṛṇotu) and four characters from line 4.

*\*\*\*[5]rmā haram utāitam paṇyam ā harād aviduṣo gṛhaṁ yad imāṁ devāis samāṁ bhrātā la pra-[6]dād vṛhaspatiḥ*

A good reading for pāda a would be utāitad varmā harād which is of course pure conjecture except varmā; pāda b seems to end with harād and pāda c with yad, tho Ś 4.18.2b is harād aviduṣo gṛham. For the last two pādas we may read with some

probability imām devāis samām bhṛtām tām pra dadād vṛhaspatiḥ.

The lacuna touches the end of line 5 but enough of the characters is left to assure the transliteration given; the tops of the characters are broken so that the ms may have had bhṛtām tām.

tām ā dhamki samāhite gnāu sūryāvicakṣaṇe | tebhīṣ tvam u-  
[7]ttaro bhava bhrātṛvyaṇām śriyaṁ ruha | atho yeṣām payo hara

In pāda a read dhehi, in b 'gnāu sūrya', in e eṣām. Edgerton would read tebhyaḥ tvam in c.

ādityā rudrā [8] vasava ṛṣayo bhūtakṛtāś ca ye | śriyaṁ ca kṣat-  
tram ojaś ca tubhyaṁ devā asāvīṣuḥ

Read kṣatram in pāda c.

[9] asurasīndrānāmāyusmān śataśārada | sa indrīva deveṣu  
tvīṣmān vi-[10]śā vada z 3 z

Read: asuro 'sindranāmāyusmān śataśāradaḥ | sa indra iva  
deveṣu tvīṣmān viśā ā vada z 6 z 3 z

#### 4

[f134b10] idam rāṣṭram prathatām gobhir āśvāir idam rāṣṭram  
adhyeno-[11]rayā rasena asmāi śaḍ urvīr uṣa samnamallu sap-  
tahotrā hataśatrūn sacittām |

In pāda b the ms corrects to adnyeno°; the phrase appears below in st. 8b where the ms reads anyenerayā; this latter reading can stand tho the word anya (=inexhaustibleness?) occurs only in Ś 12.1.4; a better reading would be rāṣṭram madyeno°. In d I would suggest hataśatrūs sacittāḥ.

[12] imāi rājāna iṣubhir ghnantu śatrūn ime rājānaḥ samityān  
vadeyuḥ | ime [13] rājānaḥ pṛtanā mahantām ahaṁ vrahmā vimṛḍho  
haṁ nirakṣāḥ

In pāda a read ime and iṣubhir, in b samityām; in c pṛtanāḥ  
sahantām; with 'haṁ' pāda d can stand if nirakṣāḥ can mean  
"protector."

idam rāṣṭram kṛ-[14]tamad vīravaj jīṣṇu ugram idam rāṣṭram  
gadamaś citraghoṣam. | asme rāṣṭrā [15] balamaṁ neharanto  
ahaṁ devebhyo haviṣā vidheyam z

In pāda a kṛtamad would seem possible but kīrtimad would  
be better; read jīṣṇūgram; in b possibly gātumac, and citra-  
ghoṣam. For c read asmāi rāṣṭrāya balaṁ ni harantv.

yadī yuddhe yad mṛjataṁ [16] vo astu devāinasād yadī vā pit-  
ryeṇa | yena tṛvīyād dhena vo astu tasmā a-[17]haṁ devebhyo  
haviṣā juhomi |

In pāda a I can make no suggestion for yad mṛjataṁ, but the rest of the pāda seems good; in b °āinasād: in c I would read yenartvīyād eno; in a and c read asti. Edgerton suggests anṛjtvam for yad mṛjataṁ.

yad vaṣ krūraṁ manasā yaś ca vāco devenasā-[18]d yadī vā  
pītryeṇa | āpāiva duṣvapnim api datsva vadhwam athā nandinā  
su-[19]manasas sumetā

The ms corrects du of duṣvapnim to dva.

Read yac ca in pāda a, devāinasād in b; for c we might read apāiva duṣvapnyam api dhatsva baddham; in d sameta would seem possible.

ekavratā vi dhināṁ bhajāntv apurohi tena vo rāṣṭraṁ pra-  
[135a]prathayantu devāḥ samyag vo rāṣṭraṁ saha vo manāṁsi  
samīcīnāṁ paśavo viśva-[2]rūpāḥ samīcīnānāṁ vo aham asmi  
vrahmā samyāñco devā havām ā yantu [3] meyimam. |

In pāda a I would suggest vidhiṁ bhajantv apurohitās but could not defend it strongly; in b prathayantu, in d samīcīnānāṁ and the same in e; in f havam and probably ma imam. This is stanza 6.

yathāpas samudrāya samīcīr vahatu śriyam | evā rāṣṭrāmya  
[4]me devāḥ samyāñco vahatu śriyam. |

In pāda b read vahanti, in c rāṣṭrāya, in d vahantu.

saṁsṛṣṭam vo rāṣṭraṁ prathayantu gobhir aśvāi-[5]s saṁsṛṣṭam  
anyenerayā rasena | mayā vrahmaṇā prathamānāṁso vasiyāṁsa [6]  
śadām ugrā bhavātha |

In pāda c read mayā and prathamānāso, in d vasiyāṁsas and śadam.

bahur yo vā prasṛṇo dhṛṣṇir astu bahukumārāḥ pa-[7]tirūpāḥ  
pīṭhāṁ satyaṁ vadantas sumatīm caranto mi traṁ grhyānā ja-  
[8]naso yantu sahyam

In pāda a read pramṛṇo dhṛṣṇur asti, in b pratirūpāḥ; in d read mitram and probably janāso.

īha kṣātram dyumnam uta rāṣṭraṁ samīto indriyam paśubhiḥ  
samvidā-[9]nām madhnavānapriyān yāś ca dvīṣmedam



Read kṣatram in pāda a; in b sam etv seems probable tho  
sam tv might be possible: in c I would suggest mathnātu  
tān apriyān yāñś ca dviṣma, ending the stanza with this familiar  
phrase.

(dviṣmedaṁ) rāṣṭram prathatām sarvadeva | idaṁ rāṣṭram kṛta-  
[10]mad vīravaj jīṣṇūgram idaṁ rāṣṭra paśumad vrahmaṣṭddham  
| idaṁ rāṣṭram hataśatru ji-[11]ṣṇu

For pāda a read idaṁ rāṣṭram °sarvadevam, pāda b as above  
at 3a; in c rāṣṭram and omit the colon after °vṛddham; in d  
hataśatru. In spite of the punctuation these four pādas seem  
to belong together.

sapatnasāham pramṛṇāmīdam rāṣṭram dṛḍham ugram sādha-  
mitram abhimāti-[12]śāham sarga jigāya dhṛtavā vṛṣṭiḥ z 4 z

Read: sapatnasāham pramṛṇam idaṁ rāṣṭram dṛḍham ugram  
| sādhamitram abhimātiśāham sargo jigāya †dhṛtavā vṛṣṭiḥ  
z 12 z 4 z

In d I have thought of dhṛtavān vṛṣṭeḥ and also dṛtāv iva  
vṛṣṭiḥ, but neither seems very attractive: Edgerton suggests  
jigāyadhṛta iva vṛṣṭeḥ.

The general intent of this hymn is clear but the details have  
not come out at all well.

## 5

## (Ś 19.31)

[f135a12] ādumbareṇa ma-[13]nīnā puṣṭikāmāya vedhaś paś-  
ūnām sarveṣām sphātiṁ goṣṭham me savitā[14]vītā karat. | yo  
agnir gārhapatyas paśūnām adhipā asat. udumbaro vṛ-[15]ṣā  
mañis sam mā sṛjatu puṣṭyā karīṣṇam phalāvatīm svadhām irām  
ca no gr-[16]ha | udumbarasya tejasā dhātā puṣṭim dadhātu te |  
yad dvīpās catuṣpās ca yā-[17]ny ā ye rasā | grhṇīyām teṣām  
bhāumānam bibhratā udumbaram ra mañim puṣṭim pa-[18]śūnām  
pari jagrabhāham catuṣpadām dvīpadām yaś ca dhānyam payas  
| paśūnām rasa-[19]m odhīnām vṛhaspatīs savitā me ni yaśchāt.  
| aham paśūnām adhi māni ma-[f135b]yī puṣṭim puṣṭipatir dadhā-  
tu | mahyam ādumbaro mañis prajayā ca dhanena ca | i-[2]ndreṇa  
jīvato mañir ā mam saha varcasas | devo mañis sapattrahā dhanasā  
dhanasā-[3]ye | paśor anyasva bhāumānam gavām sphātiṁ ni yaśchatu  
| yathāgre tvam vanaspate puṣṭyā [4] saha jajñiṣe | evā dhanasya

me sphātim ā dadāti sarasvatīm | ā me dhīno [5] sarasvatī payasphātim ca dhānyam | sinīvāly upāvahad ayam codumbaro maṇiḥ [6] z om ayam codumbaro maṇiḥ z om tvam maṇinām ipā vṛṣāmi trāi puṣṭīm pu-[7]ṣṭipatir jajāna | tvayi me vājā draviṇāni sarvudumbara sa tvam assat sahasvā[8]rād arātim abhītiḥkṣayam ca | grāmaṇir asi grāmanīś chāyābhīṣikto bhi [9] mā sica varcasā tejo si tejo mayi dhārāyānadharir aśarir mayi dhehi | [10] puṣṭir asi puṣṭyā mā sam agdhi grhamedhe grhapatīm mā kṛṇu udumbara sa tvame [11] smāsu rayam sarvavīram ni yaścha rāyaspoṣāya prati muñce aham tān ayam odumba-[12]ro maṇir vīro vīrāya ucyate | sa nas sanīm madhumatīm kṛnotu rayīm ca nas sa-[13]rvavīram ni yaśchāt. z 5 z

The margin corrects to adhipā in f135a19, and to yaśchatām in f135b13.

Read: āudumbareṇa maṇinā puṣṭikāmāya vedhase | paśūnām sarveṣām sphātim goṣṭhe me savitā karat z 1 z yo agnir gārhapatyas paśūnām adhipā asat | āudumbaro vṛṣā maṇis sam mā sṛjatu puṣṭyā z 2 z kariṣiṇīm phalavatīm svadhām irām ca no grhe | āudumbarasya tejasā dhātā puṣṭīm dadhātu me z 3 z yad dvīpāc ca catuṣpāc ca yāny annāni ye rasāḥ | grhiṇīyām teṣām bhūmānām hibhṛad āudumbarām maṇim z 4 z puṣṭīm paśūnām pari jagrabhāham catuṣpadām dvīpadām yac ca dhānyam | payas paśūnām rasam oṣadhīnām vṛhaspatis savitā me ni yacchāt z 5 z aham paśūnām adhipā asāni mayi puṣṭīm puṣṭipatir dadhātu | mahyam āudumbaro maṇir draviṇāni ni yacchatu z 6 z upa māudumbaro maṇis prajāyā ca dhanena ca | indreṇa jinvito maṇir ā māgan saha varcasā z 7 z devo maṇis sapatnabā dhanasā dhanasātaye | paśor annasya bhūmānām gavām sphātim ni yacchatu z 8 z yathāgre tvam vanaspate puṣṭyā saha jajñise | evā dhanasya me sphātim ā dadhātu sarasvatī z 9 z ā me dhanam sarasvatī payasphātim ca dhānyam | sinīvāly upāvahad ayam cāudumbaro maṇiḥ z 10 z tvam maṇinām adhipā vṛṣāsi tvayi puṣṭīm puṣṭipatir jajāna | tvayīme vājā draviṇāni sarvāudumbara sa tvam asmat sahasvārād arātim abhītim kṣayam ca z 11 z grāmaṇir asi grāmaṇir utthāyābhīṣikto 'bhi mā siñca varcasā | tejo 'si tejo mayi dhārāyā † nadharir aśarir † mayi dhehi z 12 z puṣṭir asi puṣṭyā mā sam agdhi grhamedhi grhapatīm mā kṛṇu | āudumbara sa tvam smāsu dhehi rayīm ca nas sarvavīram ni yaccha rāyaspoṣāya prati muñce aham

tvām z 13 z ayam āudumbaro mañir viro virāyocyate | sa nas  
saniñ madhumatīm kṛṇotu rayiñ ca nas sarvavīrañ ni yac-  
chāt z 14 z 5 z

Whitney translates vedhase in 1b tho the Ś text has vedhasā.

Our ms omits 6d and 7a, which I have supplied from Ś. The emendation in 11e is close to our ms and would seem as good as any of the other suggestions. In st 13 I have restored from Ś. In 14b Ś has badhyate which may be the true reading here.

## 6

[f135b13] bhagasya rājñas sumatīm gamema yo havante [14]  
bahudhā mānuṣāsaḥ | karma kṛtvāno bhagam ā vr̥ṇite sa no javeṣu  
subha-[15]gām kṛṇotu bhagam purastāt pratibuddhyamānā paśyema  
devīs uśasañ vibhātīm [16] prāṇīcī śubhrā draviṇena sākañ bhagam  
vahato aditir na eti | bhago no dya [17] ssavite dadhātu devānām  
panthā vibhīno na ehi | arvācī bhadras sumiti-[18]n na etv adhā bhage  
ma sumatī no stu z bhagena vācam īṣitām vadāni sarasvatī [19] ma-  
dhumatīm suvarcasāḥ bhagenādattam upa medam āgāmñ yathā var-  
casvān mami-[f20]tim āvadāni | bhago mā gūṣv avatu bhago māvatu  
dhānye | akṣeṣu strīṣu mā [f136a] bhago bhago māvatu rattyā bhago na  
madhyamāneṣu prātar mā bhagāgamat. | bhago mā prātar a-[2]  
vatu bhago madhyandinañ pari | aparādhne vayan bhagam vāsāiva  
pari darma te | bhagam devebhya-[3]s subhagam bhagam manuṣe-  
bhyah divas pṛthivyāham antarikṣād bhagam vr̥ṇe | so gre ramatām  
[4] mayī sa mā prāvatu varcasā | bhagam vr̥ṇā ragvañ vahanti  
vanī prayanto bhagam id dhavante | [5] bhagenu dattam upa medam  
āgāmñ viśvañ bhūtam draviṇena bhadrā | bhagena devās sam agam  
mayī-[6]mā viśvā bhuvanābhivaste | prayaśchan nayati bahudhā  
vasūni | sa no dadhātu atamad va-[7]miṣṭhañ vāto bhago varuṇo  
vāyur agniḥ kṣetrasya patnī suhavā no stu | hiraṇyākṣo [8] adhi-  
paśyo ṛcākṣās sarvāismākañ sajamāno na ehi ud ehi deva  
sūrya saha [9] sāubhāgyena sā ṛṣabhasya vājena sahāvatañ karaṇena  
| hiraṇyenety ekā [10] z 6 z

Read: bhagasya rājñas sumatīm gamema yañ havante  
bahudhā mānuṣāsaḥ | karma kṛtvāno bhagam ā vr̥ṇite sa no  
javeṣu subhagāñ kṛṇotu z 1 z bhagam purastāt pratibuddhyamānām  
paśyema devīm uśasañ vibhātīm | prāṇīcī śubhrā draviṇena  
sākañ bhagam vahatu aditir na āitu z 2 z bhagam no 'dya



savitā dadhātu devānāṃ panthā vibhinno na ehi | arvāci bhadrā  
 sumatir na etv adhā bhage sā sumanā no 'stu z 3 z bhagena  
 vācam iṣitām vadāni sarasvatīm madhumatīm suvarcasam | bha-  
 genādattam upa medam āgan yathā varcasvān sam'tim āvadāni  
 z 4 z bhago mā goṣv avatu bhago māvatu dhānye | akṣesu strīṣu mā  
 bhago bhago māvatu rātryām z 5 z bhago mā madhyamāhneṣu prātar  
 mā bhaga āgamat | bhago mā prātar avatu bhago madhyandinām  
 pari z 6 z aparāhne vayan bhagam vāsa iva pari dadhma te | bhagam  
 devebhyas subhagam bhagam manuṣebhyaḥ z 7 z divas pṛthivyā  
 aham antarikṣād bhagam vṛṇe | so 'gre ramatām mayi sa mā  
 prāvatu varcasā z 8 z bhagam † vṛṇā vagvam † vahanti vane  
 prayanto bhagam id dhavante | bhagenādattam upa medam  
 āgan viśvam bhūtam draviṇena bhadrām z 9 z bhagena devas  
 sam agan mayimā viśvā bhuvanābhivaste | prayacchann eti  
 bahudhā vasūni sa no dadhāt v † atamad vasiṣṭham z 10 z vāto  
 bhago varuṇo vāyur agniḥ kṣetrasya patnī suhavā no 'stu |  
 hiraṇyākṣo atipaśyo nṛcakṣās sarvāis sākam sajamāno na ehi z 11  
 z ud ehi deva sūrya saha sāubhāgyena | sahaṣabhasya vājena  
 sahāvataṃ karaṇena z 12 z hiraṇyenety ekā z 13 z 6 z anu 1 z

Some of the emendations suggested are somewhat doubtful, particularly 3b: in 9a we would get a good pāda by reading vṛṇāṇā navagvam. Edgerton suggests yaveṣu in 1d; and dadhma in 7b since te seems out of place in the hymn. St 13 must have appeared in some lost part of the ms.

## 7

(S 19.27)

[136a10] gobhiḥ tvā pātu arṣabho vṛṣa tvā pātu vājibhiḥ vāyus tvā  
 vrā-[11]hmayā tv indras tvā pātu indrī momas tvā pātu oṣadhibhin  
 nakṣatratrāis pātu sūryaḥ | [12] mādhitis tvā candro vṛtrahā vātah  
 prāṇena rakṣatu tisro divas tistras pṛthi-[13]vīs trīṇy antarikṣāni  
 caturas samudrān. | trivṛtam stomaṃ trivṛtāpa āhus tā-[14]s tvā  
 rakṣantu trivṛtās trivṛtibhiḥ | trīn nākam trīṇi samudrān trīṇi  
 vradhnām [15] trīṇi vāiṣṭapām trīṇi mātariśvanas trīṇi sūryān,  
 gopīṣṇ kalpayāmi [16] te ghṛtēna tvā sam ukṣāmy agnājyena  
 vardhayaṃ agneś candrasya sūryasya mā prāṇam [17] māyino  
 dabham | mā va prāṇam mā vo pānam mā haro mīyano dabham |  
 bhrājanto vi-[18]śravedamo devā dāivyaena māvataḥ prāṇenāgnīm  
 sam dadhata vātah prāṇena sam-[19]hata prāṇena viśvatomukham

sūryam devājanayam āyusṛktā jīvāyusmān ji-[f136b]va sā mṛṣā  
 prāṇendmānvyatām jīva mā mṛtyor upa gā viṣam | devānām niha-  
 [2]tām nidhirmam indrān avindam pathibhir devayānāih āpo  
 hiraṇyam jugubhis tri-[3]vṛdbhih tās tvā rakṣantu trivṛtās trivṛdbhih  
 trayastriṅśad davās trīṇi ca vīryā-[4]ṇi priyāyamāṇā jugupur upsv  
 antaḥ | asmiṅś candre adhi yad dhiraṇyam tenā-[5]yam kṛṇavad  
 vīryāṇi z 1 z

The ms corrects to mṛthā in f136b1, and to abindhām in f136b2.

Read: gobhiṣ tvā pātv ṛṣabho vṛṣā tvā pātu vājibhiḥ | vāyuṣ tvā  
 vrahmaṇā pātv indras tvā pātv indriyāih z 1 z somas tvā pātv  
 oṣadhībhir nakṣatrāih pātu sūryaḥ | mādbhis tvā candro vṛtrahā  
 vātaḥ prāṇena rakṣatu z 2 z tisro divas tisaṣ pṛthivis trīṇy  
 antarikṣāṇi caturas samudrān | trivṛtarū stomān trivṛta āpa āhus  
 tās tvā rakṣantu trivṛtas trivṛdbhiḥ z 3 z trīn nākān trīn samudrān  
 trīn vradhnān trīn vāiṣṭapān | trīn mātariśvanas trīn sūryān goptṛn  
 kalpayāmi te z 4 z ghṛtena tvā sam ukṣāmy agnā ājyena var-  
 dhayan | agneś candrasya sūryasya mā prāṇam māyino dabhan  
 z 5 z mā vaḥ prāṇam mā vo 'pānam mā haro māyino dabhan  
 | bhrājanto viśvavedaso devā dāivyena māvata z 6 z prāṇenāg-  
 nīm sam dadhati vātaḥ prāṇena samhitāḥ | prāṇena viśvato-  
 mukham sūryam devā ajanayan z 7 z āyusāyusṛktām jīvāyusmān  
 jīva mā mṛthāḥ | prāṇenātmanvatām jīva mā mṛtyor upa gā  
 vaṣam z 8 z devānām nihitam nidhim yam indro anvavindat  
 pathibhir devayānāih | āpo hiraṇyam jugupus trivṛdbhis tās tvā  
 rakṣantu trivṛtas trivṛdbhiḥ 9 z trayastriṅśad devās trīṇi ca  
 vīryāṇi priyāyamāṇā jugupur apsv antaḥ | asmiṅś candre  
 adhi yad dhiraṇyam tenāyam kṛṇavad vīryāṇi z 10 z 1 z

The corrections bring the text here almost into accord with that of Ś: in 2c mādbhis as here should probably be read also in Ś; in 6c Ś has dhāvata, in 7a it has sṛjanti.

## 8

(S 19.27.11-15)

[f136b5] ye devā divy ekādaśa stha te devāso [6] havir idam  
 juṣadhvam | asapattraṁ purastāt paścān no bhayam kṛtam. |  
 savitā mā dakṣi-[7]ṇatu uttarān na mā śacipatīh divo mādityā  
 rakṣantu bhūmyā rakṣantu gṇayaḥ ||8|| indrāgnī rakṣatām mā

*purastād aśvināv abhitaś carma yaśchatām tiraścīnāgnyā* [9] *rak-*  
*ṣatu jātavedā bhūtakṛto me sarvatas santu varmaḥ* z 2 z

Read: ye devā divy ekādaśa stha te devāso havir idam juṣ-  
adhvam z 1 z <ye devā antarikṣa ekādaśa °°° z 2 z ye devāḥ  
pṛthivyām ekādaśa stha te devāso havir idam juṣadhvam z 3 z >  
asapatnam purastāt paścān no 'bhayaṁ kṛtam | savitā mā dak-  
ṣinata uttarān mā śacīpatih z 4 z divo mādityā rakṣantu bhūmyā  
rakṣantv agnayaḥ | indrāgnī rakṣatām mā purastād aśvināv  
abhitaś śarma yacchatām | tiraścīnāgnyā rakṣatu jātavedā  
bhūtakṛto me sarvatas santu varma z 5 z 2 z

Stanzas 2 and 3 have been supplied from Ś; our ms is perfectly  
capable of making such omissions without leaving a trace and  
the address to eleven gods seems less probable than the address  
to three groups of eleven; cf RV 1.139.11 and see Whitney on  
Ś 19.27.

## 9

[f136b9] ye psv antaḥ [10] agnayaḥ praviṣṭas sroko manohā  
khano nirdāha | ātmadūṣis tanūdūṣi idam [11] tvānatsu sṛjāmi nira-  
enam nirṛtaṁ sṛjāmi |

Read: ye 'psv antar agnayaḥ praviṣṭā mroko manohā khano  
nirdāha ātmadūṣis tanūdūṣih | idam tām ati sṛjāmi nir enam  
nirṛtaṁ sṛjāmi z 1 z

Cf SMB 1.7.1ab and Ś 16.1.3 and 4; also Ś 10.5.21.

ābhūtyā satvoya nir duṣvapnyam [12] svāmī | vasiṣṭhārundhoṣṭi  
mā mā pālām prajāpateḥ

In pāda a we need something like sahovatyā; in d read sā  
mā and probably prajāpate. With pāda b cf Ś 16.1.11 and with  
c RVKh 10.85.5b.

prastaro vṛhaspateḥ ke-[13]śāḥ ardhudham cakṣuś suśrutāu karṇāv  
akṣatāu | prāṇāpānāu hṛdayājara-[14]sam mā māsin madhyam-  
āriṣam |

We might read in this keśā ardhukam cakṣus suśrutāu, and  
perhaps also sā mā mā hīnsin; after that I have no suggestion.  
Colon should stand after karṇāu.

āpo mā śundhantu duṣkṛtā duritā yo mā ca-[15]kṛma | ayo mā  
śuddhā udītas tanobhiḥ

I would suggest here duṣkṛtād duritād yad vā; but TS. 1.8.5.3e



is *duritā yāni cakṣma*, and perhaps we might read so here. For *ayo ma* I have no suggestion; *śuddhā* and *uditas* are possible as words and we should read *tanūbhiḥ*, but I make nothing out of the *pāda*.

*vāiśvānaro rāsmibhir naṣ punātu vātaḥ* [16] *prāṇeneśiro navobhiḥ dyāvāprthivī payasā payasvatī | rīāvarī ya-* [17] *jñīye mā punītām*

Read *nabhobhiḥ* in b, and remove colon at the end of c. This stanza appears Ś.6.62.1; TB 1.4.8.3; and MS 3.11.10; the Yajus texts have *mā* in a as well as other variants.

*punantu mā agnayo gārhapatyāḥ punantu mā prṣṇayo de-* [18] *devajūtām | punantu sā śakvarī somapṛsthāḥ pavamānāso vajriṇaḥ*

The ms corrects to *pavamānāpo*.

Read: *punantu māgnayo gārhapatyāḥ punantu mā prṣṇayo devajūtāḥ | punantu mā śakvarī somapṛsthāḥ pavamānāso vajriṇaḥ* z 6 z

[19] *yaṣ pavitā ma punātu mā vṛhadbhir deva savitāḥ varṣiṣṭhāir dyātmavo pari*

Read *sa punātu* and *devas savitā*; the omission of *sa* would improve the rhythm: we may read *varṣiṣṭhāir* but for the rest I can get nothing.

*vrahma-* [20] *savāiḥ punātu mā rājasavāiḥ punātu mā śataḥ pavitrā vitatā tiraś ca ya* [f137a] *tebhir mā devās savitā punātu |*

Read: *vrahmasavāiḥ punātu mā rājasavāiḥ punātu mā | śataḥ pavitrā vitatā tiraś ca yā tebhir mā devas savitā punātu* z 8 z

With *pādas* cd cf MS 1.2.1 where *vitatāny āsu* stands for our *vitatā tiraś ca yā*.

*śataḥ ca mā pavitāraḥ punantu sahasraḥ ca srava-* [2] *ṇeṣo āpaḥ | āpa iva pūto sṣy agnir iva suvarcā sūrya iva sucakṣā*

Read: *śataḥ ca mā pavitāraḥ punantu sahasraḥ ca sravaṇeṣv āpaḥ | āpa iva pūto 'smy agnir iva suvarcās sūrya iva sucakṣāḥ* z 9 z

*urū-* [3] *ṇasāv asṛpā udumbarāu yamasya dūtāu caratāu janān anu | lāv asmaḥbhyam* [4] *ārṣe ārṣe dṛ sūryāya | punar dātām asmad dehi bhadram.* z 3 z

Read: *urūṇasāv asutṛpā udumbarāu yamasya dūtāu carato*

janān anu | tāv asmabhyam dṛṣe-dṛṣe sūryāya punar dātām asum  
adyeha bhādrām z 10 z 3 z

This stanza occurs RV 10.14.12; Ś 18.2.13; TA 6.3.2; the first two pādas appear again in Bk 19 on f266b. RV and Ś have udumbalāu but probably udumbarāu can stand with the same meaning; if dṛṣe-dṛṣe is not acceptable we will have to read with the others dṛṣaye.

## 10

[f137a5] agan devāsu svar aganmāganma jyotir aganma ma-  
hendro si paramēṣṭhī sumitra [6] viśvatomukham ā te ayāni sam-  
dṛśah udyann adya mitramahas sapatrān neva [7] jahi divīnān  
raśmibhis saha rātrīnāms tamasā vidhī | s te hanītv adha-[8]mañ  
tamā sūryasyāvṛtam anv āvṛte dakṣiṇām anv āvṛtam | agnes tejasā  
te-[9]jastī bhūyāmas indras-yendriya-yendriyān bhūyāsam | idam  
aham agne-[10]stejasvindrasyendriyeṇa somasya dyumnena viśveṣān  
devānān kratunāmuṣyā-[11]muṣyāyanaṣyāmuṣyāḥ putrasya varcas  
teja indriyam prāṇam āyur ni [12] veṣṭayami āyur ni yacchet.  
idam aham agnes tejasvindrasyendriyeṇa so-[13]masya dyumnena  
viśveṣān devānān kratunāmuṣyāmuṣyāyanaṣyāmuṣyāḥ putra-[14]  
sya varcas teja indriyam prāṇam āyur ādāya tūtyāyanam pāśeṣitvā  
[15] duṣṣvapnena samstṛjya mṛtyor vyāntā samn api dadhāmi z 4 z

Read: agan devas svar aganma jyotir aganma | mahendro 'si  
paramēṣṭhī sumitra viśvatomukham ā te ayāni samdṛśah z 1 z  
udyann adya mitramahas sapatrān me 'va jahi | diva  
enān raśmibhis saha rātrīnāms tamasā vidhī te yantv adha-  
mañ tamah z 2 z sūryasyāvṛtam anvāvarte dakṣiṇām anv  
āvṛtam | agnes tejasā tejasvī bhūyāsam indras-yendriya-yendriyā-  
vān bhūyāsam z 3 z idam aham agnes tejasvindrasyendriyeṇa  
somasya dyumnena viśveṣān devānān kratunāmuṣyāmuṣyāyanaṣ-  
asyāmuṣyāḥ putrasya varcas teja indriyam prāṇam āyur ni  
veṣṭayami | āyur ni yacchet z 4 z idam aham agnes tejasvindrasy-  
endriyeṇa somasya dyumnena viśveṣān devānān kratunāmuṣ-  
yāmuṣyāyanaṣyāmuṣyāḥ putrasya varcas teja indriyam prāṇam  
āyur ādāya [tūtyāyanam pāśeṣitvā] duṣṣvapnena samstṛjya  
mṛtyor vyānte samn api dadhāmi z 5 z 4 z

I am not at all sure of devas in st 1a; Ś 16.9.3. has aganma  
svah svar aganma: toward the end of 5 perhaps we might read  
bhūtyā enam pāśa iṣitvā, or ādāyābhūtyā<sup>9</sup>. For st 2 cf RV 1.50.

11a and Ś 13.1.32bcd; vidhīs is not quotable but seems possible; perhaps vadhīs would be better. For st 3 cf Ś 10.5.37ab and KS 5.5; for the rest cf Ś 10.5.36 and similar stanzas.

## 11

[137a16] *yo nas svo yo araṇo bhrātṛvyaś ca jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca marma* [17] *skandheṣu vindatām | yo mā śayyānām jāgrataṁ yaś ca suptaṁ jighāṁsati | indra-* [18] *ś ca tasyāgniś ca bāhū marmāṇi vṛścatām yo mā carantaṁ tiṣṭhantaṁ āśinaṁ ca jighāṁ-* [19] *sati | indraś ca tam asmin agniś ca duritaṁ prati muñcatām | yo mā cakṣuṣā manasā* [20] *ś ca vācā jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasmāgni hināṁsi vahaatāpi tā yaś pi-* [f137b] *śāco yātudhānaś kravyād yo mām jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca kruddhāu digdhā-* [2] *bhir asyatām | yo mā vrahmaṇā tapasā yaś ca yajñāir jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgni-* [3] *ś ca hṛdaye dhana vindatām | yo me vrahma yo me tapam balaṁ śreṣṭham jighāṁsati | i-* [4] *ndraś ca tasmāgniś ca mūrdhānaṁ prati vindatām | yo me annaṁ yo me rasaṁ vācam śreṣṭham* [5] *jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasmā agniś cāstraṁ hāṅkaraṁ asyatām | yo me tantum yo me* [6] *prajāṁ cakṣuś śrotraṁ jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasmāgniś cehitaṁ deveṣu vindatām yo* [7] *me gobhīdaścad aśvabhyaś puruṣebhyaś indraś sa tasmāgniś ca jyānaṁ deveṣu vindatām z* [8] *z 5 z*

Read: *yo nas svo yo araṇo bhrātṛvyaś ca jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca marma skandheṣu vindatām z 1 z yo mā śayyānām jāgrataṁ yaś ca suptaṁ jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca bāhū marmāṇi vṛścatām z 2 z yo mā carantaṁ tiṣṭhantaṁ āśinaṁ ca jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasmā agniś ca duritaṁ prati muñcatām z 3 z yo mā cakṣuṣā manasā yaś ca vācā jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasmā agniś ca hināṁsi vahaatāpi tā z 4 z yaś piśāco yātudhānaś kravyād yo mām jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca kruddhāu digdhābhir asyatām z 5 z yo mā vrahmaṇā tapasā yaś ca yajñāir jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca hṛdaye dhanaṁ vindatām z 6 z yo me vrahma yo me tapo balaṁ śreṣṭham jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca mūrdhānaṁ prati vindatām z 7 z yo me annaṁ yo me rasaṁ vācam śreṣṭham jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasmā agniś cāstraṁ hāṅkaraṁ asyatām z 8 z yo me tantum yo me prajāṁ cakṣuś śrotraṁ jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasmā agniś ca hetim deveṣu vindatām z 9 z yo me gobhyo bhīdaścad aśvebhyaś*



puruṣebhyaḥ | indraś ca tasmā agniś ca jyānam deveṣu vindatām  
z 10 z 5 z

In 4d Edgerton suggests heṣāṁsi vahatām prati; something of the sort would seem appropriate. In 5d supply iṣubhis with digdhābhir, or else read digdhebhīr. In 10a Edgerton suggests 'bhidruṣad, which fits well.

## 12

[f137b8] yo me bhūtim anāmayaḥ dyutum āyur jighāṁsati | indraś  
ca [9] tasmāgniś ca divo śmaśānam asyatām yo me veśmi yo me  
śaphām śriyaṁ śreṣṭhām [10] jighāṁsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca  
kṛtyāṁ vyatanatām grhe | [11] yo me mṛtyum amamṛddhim ahnā  
rātryā detsamī | indraś ca tasyāgniś cārci-[12]śā dahatām svam |  
yo me prāṇam yo me pānam vyānam śreṣṭhām jighāṁsati | i-[13]  
ndraś ca tasyāgniś ca prāṇam prāṇānūhatām | yo mā devajanāis  
sarṣāir vidya-[14]lā vrāhmaṇā dyamā | agastyena medine | indraś  
cāgniś ca tam hatām tvam sabhya u-[15]dā pra daha tvam agnir  
vāiśvānaro vṛṣā | yo mā turas sam dekṣātāir yaś ca dīpsati [16] vidva-  
lā | yo mā dīpsati dīpsantam yaś ca dīpsati dīpsatam | vāiśvānarasya  
dañ-[17]ṣṭrayor agner api ṛdhāmi tam | abhi tam dyāvāpṛthivī  
sam taptām tat te ghameny u-[18]cyatām | nirṛtyā vadhyatām  
pāṣe yo naṣ pāpaṁ cikitsati pratyagvadhah praty u-[19]j jahih  
bhrāturyāṁ ghoracakṣuṣā | indrāgnī enān vṛṣcatām mahiṣām u-  
[20]tseṣi kaś cana | pratyuvadhena pracyutān bhrāturyān dviṣato  
mama | apānām prā-[21]ṇām sacid yad dviṣatas pārayādharā |  
agre ye mā jighāṁsanti agne ye [f138a] ca dviṣanti mām agne ye  
mopa tapyante teṣāṁ priyatamaṁ jahi vataṁ dviṣantam ava-[2]  
dhiṣam andhena tamasāvṛtam. | yataṁ martyo bhi padyaṣva mā  
te moci mahodarah z [3] z 6 z

Read: yo me bhūtim anāmayaḥ dyuttam āyur jighāṁsati  
| indraś ca tasmā agniś ca divo śmaśānam asyatām z 1 z yo me  
veśma yo me śaphān śriyaṁ śreṣṭhām jighāṁsati | indraś ca  
tasyāgniś ca kṛtyāṁ vi tanutām grhe z 2 z yo me mṛtyum asamṛd-  
dhim ahnā rātryā ditsati | indraś ca tasyāgniś cārciśā dahatām  
svam z 3 z yo me prāṇam yo me pānam vyānam śreṣṭhām jighāṁ-  
sati | indraś ca tasyāgniś ca prāṇam-prāṇam anu hatām z 4 z yo  
mā devajanāis sarṣāir vidhyatā vrāhmaṇā ṛdyamā | agastyena  
medināv indraś cāgniś ca tam hatām z 5 z tam satyāujāḥ pra  
dahatām agnir vāiśvānaro vṛṣā | yo mā durasyād ṛdekṣātāir

yaś ca dipsati vidvalaḥ z 6 z yo mā dipsaty adipsantaṁ yaś  
 ca dipsati dipsantaṁ | vāśvānarasya daṣṭrayor agner api  
 dadhāmi tam z 7 z abhi tam dyāvāpṛthivī samītapatām tat te  
 'ghamenir ucyatām | nirṭya badhyatām pāse yo naṣ pāpaṁ  
 cikitsati z 8 z pratyagvadhaḥ praty uj jahi bhrātṛvyān ghora-  
 cakṣuṣaḥ | indrāgni enān vṛcatām māśām uccheṣi kaś cana  
 z 9 z pratyagvadhena pracyutān bhrātṛvyān dviṣato mama |  
 apānān prāpān sacid yad dviṣataḥ †pārayādharā z 10 z agne ye  
 mā jighāṁsanty agne ye ca dviṣanti mām | agne ye mopa tapyante  
 teṣāṁ priyatamaṁ jahi z 11 z tam dviṣantaṁ avadhiṣam andhena  
 tamaśāvṛtam | etaṁ martyo 'bhi padyasva mā te moci ma-  
 hodaraḥ z 12 z 6 z

In st 2b if śephān may mean "cattle" it can stand; otherwise it would hardly seem possible. At the end of 5b perhaps dhyāsat might be acceptable. For st 6 cf Ś 4.36.1: in 6c perhaps dikṣābhīr is possible, but Ś in c has °dipsāc ca. Our st 7 is a variant of Ś 4.36.2. At the end of 10d perhaps spārayād dharāḥ is intended, or something similar. With our 9d cf Ś 11.9.13c, and with our 12d cf Ś 4.16.7b.

## 13

[f138a3] dyāvāpṛthivī sannahyethām mama rāṣṭrāya jayantī a-  
 [4]śātebhyo hetim asyantī vātā pavamānāu saṁ nahyeṣāṁ mama  
 rāṣṭrāya jayantā [5] amitrebhyo hetim asyantām indrāgnī saṁ-  
 nahyethām mitrāvaruṇā | bhavāśa-[6]rvā saṁ | aśvinā saṁnahyeṣāṁ  
 mama rāṣṭrāya jayantā | amitrebhyo hetim asya-[7]ntāu marutas  
 saṁnahyadhvaṁ mama rāṣṭrayi jayanto mitrebhyo hetim asyantaḥ  
 pita-[8]ras saṁnahyadhvaṁ mama rāṣṭrāya jayanto mitrebhyo  
 hetim asyantaḥ sūryacandra-[9]masāu sannahyeṣāṁ mama rāṣṭrāya  
 jayantā | amitrebhyo ho hetim asyantāu [10] ahorātre sannahyeṣāṁ  
 mama rāṣṭrāya jayantī amitrebhyo hetim asyantī z [11] z 7 z

Read: dyāvāpṛthivī saṁ nahyethām mama rāṣṭrāya jayantī  
 amitrebhyo hetim asyantī z 1 z vātā pavamānāu saṁ nahyethām  
 ° jayantā ° asyantāu z 2 z indrāgnī saṁ nahyethām ° jayantā  
 ° asyantāu z 3 z mitrāvaruṇā saṁ nahyethām ° jayantā  
 ° asyantāu z 4 z bhavāśarvā saṁ nahyethām ° jayantā °  
 ° asyantāu z 5 z aśvinā saṁ nahyethām ° jayantā ° asyantāu  
 z 6 z marutas saṁ nahyadhvaṁ ° jayanto 'mitrebhyo hetim

asyantaḥ z 7 z pitaras saṁ nahyadhvaṁ °° jayanto °° asyantaḥ  
z 8 z sūryācandramasāu saṁ nahyethāṁ °° jayantā amitrebhyo  
hetim asyantāu z 9 z ahorātre saṁ nahyethāṁ mama rāṣṭrāya  
jayantī amitrebhyo hetim asyanti z 10 z 7 z

## 14

[f138a11] gandharvāpsarasas sannahyadhvaṁ mama rāṣṭrāya  
jayantā a-[12]mittrebhyo hetim asyantaḥ z sarvapunyaḥjanas saṁ  
vanaspatayas saṁ vanaspa-[13] tyās saṁ | vānaspatyās saṁ |  
oṣadhayas saṁ | vīrudhas saṁnahyadhvaṁ mama rāṣṭrā-[14]ya  
jananto amittrebhyo hetim asyantaḥ | sūryācandramasāu saṁ-  
nahyasva mama [15] rāṣṭrāya jayaṁ | amittrebhyo hetim asyantāu |  
prajāpalaye saṁ paramesṭhyaṁ saṁ-[16]nahyasva mama rāṣṭrāya  
jayaṁ amittrebhyo hetim asyāṁ | udārā udīrdhvaṁ vi-[17]śvāni  
bhūtāni saṁnahyethāṁ mama rāṣṭrāya jayanti amittrebhyo hetim  
asya-[18]ntī z 8 z

Read: gandharvāpsarasas saṁ nahyadhvaṁ mama rāṣṭrāya  
jayanto amitrebhyo hetim asyantaḥ z 1 z sarvapunyaḥjanas saṁ  
nahyadhvaṁ °° z 2 z vanaspatayas saṁ nahyadhvaṁ °° z  
3 z vānaspatyās saṁ nahyadhvaṁ °° z 4 z oṣadhayas saṁ  
nahyadhvaṁ °° jayantyo °° asyantyāḥ z 5 z vīrudhas saṁ nah-  
yadhvaṁ mama rāṣṭrāya jayantyo amitrebhyo hetim asyantyāḥ  
z 6 z sūryācandramasāu saṁ nahyethāṁ °° jayantā °° asyantāu  
z 7 z prajāpate saṁ nahyasva °° jayann °° asyan z 8 z paramesṭhīn  
saṁ nahyasva °° jayann °° asyan z 9 z udārā udīrdhvaṁ viśvāni  
bhūtāni saṁ nahyadhvaṁ mama rāṣṭrāya jayanty amitrebhyo  
hetim asyanti z 10 z 8 z

## 15

[f138a18] agnī rakṣatā sa imā senā rakṣatu | anuṣṭhātā anu  
[19] tiṣṭha sarve vīrā bhavantu me | indro rakṣatā | somo rakṣatā |  
varuṇo rakṣatā | [20] vāyū rakṣatā tvaṣṭā rakṣatā | dhātā | rakṣatā  
| savitā rakṣatā | sūryo rakṣatā [f138b] candramā rakṣatā | sa imāṁ  
senām rakṣatu anuṣṭhātā anu z 9 z

Read: agnī rakṣitā sa imāṁ senām rakṣatu | anuṣṭhātā anu  
tiṣṭha sarve vīrā bhavantu me z 1 z indro rakṣitā sa °°° z 2 z somo  
rakṣitā sa °°° z 3 z varuṇo rakṣitā sa °°° z 4 z vāyū rakṣitā sa  
°°° z 5 z tvaṣṭā rakṣitā sa °°° z 6 z dhātā rakṣitā sa °°° z 7 z  
savitā rakṣitā sa °°° z 8 z sūryo rakṣitā sa °°° z 9 z candramā



rakṣitā sa imām senām rakṣatu | anuṣṭhātār anu tiṣṭha sarve  
vīrā bhavantu me z 10 z 9 z

## 16

[f138b2] aha rakṣatṛ tad imām anuṣṭhātār anu rātrī rakṣatrī  
| sāyamām anuṣṭhātriy a-[3]nu z indrāṇī rakṣatrī | varuṇānī  
rakṣatrī | sinīvālī rakṣatrī | sā [4] imām anuṣṭhātriy anu | samudro  
rakṣatā | parjanya rakṣatā | vṛhaspatī [5] rakṣatā | prajāpatī  
rakṣatā | parameṣṭhī rakṣatā | sa imām senā rakṣa-[6]tu z anuṣ-  
ṭhātār anu tiṣṭha sarve vīrā bhavantu me z z ity atha-[7]rvaṇika-  
pāipalādasākhyām daśamaṣ kāṇḍas samāptah z z

Read: ahā rakṣitr tad imām senām rakṣatu | anuṣṭhātār anu  
tiṣṭha sarve vīrā bhavantu me z 1 z rātrī rakṣitrī semām °° |  
anuṣṭhatry anu °° z 2 z indrāṇī rakṣitrī semām °° z 3 z varuṇ-  
ānī rakṣitrī semām °°° z 4 z sinīvālī rakṣitrī semām senām  
rakṣatu | anuṣṭhātriy anu tiṣṭha sarve vīrā bhavantu me z 5 z  
samudro rakṣitā sa imām senām rakṣatu | anuṣṭhātār anu tiṣṭha  
sarve vīrā bhavantu me z 6 z parjanya rakṣitā sa °°° z 7 z  
vṛhaspatī rakṣitā sa °°° z 8 z prajāpatī rakṣitā sa °°° z 9 z  
parameṣṭhī rakṣitā sa imām senām rakṣatu | anuṣṭhātār anu  
tiṣṭha sarve vīrā bhavantu me z 10 z 10 z anu 2 z

ity atharvaṇikapāipalādasākhyām daśamaṣ kāṇḍas samāptah  
z z

# THE HEBREW TERMS FOR GOLD AND SILVER

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HEBREW *kāšf*, silver (Syr. *hispā*, Ass. *kaspu*)<sup>1</sup> is not a Babylonian loanword (contrast AkF 59).<sup>2</sup> Nor can it be combined with Arab. *kašb*, gain. The primary connotation is not *pale* (EB 4523; EB<sup>11</sup> 25, 112<sup>b</sup>) but *fusible*, just as Ass. *šarpu*, silver, is derived from *šarāpu*, to smelt. In Arabic we have *šarīf*, pure silver, and in modern Arabic, *rūbāq*, which has the same meaning, and *murāybaq*, refined. In Ethiopic, *bērār* denotes *silver*, while Heb. *barār* signifies *pure* (JBL 39, 164<sup>1</sup>). Arab. *šarrāf* (or *šajraf*) has the meaning *money changer* (prop. *argentarius*). Arab. *širf*, red (= *šarīf*; JBL 39, 172, l. 8; cf. also *šarb* and AJP 43, 241<sup>1</sup>) may be a transposition of Sum. *šabar*, copper, bronze,<sup>3</sup> while *širf*, pure, is derived from *šarāpu* (contrast AF 185). Heb. *šarāf*, to smelt, refine, test (> *Sarepta*, Ass. *Šarīptu*)<sup>4</sup> is a doublet of *šardf*, to burn, and Arab. *šārība*, to drink, orig. *to be parched with thirst* (cf. Heb. *ba'ār* to burn =

<sup>1</sup> I adhere to the term *Assyrian*. In my paper *Accadian and Sumerian*, which I presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Philadelphia, April 24, 1919, I stated that it was unnecessary to substitute *Accadian* for *Assyrian*, but in the abstract printed in JAOS 39, 143, d, the prefix *an* has been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> For the abbreviations see vol. 42 of this JOURNAL, p. 301, n. 1.—AT<sup>1</sup>=Kautsch-Bertholet, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (1923).—BuA=Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1920).—BuL=Bauer und Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (Halle, 1922).—JPOS=Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.—PB=Polychrome Bible.—SATA=Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl neu übersetzt von Gunkel, &c. (Göttingen, 1922).—pB=post-Biblical.—<sup>3</sup> (*infra*)=below; <sup>4</sup> (*supra*)=above; <sup>5</sup>=middle; <sup>6</sup> (*ad finem*)=at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Bronze is called in Arabic: *nubās āhmar* or *šād āhmar*; cf. *šāddā*, also *šādī'a*, to be dark red or brown, or rusty; *rūst* is connected with *russat*, *ruddy*, *red*, &c. Arab. *šād*, copper, is derived from Ass. *šādu-i-šād*, to shine, glisten (HW 564<sup>b</sup>) which is used specially of copper (*šādu la erf*).

<sup>4</sup> Modern *šarfand* < *šarpani* < *šarpattu*; cf. the reading *šarfātū* in I K 17, 9.

Arab. *bāḡira*, to suffer from insatiable thirst). The *f* in Heb. *šarf* is due to partial assimilation of the *b* (cf. *rūbāḡ* and *murāybaḡ* cited above) to the *š* as in Ass. *dišpu*, honey = Arab. *dibs* (JBL 34, 186) while the *ḡ* instead of *š* is due to the *r* (JBL 40, 171<sup>m</sup>, 173<sup>m</sup>) just as the *ḡ* in Heb. *ḡahāq*, to laugh, instead of *šahāq*, is due to the *q* (JBL 39, 164<sup>f</sup>).

Ass. *kašpu*, silver, must be combined with Arab. *sākaba* or *sābaka*, to smelt (syn. *aḡāba*). Arab. *saḡkaḥ* denotes an *ingot of gold or silver*. Arab. *sākaba*, to pour out (syn. *ḡābba*) corresponds to Ass. *šapāku*, Heb. *šafāk*. The *p* in *kašpu*, silver, and *šapāku*, to pour out, is due to partial assimilation of the original *b*. Ass. *sakāpu*, to overthrow, appears in Arabic as *bākasa* (JBL 38, 47, n. 3).

The term *ḡasmāl*, which we find in Ez. 1, 4, 27; 8, 2, denotes, according to **§**, *electrum*, i. e. a natural alloy of gold and silver.<sup>8</sup> No native gold entirely free from silver has ever been found. Pliny (33, 80) says: *Omni auro inest argentum vario pondere*. In order to obtain pure gold (cf. Arab. *xillāḡ*) and silver it was necessary to *part* these two metals. This was performed by the agency of fire. In the bilingual incantation ASKT 79, 19 (CV 22) the fire-god is called the *refiner of silver and gold*. Ass. *mudammig ḡarpi u-xurāḡi* (for Ass. *damāqu* see JBL 34, 55, 37, 227). Cupellation is referred to in Is. 1, 25 (which is a secondary addition). Some of the various Hebrew terms for *gold* may be due to the fact that certain alloys of gold (EB<sup>12</sup> 12, 196<sup>a</sup>) were regarded as different metals. On the other hand, the Romans regarded lead and tin as two varieties of the same species: lead was known as *plumbum nigrum*, and tin as *plumbum candidum* (Plin. 34, 156). A thin dark film forms when lead is exposed to ordinary air, while tin is not subject to tarnishing on exposure to normal air.

Gold is not only silver-bearing, it is found also in combination with lead, sulphur, tellurium, &c. The characteristic yellow color of gold is notably affected by small quantities of other metals. We speak of *red gold*, i. e. gold alloyed with copper; *white gold*, i. e. 20 parts of silver to 4 parts of gold; *green gold*, i. e. 70% of silver and 30% of gold; *blue gold*, i. e. 75%

<sup>8</sup> Rothstein (AT<sup>9</sup>) renders *Glanzerz* (Toy: *shining metal*). Schmidt in SATA II 2, 379 (1915) used *Edelers*, although he gave the correct explanation that it was a mixture of gold and silver.



of gold and 25% of iron. In French, German silver or argentean (i. e. an alloy of copper, zinc, and nickel or manganese) is called *cuiivre blanc*, and brass (64 parts of copper and 36 parts of zinc) is known as *cuiivre jaune*. The ancients called this alloy *orichalc* (ὀρείχαλκος) which became in Latin, through popular etymology, *aurichalcum* (Plin. 34, 2-4). According to Schulten, *Tartessos*, p. 54 (cf. below, n. 10), ὀρείχαλκος may have been Tartessian bronze.

Heb. *ḥašmāl* may be identical with Ass. *elmišu* (= *ḥalmašu*) which we find e. g. in KB 6, 166, l. 11 (for *mašāru* in this line cf. JBL 37, 256; contrast Streck, *Assurb.* 509; OLZ 24, 74). The final *l* in Heb. *ḥašmāl* may be a secondary addition as it is in Heb. *karmēl* and *gib'ōl* or in Arab. *ʿuqbilah*, and the stem *ḥašam* may be identical with Syr. *ašmāḥ*, to glitter. Pliny (33, 81) says: *Electri natura est ad lucernarum lumina clarius argento splendere*. The *ç* is due to the *ḥ*; cf. Syr. *pīḥd*, passover = Heb. *pāḥ* which may be derived from Ass. *pušūxu*, to appease (*Pur.* 27, 11). *Pušūxu* is identical with Heb. *šibbāḥ*, to still, calm, appease; Arab. *sābbaxa* means to assuage, allay, alleviate.

Syr. *çemāḥ* corresponds not only to Heb. *çamāḥ*, to sprout, but also to *šamāḥ*, to rejoice and Ass. *šamāxu*, to sprout, which has passed into Syriac as *šayāḥ* (ZA 2, 265). We find in Latin: *lætus ager, lætæ segetes* (AJSL 19, 199<sup>1</sup>). Parsifal says to Kundry after the Good Friday Spell in the third act (p. 238 of Joseph Rubinstein's piano-score): *Du weinest,—sieh' es lacht die Aue*. We speak of *smiling meadows*. For the two forms *çamāḥ* and *šamāḥ* we may compare the two spellings of the name *Isaac* with *ç* and *š*; cf. also Ass. *çēnu* (< *çahānu*) to fill a vessel, load a ship (HW 556) = Arab. *šāhana* (contrast GB<sup>16</sup> 689<sup>b</sup>) i. e. a *š* of *ḥn*, to be full, which we have e. g. in Arab. *ṭaydhāna*, to be big-bellied, and *yāhina* = *dhina*, to be angry, prop. *hitmēlṭ ḥemā* (Dan. 3, 19). Cf. Ass. *malṭu*, angry (NE 139, n. 17) and Arab. *taẓānnada*, *ḥābila*, *sākira*, to be angry (syn. *ḡāḍiba ya-taẓājjaza*) which mean orig. *to be full*. The primary connotation of Arab. *ḥīn*, proper or destined time, is *fulness of time* (Gal. 4, 4). For the prefixed *š* cf. Arab. *šāḥaḍa* to sharpen < *ḥd* (see Mic. 98<sup>m</sup>) and *šādaxa*, to crush = *fōdaxa* = *tādaga*.

Words meaning *to shine* may also mean *to blossom*: Arab. *zāhara* and *nāyyara* have both meanings; *nūr* denotes light,

and *nāyr*: blossom; Gr. *ánthos*, blossom, flower, is used also of the luster of gold; Lucretius (1, 900) has the phrase *flos flammae*. Heb. *niṣṣā* signifies blossom, and *niṣṣā*: spark (ZA 30, 66). Brightness may mean cheerfulness: Ass. *namār kabittī*, brightness of the liver, has this meaning; for *I was cheerful* we find *kabittī immir*, my liver was bright. In Arabic the stem *ṣamāḥ* appears as *māḥaṣa* to flash (syn. *lāma'a*) and *sāmāxa* (syn. *ṣāla'a*) which is used of sprouting millet (*ṣumām*).

Ass. *elmišu* is generally combined with Heb. *ḥallamīš*, quartz (EB 1751<sup>1</sup>). Quartz is often auriferous; so *ḥallamīš* may be a transposed doublet of *ḥašmāl*, and Ass. *ešmarū* may be a doublet of *elmišu*. The original meaning may be *glittering*. Ass. *elmišu* in NE 42, 11 is certainly a metal, not a diamond (cf. EB 4901<sup>2</sup>).

I stated above that Arab. *sābaka*, to melt, was synonymous with *adāba*. The stem of *dāḥab*, gold, is a modification of *dāba*, just as the stem of Heb. *kōhēn*, priest, is a byform of *kān* (JAOS 42, 374). Arab. *dāhaba*, to go away, is a byform of *dāba*, to melt (used of snow, fat, &c.) = Heb. *zāb*, to run. To run may mean to become fluid, melt. We say, *The ice begins to run*. Arab. *dāyab al-dāḥab* denotes a solution of gold, and *dāyāb* means *easily melted*; the noun *miḏyāb* signifies *melting pot*. Heb. *zāb* is used of a gonorrheal discharge (AV a running issue) and of a menstrual discharge. The definition *gonorrhoea benigna*, given in GB<sup>3</sup>, is incorrect; Lev. 15, 3 refers to acute and chronic gonorrhea (EB<sup>4</sup> 27, 983<sup>b</sup>; 32, 912<sup>bl</sup>) although Holzinger states in AT<sup>4</sup> that *zāb* can hardly refer to gonorrhea (contrast S-S). We have this stem also in the name of the river *Zāb* which means *run*, but was misinterpreted as *Λύκος* (BAL 92). Arab. *zāba-jazābu*, to run (syn. *jāra*) or to run away (syn. *insālla hāraba*<sup>5</sup>) must be a dialectic form. I do not believe that Heb. *zahāb* denotes *aurum fluviale*, Sp. *oro de río* = alluvial gold, placer-gold (Ger. *Waschgold*), i. e. native gold obtained from washing gold-bearing sand or gravel. Strabo (146) says *ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὐ μεταλλεύεται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σήρεται καταφέρουσι δ' οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ οἱ χειμάρροι τὴν χρυσίτιν ἄμμον*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no reference to gold-washes (χρυσοπλῖσις) in Job 28, 1; *muqām laz-zahāb jazāggūl* does not mean *die Gründe, da man Gold auswascht* (SATA<sup>4</sup> III, 2, p. 112; contrast EB 1752, l. 1; *jazāggūl* refers to the fine crush-

Heb. *da'ab* represents the Aramaic (JBL 37, 222, l. 7) form; contrast Lam. 4, 9 and cf. *Nah.* 35, l. 3. For *mēdībōt* (Lev. 26, 16) read *mad'ibōt*. Heb. *zēb*, wolf (not *zē'eb*; cf. JBL 37, 214<sup>n</sup>) means *golden*, i. e. *yellowish*. The Palestinian wolves are tawny. Arab. *ḏib* denotes *jackal* (Hommel, *Säugetiere* 303; Jacob, *Beduinenleben*<sup>2</sup> 18) and the jackal is called *canis aureus* (Ger. *Goldwolf*).

Also Syr. *ḥarrū'd*, which corresponds to Heb. *ḥarūṣ*, gold, means *yellow*. But the original meaning of *ḥarūṣ* (which appears in Greek as *χρυσός*) is *dug out*, Lat. *effossum*. It refers, not to alluvial gold, but to reef-gold, i. e. gold obtained from mining in the solid rock (Ger. *Berggold*). F. v. Duhn combined *χρυσός* with *χαράσσειν* (GB<sup>2</sup> 263<sup>am</sup>) but both noun and verb are Semitic loanwords (just as *γλύφειν* < Ass. *gullupu* = pB *gillāf*). Pliny (33, 69) says of reef-gold: *Quod effossum est tunditur, lavator, uritur, molitor*, and in the preceding paragraph: *Quod puteis foditur canalicium vocant, alli canaliense*. The special Hebrew name for reef-gold (or native gold in quartz) is *ḥarūṣ saḡūr* (Ass. *xurāṣu saḡru*; AkF 20), i. e. native gold *shut up*<sup>1</sup> in quartz-veins. It may be rendered *vein-gold*. Ass. *xarāṣu* means *to dig*, the noun *xarīṣu* denotes *ditch* or *moat* (AJSL 23, 250). In Joel 4, 14 we must read '*emq ḥāḥ-ḥarīṣ*, The Valley of The Gorge, i. e. the valley of Ajalon (DB 1, 280<sup>n</sup>) instead of '*emq ḥāḥ-ḥarūṣ* which is supposed to mean the *Valley of Decision* (AJP 43, 240).

ing and sifting of gold ores (EB<sup>11</sup> 20, 239<sup>at</sup>, 241<sup>bm</sup>). *Zaqdā* (cf. *Mic.* 94,\*) is a byform of *daqdā*; see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.* 43; *Nah.* 35<sup>2</sup>; cf. Heb. *gaḏā'* and *gaḏā'*; Syr. *nēqād* and *nēqār*; Arab. *ḏaba* and *zāba*; *jāḏama* and *jāzama* > Heb. *dagān*, grain, prop. *cut off*, with transposition and partial assimilation of *m* to *d* as in Heb. *dāḏn* = Arab. *samād* (JBL 35, 322<sup>f</sup>). Cf. also Arab. *lādīḥa* = *lāsīqa* = *lāsīqa* = *lāṣīqa* (Eth. *laṣāqa*). The *ṣ* is due to partial assimilation of the *z* to the *q*; in *lāsīqa* the *z* has been assimilated to the *l* (JBL 36, 141, n. 3; AJP 17, 489, n. 1). The root *ls* appears also in *lāsīma* = *lāṣīqa*, *lāsīma* or *lāsīma*, and modern Arab. *lāsīja*. In addition to *lāsīma* and *lāsīqa* we have also *lāsīma*, *lāsība*, and *lāsīja*. Ass. *daqdā* and *damāḡu* (< *maddāḡu*) are derived from the same root (JBL 34, 55; 37, 227). Syr. *dāḡlāḡ* means not only *pounded*, *fine*, but also *sifted*. For *ḡanāḡu* in Job 36, 27 we must read *ḡanāḡu*, they are stored, lit. *bottled* < Aram. *zīgqā*, Arab. *ziqq*, skin-bottle, wine-skin. For *ḡanāḡāḡ lē'ed mēḡarāḡ*, they are stored for the flood of His rain, cf. Ps. 33, 7 (read *kun-nēd*).

<sup>1</sup> If the gold is enclosed in lumps of waste rock, crushing unlocks the values from the waste (EB<sup>11</sup> 20, 329<sup>2</sup>).



A transposed doublet of *hartš*, ditch, is *çerth*, excavation, which denotes *cellar*, vault in Jud. 9, 46. 49 (ZA 11, 322; AT<sup>4</sup>) and 1 S 13, 6 (Nowack) although in the second passage it might also have the meaning *burial-vault*, sepulchral chamber (Löhr and SATA<sup>2</sup>: *Grab*, AT<sup>4</sup>: *Gruft*) which *darth* (AJSL 13, 273) has in Arabic (and Nabatean). The Roman catacombs were used by the early Christians as temporary hiding-places in times of persecution (cf. also Dillm. *Chrest. Aeth.* p. 5, l. 5). ܥܪܬܐ (*rāṣos*, *sepulcrum*, *bēt qēbārā*) seem to have read *çerthā* instead of *çēhīhā* in Ps. 68, 7 (Moore, *Judges*, ICC, 266<sup>4</sup>; contrast AJSL 23, 237, n. 62). We must certainly substitute *çerthīm* for *çēhīhīm* in Neh. 4, 7 (see S-S, SBOT, AT<sup>4</sup>): it means there *dugouts* (EB<sup>11</sup> 32, 482<sup>ad</sup>). According to Moore (PB) *çerthīm* in Jud. 9, 46 may denote an *excavation* in the earth or rock not under, but behind the temple.

VG 242, ε combines *çerth* with Syr. *gūrḥā*, cell; but *gūrḥā* <*kūrḥā* which appears in Arabic as *kirḥ*. The *g* instead of *k* is due to the *r*; cf. Ass. *guxlu* = Syr. *kūhlā* (OLZ 16, 492; MVAG 26, 1, p. 37; PAPS 48, 243<sup>3</sup>). AF 29 thought it possible that Syr. *kūrḥā* was identical with Arab. *kūx*, hut, but preferred to combine it with pB *kūk*, wall-recess, niche (or *pigeon-hole*; EB 5133, 4; JSOR 1, 4) in which the dead bodies were laid. If this were correct, *gūrḥā* could not be identical with *çerthā*: the *çerthā* is the sepulchral chamber (Lat. *cubiculum*) and *kūkīm* denotes the recesses (Lat. *loculi*) in the walls of the chamber, which were, as a rule, just large enough to receive a corpse. They were not arranged like berths in a stateroom, as they are in the Roman catacombs, but entered the rock at right angles to the wall, so that their opening resembled the mouth of a baker's oven, the bodies being introduced endways, just as a baker's oven is charged by means of a *peel* (EB<sup>11</sup> 5, 491<sup>bi</sup>). The bodies lay with their feet towards the chamber. The Arabic term for these wall-recesses is *luḥūd* (ZA 9, 332) <*lūḥada* = *dāḥala* = pB *ḥalād*, to burrow > Heb. *ḥold*, mole-rat (ZDMG 64, 712, l. 13) which appears in Arabic as *xuld*.

Heb. *kūk* = Nabat. *gūrḥā* = Palmyr. *gūmhā* = Ass. *gimaxxu* (HW 587<sup>b</sup>) or *kimaxxu* (ZA 9, 337; AJSL 13, 274; EB 5133<sup>4</sup>; AkF 68) = Sum. *kimax*, i. e. *place+holy* or *inviolable*, prop. *sublime*, awe-inspiring, Ass. *çru* = *çahru*, Arab. *ḡahūr*. Sum. *max* is a title of the priests (cf. our *reverend* and SG 27). For Palmyr.

*gûmhâ*, Nab. *gûhâ*, see Lidzbarski, *Epigraphik* 250. 393; Cook, *Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions* 37; Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions* 237<sup>1</sup>. Palmyr. *gûmhâ* has no connection with Arab. *jabb*, beehive (ZA 9, 333<sup>1</sup>) although we have beehive tombs (JBL 40, 173<sup>1</sup>) and *b* may represent an original *m* (cf. Arab. *hârîba*, to be decrepit = *hârîma*). For the elision of the *m* in Nabat. *gûhâ* cf. Ass. *Dûzu* = Heb. *Tammûz* (ZA 2, 270).

If Arab. *kâx*, hut, represented Syr. *kûrhâ*, cell (ZA 9, 333) we might compare *Šî'ôn* (Deut. 4, 8) = *Šîrôn* (JAOS 41, 186). We might also refer to Brücke's theory that *x* was composed of *x* and *r* (BA 1, 257). But Arab. *kâx* represents merely a later form of Pers. *kâx* (see *Pur.* 16, 41). Nor is Syr. *kaykîlâ*, whirlwind (JAOS 32, 13<sup>1</sup>) derived from *kêrâk*, to go around (ZA 9, 333<sup>1</sup>): it must be combined with Ass. *kâku* (NE 136, 46; 138, 88. 91) < Sum. *kuku*, black (SGI 125<sup>1</sup>). The original meaning is *black squall* which is also the primary connotation of Ass. *akâmu*, storm; cf. Syr. *râhâ ukkâmîlâ*, a black wind, i. e. a stormy wind (contrast HW 56<sup>b</sup>). Syr. *kaykîlâ* (= Arab. *zâya'ah*) is a blend-word (cf. JHUC 287, 34 and the so-called *brunch-words* or *portmanteau-words*) influenced by Syr. *kârâkîlâ*, whirlwind. *Σ<sup>II</sup>* has *kaykîlâ* (cf. *kaykîlâ dē-pârêhâ*) in Ex. 10, 22 for *Θ<sup>II</sup>έλλα*. *Ki-ba-a-ti* (i. e. *kêpâtî*; see BAL 102) at the end of the same line in NE corresponds to Syr. *kêfâj bârdâ*, hailstones; cf. ZDMG 73, 166, l. 6 and Heb. *âbanîm* Josh. 10, 11.

Syr. *hêrl'â* is the name of *carthamus tinctorius*, i. e. *safflower* or *bastard saffron*. Both *safflower* and *saffron* are derived from Arab. *âṣfar*, yellow; but *icfârri* means originally *to have the color of brass*; Arab. *ṣifr* (or *ṣufr*) copper, brass, gold, is the Sum. *zabar* which appears in Assyrian as *siparru*, bronze (BuA 1, 265; cf. also GB<sup>16</sup> 551<sup>b</sup>, l. 19). For the *ṣ* instead of *s* cf. the remarks above on *ṣarâpu* = *šarâpu*. The original meaning of Sum. *zabar* is *shining, lustrous*; it denotes originally *copper*, just as *χαλῶς* was originally the name of pure copper (cf. EB 893<sup>1</sup>; SGI 219, 51). The Sumerian name for *copper* is *urudu*. The combination of melted copper and tin for the purpose of forming bronze is alluded to in the Sumerian incantation in which the fire-god is called the *mixer of copper and tin*, Ass. *muballit erî u-anaki* (ASKT 79, 16; CV 22). Sum. *urudu* appears in Latin as *raudus, rodus, rudus*, which is not



connected with *rudis*, rough (Lagarde, *Mitteil.* 1, 88<sup>4</sup>; CV xxxv; AkF 59). Ass. *anaku* < Sum. *nak, nik* (*naga, nigī*). The Ethiopic form is *nāk*. For the prefixed *a* cf. JAOS 37, 322, n. 11, and *anak*, beverage < *nak*, to drink (SGI 197).

The stem of Heb. *ḥarāḥ*, gold is identical with Arab. *xādir*, green (cf. Heb. *ḥaṣīr*, grass). Similarly Eth. *yarq*, gold, corresponds to Heb. *jārq*, green; cf. *jəraqrāq ḥarāḥ* (Ps 68, 14; AJSL 23, 223). The primary connotation of the stem *yaraq* is to go up; Arab. *yāraq* has the meaning of Heb. *ʾalē*. We have the same root in Arab. *rāqija*, to ascend, and *marqāt*, ladder; cf. Ass. *marqītu*, refuge, prop. *high place*, Heb. *mišgāb*, Arab. *yaʿl*, Mic. 72<sup>1</sup> and ἐπὶ ξηροῦ τῶν ἐναι τε (contrast BA 1, 174; HW 619). Ass. *māraqu*, height, must be derived from *yaraq* (contrast HW 133<sup>ba</sup>; BA 1, 127; NBSS 50, n. 2). For *yaj-jārēq* in Gen. 14, 14 (cf. OLZ 18, 73; JPOS 1, 69) we must read *yaj-jārēq*, he raised, brought up (Ass. *ušēlt*; Ass. *šālātu* does not mean *garrison*, but *levy*) and for *yaj-jēhalēq* at the beginning of the following verse we must substitute *yaj-jilḥāq* < *lahaq* = Arab. *lāḥiqa*, to overtake. I have subsequently noticed that this emendation is suggested also in Perles' *Analekten* (1922). The stem *lahaq* is a doublet of *dahaq*; cf. JBL 35, 322 and Arab. *dāḥqaba* (orig. *dāḥaqa bi*): the original meaning of *dāḥaqa* is to push, press, drive. The root is *dh*.

The primary connotation of Heb. *kātm*, gold, is *subduable* (JSOR 1, 8; contrast HW 499<sup>b</sup>, l. 12)<sup>8</sup> = non-refractory, i. e. fusible and easily hammered up or beaten into thin leaves. Heb. *paz*, fine gold, must be combined with Arab. *fāzza*, to run, which is used of a bleeding wound (syn. *šāla-jastlu*). Arab. *naṣf*, bleeding, is a transposition of the same root (cf. JBL 39, 154) with prefixed *n*. Arab. *fāzza*, to start (e. g. game) or *startle*, rouse suddenly, means prop. *to cause to run*. In Syriac, *paz* signifies *to leap*, frisk, as lambs and kids. Heb. *mēfazzēz* (2 S 6, 16) denotes *leaping*, dancing: David was leap-

<sup>8</sup> The primary connotation of *kātmu* is to cover (OC 33, 87). Heb. *kattōnt* (> χιτών, *tunic*) is derived from the same stem which appears in Ethiopic, with reciprocal assimilation, as *kaddna* (cf. Ass. *mundāxnu*, fighter = *mumtāxnu*). The root is *km*; cf. Arab. *kāmma* and AJSL 23, 247<sup>7</sup>. *Kātmu* to subdue, means prop. *to cover on all sides*, surround entirely, envelop. For *miktām*, rune (i. e. a poem mystically or obscurely expressed) prop. *lecta locutio*, see JHUC 325, 38.



ing and dancing when the Ark was brought in. For *mēšassēs u-mēkarkēr* 1 Chr. 15, 29 has *mēraqqéd u-mēšahhēq*. In Ethiopic we have *zafāna*, to leap (<*naḥaza*).

I do not believe that *paz* means *alluvial gold* (cf. above the remarks on *zahāb*). Nor do I think that *paz* represents an older form of *baz*, booty, so that the *b* would be due to partial assimilation (cf. *barzēl*, iron = *parzēl*; JBL 35, 280). It is true that *šaz*, present, may be an older form of *šē*, sheep, and *pazz* = *bazz* might have the meaning ἀρπαγμα or ἀρπαγμός in Phil. 2, 6, i. e. a thing to be grasped at, a prize to be seized on, a find. This might have denoted lump gold, nugget, Sp. *pepita*.<sup>6</sup> RV has for οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἰσα θεῷ counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, and in the margin: a thing to be grasped. In Arabic, *bazz* denotes not only spoil, but also victory, armor, raiment, fine linen, silk, &c. Similarly to rob is connected with robe, and plunder signifies orig. household effects. There is no word 'āfāz or māfāz in OT (GB<sup>6</sup> 638<sup>b</sup>): for *kālm* 'āfāz Dan. 10, 5 we must read *kālm u-fāz* = *uē-fāz*. For 'ā cf. *mē'āmā*, anything < *mā'ū-ma*; Arab. *māhmā*, whatever; Ass. *mī-ma* = Eth. *mī*, what? cf. Ass. *d'ū-ma*, any one, Arab. *ājju-mā*, whatever (see Kings 118, 1). BuL §34, b still combines *mē'āmā* with *mām*, spot, blemish.

Heb. *bāṣr* does not mean *Bruchera*, as it is rendered in AT<sup>7</sup>. Nor can it be combined with Arab. *bāzar*, *baṣr*, ring, signet (ZA 2, 59) although Pliny seems to think that gold was first used for rings; he says (33, 8): *Pessumum vitæ scelus fecit qui primum induit digitis*, and in 33, 42: *Proximum scelus fuit ejus qui primus ex auro denarium signavit*. Heb. *bāṣr* denotes *zahāb bahān*, tried gold, i. e. assayed, refined (cf. Job 23, 10; Zech. 13, 9). Assay is identical with essay, to try, attempt, Fr. *essayer*. In Jer. 6, 27 the original text seems to have been *mēbaṣṣēr nēlattiḳa bē'ammi*, I have set thee as an assayer among my people (cf. JHUC 316, 28) that thou mayest know and try their way, and *bāḥōn*, which we find at the beginning of the verse in **¶**, is a gloss to *mēbaṣṣēr*, which has displaced the original reading (cf. Mic. 94, \*; JBL 38, 146). *Bāḥōn* is an Aramaic form. The Hebrew stem *baṣār*, to inspect, examine, test, try, corresponds to Arab. *bāṣara*, to perceive > *istābṣara*, to exam-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. πάλαι, Strabo 146; *palagae* and *palacurnae*, Plin. 33, 77; contrast *strigiles*, Plin. 33, 62.

ine (syn. *istabāna*). To *test* is derived from *test*, earthen pot (cf. Lat. *testa*) in which metals were tried. In Syriac we find the stem *baṣar* in the transposed form *bēraṣ*, to explain clearly. Eth. *tabārṣa* means to *shine*, sparkle, while Arab. *ābraṣ* denotes *leprous*, orig. *blank*, white (cf. Ex. 4, 6; Num. 12, 9; 2 K 5, 27). *Al-ābraṣ* signifies *moon* (Heb. *lēbanā*). J. D. Michaelis' explanation of *bāṣr* as *aurum spectatissimum* was correct.

Job 22, 24, 25 is a later addition: the apodosis to v. 23 is v. 26, just as the immediate sequel of John 19, 33 is v. 36. The glossator who added vv. 34, 35 meant to emphasize the fact that Jesus was a god who had no red blood like ordinary mortals, but ichor (*Iliad* 5, 340), i. e. lymph which may be regarded as blood without red corpuscles and diluted with water. The secondary insertion in Job 22, 24, 25 means that Job may throw away his finest gold and silver, because God will be his gold and silver. Ps. 73, 25 affords no parallel. Luther's *Wenn ich nur Dich habe, so frage ich nichts nach Himmel und Erde* (JHUC 287, 43<sup>4</sup>) is beautiful, but untenable. In the first hemistich we must insert *kamōka*, like Thee, following *ṭ kēūdāk*, not *zālatēkā* (Gunkel, *Psalmen*<sup>4</sup> 231) or *'immēkā* (SATA<sup>2</sup>; AT<sup>4</sup>; Duhm<sup>2</sup>). The hemistich *Mi-lī kamōka baš-šamāim* means *Whom have I like Thee in heaven?* i. e. *There is no god like Thee*. The psalmist does not deny the existence of other gods. The *'immēkā* in the second hemistich is synonymous with *kamōka* (GB<sup>16</sup> 595<sup>21</sup>). *Bā-'arṣ* at the end of the line is a corruption of *bē-'arṣ*: cf. Arab. *ḡarīḍa min-xāfa*; Jer. 20, 11; Pss. 89, 8; 16, 3 (*Mic.* 42, 12; JAOS 32, 124). The rendering in SATA<sup>2</sup>, *Nur Du bist hier mein Begehrt*, is unwarranted as are also the translations in Budde, *Die schönsten Psalmen* (1915): *Wen hab' ich im Himmel ausser Dir, und neben Dir mag ich nichts auf Erden* (this would require insertion of *bak-kāl*) or Schmidt, *Psalmen* (1917): *Was beut mir droben der Himmel? Hab' ich Dich nur, was gilt mir die Welt?*

The objection that the primary connotation of the Hebrew for gold and silver cannot be *fusible*, because these metals must have been known before the art of smelting was practiced, is not valid: there is no evidence that the names *zahāb*, gold, *kāšf*, silver, &c. were used before smelting was invented. In the premetallurgical period ores containing gold and silver may have been called simply *ābanīm*, stones (cf. Job 28, 2; Deut.



8, 9). In Arabic, *al-hajarāni*, the two stones, denotes *gold and silver*. Arab *hajar* corresponds to Ass. *igaru*, wall. Similarly Russ. *stiēna* (=Eng. *stone*) signifies *wall*. The stem of Ass. *egirra*, *reverie*, on the other hand, is identical with Syr. *hērag* > *hērgē*, *musings* (cf. also Arab. *hājara*, to rave, and *hāraja*, to talk incoherently).

The art of extracting metal from their ores was no doubt known long before the ancestors of the Jews adopted the language of Canaan (JBL 36, 94). The blast furnace which was originally simply a cavity in the ground, partially filled with ignited charcoal and provided with bellows, is perhaps the oldest metallurgical contrivance. Before the minerals can be separated, the ores must be crushed (cf. VHOK 232; contrast EB 889<sup>1</sup>; GB<sup>16</sup> 758<sup>1</sup>). Tarshish, where Solomon (c. 950) is said to have sent ships, denotes *spalling-floor*, ore-dressing (JBL 35, 280<sup>m</sup>). The ancients may have had a rude ore-mill like the Mexican *arrastre* (see cut in CD 318). If *Tarshish ship* should denote simply a *transoceanic ship* (AT<sup>1</sup> 1, 519, note c), Tarshish must have been known long before the term was used in this sense. I stated in my paper *Elysium, Elishah, and Alasia* (JHUC 287, 46) that Cretan adventurers may have established a colony in the valley of the Guadalquivir in the fourth pre-Christian millennium.<sup>19</sup>

Furnaces are referred to in the oldest legends of the OT,

<sup>19</sup> The Isles of Elishah, whence, according to Ex. 27, 7, the Tyrians imported blue and red purple, i. e., the lichen-dyes litmus and archil, are the Azores which Pliny (6, 203) calls the Purple Islands. The cuneiform name of Cyprus in the Amarna Tablets, *Alasia* (JPOS 1, 75<sup>1</sup>) means Red Land, i. e. Copper Island. *Alasia* etymologically = *ʿEpiðeia*. Cadiz and the adjacent islands were called *ʿEpiðeia*, the Red Land (Strabo 148) from the scarlet pigment obtained from the cinnabar mined at Almadén (JHUC 163, 52<sup>lm</sup>; 287, 47). After the destruction of Tartessus (near the mouth of the Guadalquivir) c. 500 B. C. *Gades* was often used for Tarshish; cf. Schulten, *Tartessus* (Hamburg, 1922) pp. ix, 46. Schulten agrees with me in thinking that Tarshish may have been an ancient Cretan colony, also in combining Plato's Atlantis with southern Spain (op. cit. pp. 80, 88). For *ʿEpiðeia* see *ibid.* pp. 20, 21, 32. Southern Spain was the center of a very old civilization as early as 2500 B. C. (op. cit. pp. 8, 9, 12, 15). Sargon of Accad (c. 2775 B. C.) seems to call Tarshish *mit Anaka*, the Tin-land (cf. above p. 123; the tin came from Britain, the Jew's house in Cornwall, &c.) while Esarhaddon (681-668) uses the name *Taršau* (see op. cit. pp. 14, 11, 16; cf. ZDMG 63, 516, l. 36; 64, 707, l. 7; JBL 36, 144, l. 13, 35, 280<sup>m</sup>).



e. g. Gen. 15, 17; 19, 28 (both J). The antediluvian son of Lamech, Tubal-cain, was supposed to be the father of all artificers in copper and iron (Gen. 4, 22). The frequent metaphorical use of the terms *furnace*, *try*, *refine*, &c. show that the OT writers must have been acquainted with metallurgy; cf. Heb. *baḥán*, *ṭikkār*, *ziggāq*, *ṣarāf*, *maṣrēf*, *kūr*, *kibšān*, &c. and Deut. 4, 20; 1 K 8, 51; Is. 1, 25; 48, 10; Jer. 6, 29; 11, 4; Ez. 22, 18-22; Zech. 13, 9; Mal. 3, 3; Ps. 66, 10; Prov. 17, 3, &c. For *kibšān* see JBL 36, 93; for *kūr*: AJSL 23, 246. The *kūr hab-barzēl* was, of course, not an *eiserner Ofen*, as Luther rendered, i. e. made of iron, but an iron-furnace, i. e. a furnace for smelting iron. I have explained Mal. 3, 3 in JHUC 316, 28. The *Messenger of the Covenant*, referred to in Mal. 3, 1, is Ezra (JBL 38, 43, n. 4).

## BRIEF NOTES

### *The Loss of the Urumia Concordance to the Peshitta*

Some twenty-five years ago the task of preparing a concordance to the Peshitta version of the Bible was undertaken by the scholars in the American Mission at Urumia, Persia. The suggestion of the undertaking came from Professor George F. Moore of Harvard University, then at Andover Seminary, and the plan was taken up with enthusiasm by Dr. Benjamin W. Labaree and his associates in the Nestorian Mission. A tentative beginning was made, and specimen sheets were printed and sent to a number of the best Syriac scholars for comments and suggestions. Following the advice of Professor Moore, it was decided to confine the work at first to the Old Testament, and to base it upon the excellent edition of Justin Perkins, issued at Urumia in 1852. The magnitude of the task soon became apparent, and also the difficulty of financing the publication; nevertheless the work went on steadily, and was done in a scientific and thorough manner.

The all-important problem of finding the money necessary for printing and publishing the book was at last solved in a most satisfactory way. Thanks to the efforts of Professors D. B. Macdonald and L. B. Paton, of Hartford Theological Seminary, a Research Fund was established in that institution, the chief contributor being Mr. D. Willis James, and at the end of the year 1904 Hartford Seminary formally undertook to finance the Concordance. Professor Macdonald was given the oversight of the work, and from this time on he and the scholars in Urumia were in constant correspondence in regard to the details. The Seminary ultimately contributed nearly three thousand dollars.

After the murder of Dr. Labaree by natives in March, 1904, the work on the Concordance at Urumia was in charge of Dr. William A. Shedd, a man whose excellent Syriac scholarship and wide general knowledge fitted him admirably for the task, and until the terrible catastrophe of the great war he gave a

large amount of time and labor to it. At the time of his death, in the summer of 1918, everything was ready for the printer.

As stated above, the Concordance was based on the Urumia edition of the Old Testament, without the Apocrypha. The following details are quoted from a letter by Professor Macdonald embodied in the book *The Measure of a Man*, by Mary Lewis Shedd (New York, George H. Doran Co., 1922), p. 130. "With the Urumia text Ceriani's photo-lithograph of the Codex Ambrosianus was collated and all the variants recorded. The same was done with Barnes' critical edition of the Psalms and with his 'Text of Chronicles,' where the text of the Urumia edition was weak. The order finally adopted was that of the Hebrew text, as to books, chapters, and verses. Everything was put in except enclitics, inseparable prepositions, and particles; for proper names there were references only."

In 1919, after enduring many months of pillage, massacre, and every species of atrocity, the whole Nestorian settlement at Urumia, including the building and equipment of the American Mission, was wiped out by the Turks. Thus perished the last important remnant of the ancient Syriac Church, and the principal surviving representative of the great eastern branch of the Aramaic language. The Peshitta Concordance shared the fate of everything else in the Mission; it was destroyed, and nothing connected with it survived.

The extent of the calamity to Semitic studies and research in the loss of this great work, the fruit of twenty years of expert labor, is beyond estimation. Even those best acquainted with the field can form only an imperfect idea of the service which this Concordance would have rendered to Syriac Lexicography, to the critical study of the Syriac versions of the Bible, and to Semitic science in general. For generations past, indeed, such a work has been one of the chief desiderata. Now that the great achievement of the scholars of Urumia has been brought to naught, it does not seem likely that the task, however necessary, will be undertaken again in the near future. It is very much to be hoped, nevertheless, that some way may soon be found of enlisting once more the efforts of a group of competent scholars in this very exacting but most important joint labor.

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*A Note on Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*

Pargiter argues (pp. 50, 77-8) that the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas were originally one, and that the differentiation of the one original into two versions with separate names was a later process. He argues also that the source of these and of the other Purāṇas was the old Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.

He has overlooked the fact that the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa has been preserved in Bali. Cf. Friederichs, *JRAS* 1876, 170-1; Weber, *Indische Studien* II, p. 131 ff. Although large parts of the Veda, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have been preserved in Bali, the Brahmāṇḍa is the only one of the Purāṇas which is known there. Friederichs dates the emigration from India about 500 A. D. and explains the existence of only one Purāṇa by the fact that there is in Bali only one Śaivite sect and that this particular Purāṇa may have been the one Purāṇa sacred to that sect in India before migration. Laksmana Rao in a very interesting article in the *South Indian Research* 1919, 200-8 tries to show on the basis of colophons of manuscripts and editions and of other material that the Brahmāṇḍa is the oldest of the Purāṇas and that the Viṣṇu and Vāyu were originally only parts of the Brahmāṇḍa. "In conclusion, I would like to put forward a theory that up to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. there was only one book, known by the name of Purana and that was then or subsequently called the Brahmanda. It contained not more than 12,000 slokas. Parts of that Purana gradually separated themselves from it and formed into independent Puranas. Being chopped off in this way, the original Purana dwindled away into nothing as time went on. The greatest and perhaps the first portions cut off from the main book were the Vishnu and the Vayu Puranas. These separate portions acknowledged their source (in colophons etc.) for some time, but as the sectarian bigotry gained the ascendancy they felt it a disgrace to own their parent and began to lay claim to an independent origin." Referring to Friederichs' article he concludes "that when Indians first emigrated to Bali, there was only one Purana in existence or if some of the other Puranas had commenced to detach themselves from the main, they had not acquired the religious influence which they wielded in subsequent ages." Juynboll in an article in the *Bijdragen tot*

*de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie* 1900, 272 gives a little more information about the Balinese Brahman̄ḍa Purāṇa, but has nothing which bears on the present problem. Friederichs states that the Balinese version contains "the history of the ancestors of old dynasties." Does this mean that it contains the dynastic lists? If so, does it contain the names which are missing in a great lacuna in the present Indian edition of the Brahman̄ḍa Purāṇa (Pargiter, p. 68)? A transcription of the dynastic lists in the Balinese version would be of the greatest assistance to students of the Indian Purāṇas. Also the date at which the Brahman̄ḍa Purāṇa was taken to Java should be determined as closely as possible. These facts might be of invaluable assistance in unravelling the history of the Indian Purāṇas. There may be more definite information in some of the publications by Dutch scholars in Holland and Java. What is stated above is all that has come to my knowledge. I give it in order to ask for information and because *The South Indian Research* may not be available to many scholars.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.* By F. E. PARGITER.  
London: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922. Pp. VIII+368.

This volume represents the patient, loving labor of years, summing up and completing a series of articles which have appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* during the past fourteen years. It brings together from the Purāṇas (and the Epics) all the material which may have any historical bearing, organizes it, and subjects it to criticism. Irrespective of the amount of absolute truth which it may contain it is an important contribution to Indic Philology. Western scholars have neglected the Purāṇas and have been too much inclined to dismiss scornfully and without adequate investigation all their traditions as late fabrications which are false, mythological, and unworthy of being compared in any way with the much earlier and better-preserved Vedic texts. But the Purāṇas contain traditions which claim to reach far back into India's past. Except for the Veda they are, at present, our only possible means of going back beyond 600 B. C. They deserve to be studied as carefully and as critically as the Vedic texts have been studied.

Little criticism is to be made of the analytical and descriptive portions of the book. They merely present the material as it is found in the Purāṇas. Closer study of the manuscripts of the Purāṇas, of which we have no really critical editions, and a more detailed analysis and criticism may modify many of the details. But such portions as draw inferences and attempt a connected historical narrative are open to serious question. Pargiter, in the enthusiasm of his hobby, is far too antagonistic to the Brahmans and to the Vedas and far too optimistic about the accuracy of *kyatriya* tradition. He himself admits (p. 24) that the Purāṇas came under Brahman control in the ninth century B. C. Even if we could admit the accuracy of the earlier *kyatriya* tradition the later Brahman tampering must have been much more far-reaching than he is willing to admit.



He seriously damages his own cause by extravagance and exaggeration.

Pargiter argues at length (p. 49 ff.) that the present Purāṇas, the earliest of which seem to have been compiled about 300 A. D., are based on previous Purāṇas which were in existence at least as early as the fifth century B. C. Further, he claims that these early Purāṇas represented a definite and generally accurate tradition which was established in the ninth century B. C. not long after the great battle of the Mahābhārata, and that this tradition in turn had been handed down accurately for centuries from the very beginning of the Aryan invasion of India by *sūtas* or bards at the courts of kings.

Pargiter takes for the date of Āpastamba the upper limit given by Bühler. Even if Hopkins (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, pp. 249-50) is right in assigning Āpastamba to the second century B. C., still the passages adduced from the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra prove conclusively that there were Purāṇas long before the compilation of our present texts. It may be noted that Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 27-8, points out two rules of Pāṇini which seem to imply the existence of *ksatriya* genealogies. As Keith has pointed out (*JRAS* 1914, 1027) the quotations in Āpastamba deal with Brahmanical lore. Clearly the Purāṇas had been heavily Brahmanized before his time, but there is no good reason for doubting that they contained genealogies and stories of ancient kings. Did these have exactly the same form as in the later Purāṇas? This cannot be proved positively one way or the other and there is no room for dogmatism. But the Puranic tradition did not have the same religious sanctity which the Vedic literature had and was not surrounded by the same safeguards. There was nothing to prevent serious distortion.

I can see no valid reason for doubting that there may have been a collection of legendary and historical material into some sort of literary form not long after the collection of the religious material of the Rig Veda. The same unknown political causes which contributed to the formation of the one may have led to the formation of the other. I can see no reason why the formation and compilation of such traditions could not have taken place outside of Brahman circles. Keith (*JRAS* 1914, 120, 1027) argues that there is no evidence to show that any but Brahmins

ever had a part in the formation and handing down of Puranic tradition. His conclusions are much too categorical and dogmatic. We know very little as to what actually went on outside of Brahman circles. The Buddhists and Jains had no difficulty in the sixth century and later in developing a huge literature apart from Brahman influence. There seems no good reason why a similar process could not have taken place earlier. There has been much discussion concerning the Itihāsa-Purāṇa mentioned in the Vedic texts and it has been denied with undue certainty that definite texts could be intended. There seems to me to be nothing in the evidence to disprove the existence of definite texts named Itihāsa and Purāṇa as early as the Upanishads, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Atharva Veda. I agree emphatically with Rapson (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, pp. 298-9, 302).

Pargiter's statements (p. 16) about the *sūlas* and *māgadhas* suggest an important question. He thinks that the institution of bards goes back to the very earliest times, since Puranic tradition places their origin in the reign of the mythical Pṛthu Vainya, to whom he gives no place in his dynastic lists, and yet Puranic tradition seems to connect the bards closely with Magadha and the country to the east of Magadha. This territory does not come prominently into notice until far down the dynastic lists, not until number 79 of Pargiter's list (pp. 118, 282). The name Magadha does not occur in connection with the early kings. This evidence seems to show that the institution of bards does not go so far back as Pargiter thinks. Even if there was tradition about the earliest kings it is likely that much myth and legend was introduced into it at an early date. Even in the Rig Veda there is a thick haze of legend over many of the figures of the distant past. Why should the contemporary *kṣatriya* tradition have been free from legend? It is idle to argue as Pargiter does that the legendary nature of many of the Vedic stories is due to the fact that the Brahmins were in control of the Vedic literature and that the Brahmins were entirely untrustworthy. Such an absolute standard of truthfulness cannot possibly be maintained for *kṣatriya* tradition. In every country, even in practical China, such historical tradition becomes more and more hazy, more and more mythical, less and less historical towards the beginning. This is axiomatic. India does not form an exception. Pargiter accepts the genealogies and



stories as correct in the main all the way back to Purūravas. He admits that Purūravas and Ilā and Manu are shrouded in myth. If accurate, organized, historical tradition began with Purūravas why is there this absolutely sharp line of cleavage between myth and history? Surely if there had been at that time an organized effort to preserve accurate historical tradition there would have been recorded something about the Arvan invasion itself and the period preceding it.

All the Puranic genealogies are traced back to the mythical Manu, the son of the mythical Vivasvat (the sun). From Purūravas (the son of Manu's daughter Ilā and Budha or Mercury, the son of Soma or the Moon), from Sudyumna (the name of Ilā after her magical transformation into a man), and from the nine sons of Manu all the Purāṇa dynasties are traced. On this magical change of sex Pargiter (p. 295) bases the conclusion that three different races have been combined into one genealogy. The Aila race is Aryan. The Saudyumna race is Muṇḍā. The other, which is represented by the descendants of the nine sons of Manu, is Dravidian. There is, however, as Pargiter himself admits (pp. 295-6), nowhere in Puranic tradition the slightest suggestion that any difference of race is involved. If the names of unimportant kings and accurate stories about them were preserved it is strange that such a fundamental fact as racial difference should have been glossed over so completely. Such suppression is just as damaging to *kṣatriya* tradition as the suppression of the authorship of the *Saṃhitā* of the *Rig Veda* is to Brahman tradition. Pargiter (p. 9) charges this to deliberate Brahman suppression in order to magnify the age and authority of the *Rig Veda*. Why should Aryan tradition have suppressed the fact of racial difference? Such suppression could hardly be explained except as an effort on the part of the Muṇḍā and Dravidian races to place their descent on a par with that of the Aryans. But it was the Aryan race which was dominant politically; it was their civilization and language which prevailed; theirs was the early historical tradition until (according to Pargiter) it passed into the hands of the Dravidian Brahmans in the ninth century B. C. To account for the presence of Muṇḍā and Dravidian genealogies in our Purāṇas we should have to assume an early Muṇḍā and Dravidian historical tradition which was just as accurate as the



Aryan tradition. If so why does not Muṇḍā and Dravidian tradition reach back into the past beyond the Aryan invasion? Why does this become mythical at precisely the same point at which Aryan tradition becomes mythical? Why should the Dravidian dynasties have descended in direct line from the nine sons of Manu while the great, conquering, dominant Aryan race which formed the Puranic tradition descended from Ilā alone with her mythical changes of sex? If Pargiter's theory is correct the irregularity ought to be on the Dravidian side. Why should the place of honor always be given to the Solar (Dravidian) dynasty of Ayodhya (p. 296)?

In the Rig Veda which, according to Pargiter, reaches back to the seventeenth century B. C. the names of many kings who, according to Pargiter, are Dravidian are mentioned with absolutely nothing to suggest any differentiation of race. Cf. Keith, *JRAS* 1914, 735-6. These references are made in a text which constantly and emphatically states the great difference between the Aryans and other races. The Vedic evidence cannot be dismissed contemptuously as Pargiter dismisses it. It is much stronger than a mere argument from silence. There was every reason why difference of race should have been mentioned if it was known to exist. The Vedic evidence is a strong positive argument against Pargiter's assumptions.

Pargiter argues that the Brahman priests were originally not Aryan at all but Dravidian. They were primarily magicians and were not connected at first in any way with the institution of sacrifice. The Atharva Veda is really representative of their original activities (pp. 308 ff., 319-20). At a later date they attached themselves to Aryan rulers, at first in the far west among the Yādavas, then from the time of Bharata on to Aryan rulers in the central country. They adopted the Aryan fire-sacrifice and a gradual fusion took place between Aryan and Dravidian religious beliefs and practices. From Purūravas on Aryan kings performed sacrifices for themselves (p. 309). No Brahmins were connected with them, and Pargiter seems to imply that there was no Aryan class of religious men. It seems impossible to eliminate such men entirely from Aryan civilization and it seems established that most of the magical practices of the Atharva Veda are deeply rooted in Aryan belief and practice.

The Dravidian race of Ayodhya has much the fullest list of dynastic names, 93 down to the time of the great battle. This forms the standard of Pargiter's calculations and he assumes the number 93 to be historically accurate. This implies among the Dravidians an accuracy such as is not found in any of the Aryan lists. The Aryan Yādavas have 59 names and the Aryan Pauravas have 51. Pargiter suggests (pp. 156-7, 261) that one gap in the Paurava list may be due to the Yādava conquest of the Pauravas, but that is not sufficient to explain the great discrepancy. It is difficult to see how such a strong, proud, independent Dravidian state could have adopted the Aryan sacrificial system at an early date and how so many Dravidians could have composed Vedic hymns. Yet Pargiter (p. 214, 262, 312) refers to king Māndhātṛ (21 in the dynastic lists) long before the great development of Vedic sacrifice and its fusion with Dravidian elements under Bharata (44 in the dynastic lists) as a great sacrificer and hymn-maker. The same statement is made (pp. 97, 312) about the Dravidian king Bhalandana (number 6 in the dynastic lists).

Book seven of the Rig Veda is ascribed to the Vasiṣṭhas who, according to Pargiter, were intimately connected with Dravidian Ayodhya as hereditary priests, although some members of the family attached themselves to Aryan kings beginning with the time of Bharata. But this book differs in no way in language, gods, or ritual from the other books. Pargiter (pp. 307, 313) argues that many of the hymns of the Rig Veda have been translated from Dravidian languages into Sanskrit and that many Dravidian names of hymn-makers have been Sanskritized. If this were the case it is impossible to see how the original could have been obliterated so completely.

Pargiter repeatedly argues (pp. 5, 10, 62-3, 284, 326) that the chief part in the composition of the Rig Veda and Brāhmaṇas was played by ascetic devotees and recluses who lived in the forest apart from the world, immersed in spiritual problems. It is improbable that such recluses played any appreciable part in the composition of the Rig Veda and Brāhmaṇas. The Rig Vedic religion and ritualistic Brahmanism seem to have been aristocratic as well as priestly. Pargiter lays far too much stress upon solitary recluses in the forest. The growth of the recluse ideal and the formation of closely knit recluse orders



which could have developed a large literature was a slow one. Pargiter carries back into the period of the Rig Veda a state of affairs which existed only many centuries later.

It is noteworthy that so many of the kings who are well-known to Vedic tradition belong to the North Pañcāla dynasty as given by the Puranic lists. These kings although famous in Vedic tradition play little part in Puranic tradition. This fact is strongly in favor of Pargiter's contention that the Puranic lists were not later inventions pieced together out of Vedic tradition with later fanciful additions. It points to the independence of the two bodies of tradition and (to some degree at least) to the trustworthiness of the Puranic lists of the other dynasties. The Rig Veda as it is is a Kuru-Pañcāla product. Hence it is natural that these particular kings should play a prominent role in it and that others should be mentioned only incidentally. Other kings not mentioned in Puranic tradition but found in Vedic tradition may be princes, nobles, and kings of smaller dynasties not preserved in the Puranic lists. In some cases the same person may be referred to in the two bodies of tradition under different names. Further, some of the names of the Rig Veda seem to fit into an evident gap in the Puranic list of Paurava kings. If the Purāṇas are valid here where they can be controlled by the Rig Veda it is probable that they are valid for many other matters about which the Rig Veda is silent. But to just what extent and how far back into the past? Here Pargiter is much too sanguine. These North Pañcāla kings come more than half way down the dynastic lists (number 62 and following).

It is pretty generally agreed that the Aryan invasion of India came from the North-west through the Kabul valley and the Punjab, although there is no definite tradition to that effect in the Rig Veda. The Purāṇas likewise know nothing of an invasion from the North-west. Very hazy traditions in them connect Purūravas with the central Himalayas and Pargiter (pp. 297-8) argues that the Aryan invasion came from that quarter, but without facing at all the enormous geographical difficulties of such an invasion. According to Puranic tradition the first centres of Aryan civilization were Allahabad, Benares and Kanauj. This seems, as Kennedy suggests (*JRAS* 1915, 509), to place a later situation back into the distant past



in an effort to exalt the sanctity of these eastern cities. With Pargiter's theory it is very hard to account for the silence of the Rig Veda about the eastern country. The Ganges is mentioned twice while the Indus is mentioned frequently. Even if most of the Rig Veda was composed later in the Kuru-Pañcāla country after Aryan expansion to the North-west the Indus is farther away than the Ganges and the Ganges as the old home must have maintained its prominence. Pargiter (p. 299) explains the frequent mention of the Indus as due to its immense size. The lower Ganges must have attracted attention for the same reason. If the Brahmans were recluses who had no interest in worldly affairs and slight knowledge of them it is difficult to explain the progressively wider geographical knowledge of the Yajur Veda, the Atharva Veda and the Brāhmaṇas.

It would be interesting to have put together in a more definite form than that given by Pargiter a list of hymn-makers so far as they can be determined from Puranic tradition, and to compare this with current opinion concerning the different portions of the Veda. I note here that the Vāmadeva family to which the hymns of book four are ascribed begins with number 70 of the dynastic lists (p. 222). The Kāṇva family, to which book eight is ascribed, and which was contemporary with the North Pañcāla kings who play such a large role in the Rig Veda, begins with number 53 of the dynastic lists (p. 227). This means that unless all the Kāṇva hymns which have been preserved come from late members of the family or have been completely rewritten some of them would be about two hundred years earlier than any of the hymns in the fourth book which, according to present opinion, is decidedly earlier than book eight. Further, the Madhucchandas group of hymns in the first book came into existence, according to Puranic tradition, with number 33 (p. 235), but Bloomfield finds in this group decided signs of lateness. There seems to be a great difference between the dates arrived at for different groups of Rigvedic hymns from Puranic tradition and from the study of language, metre, and repeated *pādas*.

In his treatment of the Paurava dynasty (p. 110 ff.) Pargiter notes two variant lists given in the Mahābhārata, but fails to make use of still a third list given from the Javanese Mahābhārata by Labberton (*JRAS* 1913, 6-7). This Javanese tradition seems

to go back to the eleventh century, a date much earlier than that of any of the Indian manuscripts of the Epic. It may be of help in restoring the Mahābhārata list of the Pauravas.

The dates calculated by Pargiter (pp. 182-3, 301) are interesting but so many uncertain factors are involved that no reliance at all can be placed on them. According to Pargiter, who assumes that the number of kings is 93 and that the average length of the reigns was twelve years, the great battle took place in 850 B. C., the Aryan invasion occurred about 2050 B. C., and the hymns of the Rig Veda are to be dated between the seventeenth and eleventh centuries B. C., with the bulk of them after the fifteenth century. There is nothing inherently improbable about any of these dates, but that is all that can be said. Keith's argument (*JRAS* 1914, 737-8) against such a long period for the composition of the Rig Veda and in favor of only two hundred years is not convincing. The plain fact is that we do not know.

It seems to me probable that we are to assume both *kṣatriya* tradition and Brahman tradition. It is wrong to condemn categorically either tradition. We must keep our minds open. When the Veda does deal with contemporary events its evidence is of primary importance. When it deals with the past and becomes legendary it is still of the utmost value, since it has preserved the legends from a much earlier date than can be proved for any particular portion of the Purāṇas, but neither is to be cast aside lightly just because it fails to fit into some preconceived theory. In some cases the Purāṇas may be right and the Veda wrong. We must put aside all preconceived ideas concerning the period before 600 B. C. All of our theories are like houses of cards which a breath might destroy. In spite of page 12 Pargiter is not sufficiently critical of Puranic tradition, and in spite of page 14 he is too much biassed against Brahman tradition. The later Purāṇas show too much glibness and too much fertility of fancy in manufacturing long lists of names and in inventing stories to make us feel safe in pressing very far details of the stories and all of the names. It is impossible to defend as historical the schematic genealogies of Dharma and Kaśyapa, the long accounts of the Manus and Manvantaras, the lists of the Pitts, and the genealogies of the rulers of the different *dvīpas*. It is too much to expect that the genealo-



gies and stories about ancient kings could have escaped contamination from these later legendary tendencies. And yet many historical facts may have escaped revision. The two traditions must be confronted calmly and judiciously. We owe Pargiter a debt of gratitude for the labor he has spent in collecting the Puranic material, but his treatment of it is not sufficiently critical for historical purposes. Its evaluation for historical purposes still remains for the future. But in the future the Puranic material must be treated with much greater consideration than has been done in the past. Considering the vicissitudes of Puranic tradition the surprising thing is not the amount of discrepancy but the amount of agreement. I agree with Pargiter that this is not to be accounted for on the supposition that Puranic tradition has been pieced together from incidental references in the Vedic texts held together by a large amount of pure invention. If so it seems to me inexplicable that so much of the Vedic material which was ready at hand was not utilized and that many important names of the Rig Veda were given no place in the genealogies.

I cannot agree with Pargiter's theories of three different races in the Puranic genealogies, of the Dravidian origin of the Brahmans and of an Aryan invasion through the central Himālayas with early settlements around Allahabad and Benares and a regressive movement through the Punjab into Persia where it gave rise to Iranian civilization. So far as I can see there is nothing in Puranic tradition which really warrants the first two conclusions. The third assumption is most improbable.

University of Chicago

WALTER EUGENE CLARK

*Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre.* Traduites et commentées par J. B. CHABOT, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE, 1922 (published by PAUL GEUTHNER). Pp. 152, 4°, 32 plates. 50 francs.

This handsome volume will be welcomed by all those who are interested in the ancient civilizations of Western Asia, more especially those belonging to the Semitic branch. It contains more than its title indicates, for it is not a mere collection of inscriptions, nor intended primarily for the epigraphist, but is rather an attempt to bring clearly to the view of the wider public whatever knowledge can now be derived from the more than



seven hundred native inscriptions thus far discovered, as to the famous city Palmyra and its inhabitants. The inscriptions are classified, and in their several classes are arranged in such a way as to show their connection and relative importance. They are not transliterated, nor given in facsimile, except on the plates at the end of the volume, nor is there any philological comment or discussion. The sole aim of the author is to show what light these documents throw on the Palmyrene civilization in its principal aspects. No scholar is better fitted for this task than M. Chabot, with his long familiarity with all the minutiae of the North Semitic epigraphy, and his profound knowledge of all the linguistic and historical material which can be brought to bear upon the subject. As editor, moreover, of the forthcoming volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* devoted to the Palmyrene Inscriptions, he has an unrivalled command of this special field. The present volume is, in fact, a by-product of his labors on the greater work; a by-product made possible by the public spirit and generosity of the Duc de Loubat, already well known for similar services to the sciences of epigraphy and archaeology.

The introduction sketches the history of Palmyrene epigraphy, and gives a brief summary of the history of the city, as far as it is known, from the earliest times down to its destruction in 273 A. D. A plan of the surviving ruins is added. Then follow chapters on the Tariff Laws of Palmyra; Honorary Inscriptions; Religious Inscriptions; Mortuary Inscriptions; Tesseræ and Coins. The book is beautifully printed in large type, and superbly illustrated. The first twenty plates are phototypes, showing the best preserved of the more important monuments of the city: temples, colonnades, altars, gateways, ceilings, tombs, besides numerous details of sculpture and decoration. These are mostly from photographs hitherto unpublished. The remaining twelve plates, which are folded and therefore of double size, are heliogravures, executed in the perfect manner which we are wont to expect in the French publications of this nature. These include the facsimiles of inscriptions, the inscribed monuments of various kinds, and some four score of the best preserved and most interesting busts.

Here is valuable material, of many kinds, for the archaeologist and the historian. From the epitaphs alone it is possible

to obtain a surprising amount of information; and when to these are added the many inscriptions of the other classes, even though they are mostly stereotyped in form, the reader under the able guidance of M. Chabot becomes acquainted with numerous aspects of a highly interesting civilization: laws and customs, materials and features of the social and economic life, religious beliefs, and a development of fine art, especially sculpture, which has only recently begun to attract the attention which it deserves. Students of the Old and New Testaments will find here much that is valuable, not only because of the proximity of Palmyra to the Holy Land, and because the language of the inscriptions resembles more closely the Jewish Aramaic of the last centuries B. C. and the first century A. D. than any other gentile dialect, but also because of interesting resemblances in the religious ideas and modes of expression. M. Chabot discusses at some length (pp. 73-81) the very numerous inscriptions dedicated either to Baalšamin expressly named or to the same "Lord of the Heavens" designated in the oft-recurring formula, "He whose name is blessed forever, the good and merciful," or occasionally as "Lord of the World"; showing how the religion of the people of Palmyra had undergone a syncretistic development resulting in the conception of a supreme deity. The identification of this deity with the Greek Zeus, in certain bilingual inscriptions, is noted on pages 74 and 76. It might have been worth while to add, that the same identification was made in Phoenicia, according to Philo of Byblus; and also—a far more interesting fact—that Zeus Olympius, whose image was set up by Antiochus Epiphanes on the great altar in the temple at Jerusalem, appears in the Book of Daniel (11, 31; 12, 11; cf. 8, 13; 9, 27) as שָׁמַיָּא שֶׁמֶשׁ, that is, Baalšamēm, with the characteristic substitution of שָׁמַיָּא "abomination" for בַּעַל. The earliest mention of this god is said (p. 73) to have been in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Tyre (about 674 B. C.); the Zakar inscription, however, carries back the first mention a full hundred years beyond this date. In the list of countries in which the name is found (p. 74), Cilicia, in two Aramaic inscriptions of the fifth century B. C. (*JAOS* 35, 371), can now be included.

On p. 79 M. Chabot raises the question whether the above-mentioned syncretism may not have been due to Jewish influ-



ence, and on pp. 80f. he cites phrases and formulae in which the evidence of such influence seems to him to be unmistakable. I venture to question whether this conclusion is warranted. Palmyra undoubtedly contained a considerable Jewish population, and Jewish religious inscriptions have been found there, as M. Chabot notes; but religious conceptions similar to those embodied in the phrases mentioned seem to have been current in Western Asia for some time, especially in the regions under Hellenistic influence; the syncretism also was widespread in these regions. Even in Assyria, at a much earlier date, we find the frequently occurring divine epithet *rēmēnu taiāru* "merciful and gracious." The phrase quoted from a single Palmyrene monument: *וְדִקְרָא לֵהּ בְּקָטָא וְעָזָר בְּרָקָא*, "who cried to him in distress, and he answered them with alleviation," does indeed very closely resemble Ps. 118,5, but I can see in it no evidence of borrowing, only an accidentally similar expression of an acknowledgement which must have been very commonly felt.

I have noticed one or two misprints (76,9; 80,12) in the beautiful Palmyrene characters employed, but in general the typography is beyond all criticism. And, be it said once more, the magnificently executed plates at the end of the volume form such a collection of material for the archaeologist and the epigraphist as can be found nowhere else in a work of this convenient size and small cost.

CHARLES C. TORREY

Yale University

*The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain by Ibn 'Abd Al-Ḥakam.* Edited by CHARLES C. TORREY. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922. Pp. 65+369.

"The History of the Conquest of Egypt"—its shorter title and its more appropriate one—written by Ibn 'Abd Al-Ḥakam (died 871 A. D.) has occupied an authoritative place in the Arabic literature dealing with the early history of Mohammedan Egypt. The author came of a learned family; and while he had little of the sense of history shown by some of the later Arabic authors, he was considered an expert in the science of tradition. He has, therefore, preserved for us a great many facts and anecdotes which may occasionally make the reading of his work trying,



but never useless. The full title of his work reads, as on Professor Torrey's English title page: "The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain", but in the Arabic the title is merely "The Story of the Conquest of Egypt and Its History". That the author's interest lay specifically in his native country is evidenced by the small part that the story of the conquest of North Africa and of Spain takes in the work as now published—pages 183—225, i. e., 42 pages out of 319.

Most of the facts related are not new. Portions of Ibn 'Abd Al-Ḥakam's work have been published from time to time (see Introduction, p. 22) and through other historians the various events have become the property of those who read. Professor Torrey himself has said (*JAOS* 20. 209) that the author's work contains a great deal that is worthless and that he "was one who possessed few of the qualities of a good historian". The peculiar value of this book, however, lies in the fact that its author was the first Arabic historian of Egypt, and that the work that he produced was the starting point for quite a number of other histories dealing with the affairs of Egypt and with a description of its various parts. It is interesting for the history of Arabic literature to follow the fortunes of such a book as that of Ibn 'Abd Al-Ḥakam. On the one hand a writer like Al-Suyūṭī (A. D. 1500) has taken whole passages word for word;<sup>1</sup> so that if we were possessed of a scientific edition of his history, it might perhaps serve to control passages where the manuscript authority is indeterminate. On the other hand, Al Kindī (A. D. 970) has made use of the material put at his disposal by Ibn 'Abd Al-Ḥakam as a basis, and has largely expanded the same by the addition of traditions and of facts gathered from other sources. I have pointed this out in the portion of Al Kindī's work on the Egyptian Cadis which I published in 1908; and it can be followed in the complete work of that author published by Guest in 1912.

Students of Arabic literature have for a long time desired to have a complete edition of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's treatise.

<sup>1</sup> Some of these have found their way into other works of Suyūṭī, e. g. those dealing with *hadīth*. See his *Kanz al-'Ummal* in the shortened edition of al-Muttaḥḥī, vol. iii, p. 174, No. 2637; vol. vii, p. 163, No. 1499, as well as on the margin of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Muṣnad*, vol. II, pp. 184, 314; vol. V, p. 372.

Professor Torrey tells us that he began the work in 1895; but that various circumstances have prevented him from finishing it until now. About the year 1904, Georges Salmon, of the Institut Français du Caire, had taken the work in hand; but other occupations deterred him from continuing it. It is well that it was so; for Massé's edition (1914) of a portion of Salmon's work is very much inferior in fulness and in quality to that given us by Torrey.

I need say little about the text that Professor Torrey has placed before us. For some reason or other, the family of Ibn 'Abd Al-Hakam fell into disgrace (Introduction, p. 19), and it seems that only one codex of the author's work was handed down to his chief traditor, Ibn Kudaid. As this codex was quite faulty, it is not an easy matter for an editor to establish a finished and readable text. Professor Torrey, however, has been able to do this. He has made use of all the material at his disposal; and his accustomed accuracy and his far-reaching knowledge have combined to give us that text in a form that will easily cause it to be classed among the very best that modern scholarship has produced. In the Introduction, p. 7, note 1, reference is made to Guest's article on the Khittas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January 1907. It would have been well had Professor Torrey added a reference to Casanova's careful and exact study of the subject published in the *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Volume 35 (1913-1919).<sup>2</sup> On page xxxiii, M. Casanova remarks that Mr. Guest did not have the chance to consult the work of Ibn 'Abd Al-Hakam. A very excellent and detailed plan of Fustât is attached to the work of M. Casanova.

It was inevitable, considering the circumstances and especially the distance of the printing office from the editor (Leyden-New Haven) that certain errors should have remained uncorrected in addition to those detected by the editor and given on pages 64-65 of the Introduction. To mention only a few. Among the abbreviations (Introduction p. 25) we are told to accept Balādh. for Balādhuri's historical work. Yet in most places I find it written with an 'e' i. e., Beladh—page 57, note 10; notes 6 and 7; p. 202, note 3; glossary, pages 50 and 51, and even

<sup>2</sup> On قيسارية see p. xxxiv., on صناعة p. xxxvi.

in the Introduction, p. 1. P. 2, 3. كعب for كعب; p. 45, 12 قمرنا for قمرنا; p. 57, 18 فمن for فمن; p. 56, 6 اربعة for اربعة; l. 12 شيا for شيا; p. 58, 15 last word the letter ر is broken off; p. 78, 9 وماجياها for وماجياها; p. 94, 2 جندب for جندب (See Ibn Duraid, p. 129), p. 347 s. v. الموقب 7, 5 in place of 7, 4. These are extremely minor matters which have caught my eye in the reading. They are, if I may use the expression, purely physical and do not in the least detract from the value of the edition.

Professor Torrey has also added a glossary of words and grammatical usages that are novel or little used. It is always a question how far such a glossary should go, especially in giving references to similar forms or like usages. On p. 30 s. v. لا one might add a reference to Popper's Glossary in his edition of the *Nujūm al-Dhahab*; so also p. 31 s. v. بذل in the sense of "offer." To بعث "obligatory military service," Dozy might have been cited; to بقط "agreement", Dozy and the explanation "pactum" ZDMG 60. 370; to بندق JA, 1891, p. 315.

But the addition of these glossaries raises an important question. They are becoming so numerous that a student of Arabic and an editor of Arabic texts is bound to have not only a series of dictionaries around him, but quite a multitude of small addenda attached to various texts. It would be natural for him to go to Gabriel Colin's edition of Abenzor (Ibn Zuhri)<sup>3</sup> or to de Koning's "Trois Traités d'anatomie arabe,"<sup>4</sup> for Arabic medical terms. But if he has to consult for ordinary work the glossaries in Ibn Kutaiba, in Balādhuri, two or three in de Goeje's edition of the geographical writers, in Tabari and al-Arib, in Guest's edition of al-Kindi, in Popper's edition of the *Nujūm* and in Torrey's of the *Futūḥ Miṣr*—to pick out a few only—it becomes a severe tax upon his time and his patience. Ought it not to be possible for us to give some help to the dictionary which is to contain all these, and much more, on which Professor Fischer is at work and the last word about which I read in ZDMG 72, pages 199 et seq.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, Vol. xviv (1911).

<sup>4</sup> Leiden 1903.

<sup>5</sup> It is perfectly certain that Yāqūt not only knew of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's



One query: on page 1 of the Introduction reference is made to the article on Ibn 'Abd Al-Hakam in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. My own copy of the *Encyclopedia* does not reach as far as this. Is the reference made in advance of its appearance?

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

Columbia University

*India in World Politics.* By TARAKNATH DAS, A. M. New York: HUERSCH, 1923. Pp. xvii + 135.

The author, who is a well-educated and intelligent Hindu nationalist living in this country, advances the thesis that India is perhaps the most important element in international politics today, because it is the heart and core of British imperialistic policies, all of which revolve around Britain's desire to keep India. His arguments, tho they frankly present the question one-sidedly, are made the more plausible by the device of liberal quotations from British statesmen and semi-official British apologists. Not the least interesting parts of the book are those in which he addresses his fellow-countrymen, pointing out the desirability of their cultivating the friendship of foreign nations, in the hope of enlisting their sympathy or active aid against British imperialism, which he regards as a menace to the peace of the world.

## PERSONALIA

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON of Columbia University was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on April 17, 1923.

Professor JACKSON delivered a series of six lectures on "Manichaeism—once a Rival of Christianity and Zoroastrianism", under the Haskell Foundation, at the University of Chicago, between April 11 and April 27, 1923. These lectures are to appear in book form. Their interest and importance will be evident from the fact that they will include the results of the author's intimate study of the newly-found Manichaean texts from Central Asia.

The Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN of Columbia University has been elected a Corresponding Member (*Académico Correspondiente*) of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and Historical Sciences of Toledo, Spain.

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history, but made use of it (vol. III, p. 31). How does it come that Heer in his *Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Jāhūl's geographischem Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1898) makes no mention of the Futūh?

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT THE MEETING IN PRINCETON, N. J., 1923

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-fifth meeting, were held in Princeton, New Jersey, at Princeton University, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, April 3, 4, 5, 1923.

The following members were present one or more sessions:

Abbott	Gellot	Newell
Barret	Gottheil	Ogden, C. J.
Barton	Grieve, Miss	Olmstead
Bates, Mrs.	Haupt	Pavry
Bender	Hopkins	Pfeiffer
Berry	Hussey, Miss	Reich
Bloomfield	Jackson, A. V. W.	Reilly
Briggs, G. W.	Jackson, Mrs.	Sanders
Butin	Jastrow, Mrs.	Schoff
Chapman	Kent, R. G.	Schoff, Mrs.
Chiera	Klein	Sharenkoff
Clay	Lanman	Shear
Cummings	Levine	Snyder
Davis	Margolis, M. L.	Thacker
DeLong	Matthews	Vanderburgh
Dhalla	Meek	Waterman
Edgerton, F.	Montgomery	Watt
Elzas	Moran	Wood, H.
Ember	Morgenstern	Yohannan
		[Total 57]

THE FIRST SESSION

At 11: 15 A. M. the first session of the Society was called to order by President E. Washburn Hopkins. The reading of the Proceedings at Chicago in 1922 was dispensed with as they

were already in print (JOURNAL 42. 379-400): there were no corrections and they were approved.

Professor Bender, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented its report in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Tuesday afternoon at 2:30 P. M., Wednesday morning at 9:30 A. M., Wednesday afternoon at 2:30 P. M., and Thursday morning at 9:30 A. M. It was announced that the members were invited to tea at the home of President and Mrs. Hibben on Tuesday afternoon at 5 o'clock; that there would be an informal gathering in Murray-Dodge Hall on Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock; that the members were invited to be the guests of the University at luncheon in the University Dining Halls on Wednesday at 1 o'clock; and that the annual subscription dinner would be held in Procter Hall at the Graduate College on Wednesday evening at 7:45 o'clock.

### REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Doctor Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

The official year 1922-1923 has not been marked by any outstanding nature, and the record is one of consolidation rather than expansion in the Society's activities. There has been a normal increment of new corporate members, 45 in all, but the losses by death and thru resignation or failure to qualify have almost exactly balanced the accessions. With the large increase in our numbers during recent years, the Society now has in reality two classes of corporate members, the active, who are professionally engaged in Oriental scholarship thru teaching and research and are more or less regular attendants at the annual meetings, and the class of those persons who, as our announcement says, "are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and give it their help in the furthering of its work." The bond of allegiance of these "associate" members is naturally not so strong; and we might well consider how to keep their interest stimulated, especially thru the JOURNAL, which is the one activity of the Society that reaches all its members.

The Society has as usual been represented during the past year at a number of functions of an academic or commemorative character. Of prime interest was the international gathering of Orientalists at Paris in July last to celebrate the double centenary of the founding of the Société Asiatique and of Champollion's decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Six of the twelve delegates appointed by this Society were fortunately able to be present: namely, Dr. Abbott, and Professors Breasted, Gottheil, Jackson, Jewett, and Lanman. Subsequently, in October, a special commemoration of Champollion's great discovery was held under the auspices of the University of



Grenoble, at which we were appropriately represented by Professor Breasted. We have also been invited to participate in the Fifth International Congress of Historical Studies, which is to assemble next week in Brussels, and Professor Carnoy of Louvain, a fellow-member known to many of us thru his sojourn in this country, will act as our delegate. In America the Society was represented at the memorial meeting for Mrs. Sara Yorke Stevenson held in Philadelphia on April 29, 1922, both by a committee of the local members in person and thru letters from Professors Breasted and Clay. At the inauguration of Dr. Charles Wesley Flint as Chancellor of Syracuse University on Nov. 17, 1922, Professor Ismar J. Peritz of that institution was the delegate from this Society.

Notice has been received during the year of the death of twelve members of the Society, two being Honorary Members, one an Honorary Associate, and nine corporate members.

FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Ph.D., born in 1850, was himself the son of a great scholar, the Hebraist Franz Delitzsch. He was first drawn to the study of Sanskrit, but soon turned to that of Assyriology, which he pursued thru a long and fruitful academic career as professor at Leipzig (1877-1893), Breslau (1893-1899), and finally at the University of Berlin (1899-1920). His lexicographical and grammatical works, most of which have gone thru many editions, are monuments to his great learning, but he was also at home in the domain of cultural studies and had always a special interest in the bearing of Assyriological investigation upon the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, a subject that his famous lecture *Babel und Bibel* (1902) brought into the arena of popular controversy. Elected an Honorary Member in 1893. Died Dec. 23, 1922.

THOMAS WILLIAM RHYS DAVIDS, Ph.D., LL.D., D.Sc., born in 1843, had been in his earlier years a member of the Ceylon Civil Service and was afterwards professor of Pali and Buddhist literature at University College, London (1882-1912), and professor of comparative religion at the University of Manchester (1904-1915). His greatest services to scholarship, however, lay in his extending the knowledge of the Pali literature and the Hinayāna school of Buddhism thru his numerous editions and translations of texts and his expository works, in which sympathetic insight and charm of style are happily united. Much of his work was done thru the Pali Text Society, of which he was the founder and the president. Elected an Honorary Member in 1907. Died Dec. 27, 1922.

PAUL S. REINSCH, Ph.D., LL.D., from 1899 to 1913 professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, and from 1913 to 1919 United States minister to China, gained distinction both as a scholar and as a diplomat. Of his numerous publications there may be mentioned, as bearing upon Oriental subjects, *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century as influenced by the Oriental Situation* (1900); *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East* (1911); *An American Diplomat in China* (1922). He was elected an Honorary Associate in 1921 and died in Shanghai, Jan. 24, 1923.

ADISON VAN NAME, A. M., who died at New Haven in his eighty-seventh year, was for forty years (1865-1905) the librarian of Yale University and rendered faithful service to this Society as Treasurer and Librarian, holding

the combined offices from 1873 to 1891 and the latter only from 1891 to 1905. With his passing one of the last links with the first generation of the Society is broken, for he was elected a member in 1863. Died Sept. 29, 1922.

Rev. JAMES BUCHANAN NIES, Ph.D., of Brooklyn, came late in life to the study of Assyriology, after spending his earlier years in the active ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His extensive travels and wide fund of general information furnished him an unusual equipment for scholarly research, and he became a recognized authority in the interpretation of the remains of the Sumerian period, many of which were in his admirable collection of Babylonian antiquities. In addition to his investigations and publications, he was a wise and generous patron of research in the Near East. He was elected a member of the Society in 1906 and served as a Director from 1916 to 1919 and as President during the year 1921-1922. Died in Jerusalem, June 18, 1922.

JOHANN FRIEDERICH SCHELTEMA, Ph.D., was born in the Celebes, of Dutch parents, and spent nearly thirty years of his career in Java as a government official and a journalist. After leaving the East Indies in 1903 he divided his time between travel and literary work and resided for a number of years in the United States. He was the author of *Monumental Java* (1912) and *The Lebanon in Turmoil* (1920), the latter having been his doctoral dissertation at Yale University. Elected in 1906. Died in London, June 14, 1922.

HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, A.M., professor of the history of architecture at Princeton University, held a leading position among the American scholars interested in the archeological exploration of the Near East. He organized and conducted expeditions to Syria in 1899, 1904, and 1909. Thereafter he established the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, and explored that site for five seasons, from 1910 to 1914, and again with brilliant success in 1922, tho his exertions then brought on his own untimely end. His ability was displayed not only in field work but in the careful and elaborate publication of the archeological results. Elected in 1908. Died in Paris, Aug. 13, 1922.

ELIEZER BEN YEHUDA, a resident of Jerusalem, was internationally known in Judaism for his contributions to modern Hebrew literature and lexicography and for his endeavors to make the Hebrew tongue a vehicle of living speech. Elected in 1916. Died Dec. 16, 1922.

Rabbi EMIL GUSTAV HIRSCH, D.D., L.H.D., D.C.L., since 1880 minister of Sinai Congregation, Chicago, and professor of Rabbinical literature and philosophy at the University of Chicago since 1892, was a leader of the liberal movement in American Judaism. He was a distinguished orator and took an active part in civic affairs, but served the cause of scholarship as well thru his editorial work and his monographs and contributions to religious encyclopedias. Elected in 1917. Died Jan. 7, 1923.

Mrs. WILLIAM YORKE STEVENSON, of Philadelphia, was a student and amateur of the dramatic art and aided in the founding of the Philadelphia Art Alliance. In her plans for giving an American Passion Play she had become interested in the Orient and had recently traveled in Egypt, India, and Palestine in order to study the native background. Elected in 1919. Died Nov. 21, 1922.

JOHN M. BURNAM, Ph.D., had been professor of Latin at the University

of Cincinnati since 1900. His especial interest was in paleography, a subject on which he wrote a number of monographs. He was a member of the American Philological Association, and joined this Society as a life member in 1920. Died Nov. 21, 1921.

FREDERICK B. WHEELER, of Seymour, Conn., was a consulting engineer by profession and a mathematician of considerable attainments. Thru his study of anthropology and astronomy his attention was directed to the ancient Orient, and he became a patron of the Yale Babylonian Collection. Elected in 1921. Died Oct. 24, 1922.

Upon motion, the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

Tribute was paid to members who had died during the year: to Addison Van Name by President Hopkins; to F. Delitzsch by Professor Haupt; to Doctor Nies by Professor Clay; to E. Ben Yehuda by Professor Montgomery; to Rhys Davids by Professor Lanman; and the Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Professor Torrey regarding Doctor Scheltema.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer, Professor A. T. Clay, presented his report and that of the Auditing Committee:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1922

## *Receipts*

Jan. 1, 1922 Balance .....	1,866.51
Annual dues .....	2,381.58
Life memberships .....	300.00
Interest on bonds:	
U. S. Liberty Loan .....	170.00
Lackawanna Steel Co. ....	100.00
Virginia Ry. ....	50.00
Minne. Gen. Electric .....	50.00
	<hr/>
	370.00
Dividend:	
Chicago R. I. & Pacific .....	120.00
Interest on Deposit Yale University .....	72.51
Sales .....	709.49
Sale Offprints .....	7.56
	<hr/>

\$5,827.65

## *Expenditures*

Contribution to American Council of Learned Societies .....	29.85
Yale University Press, commissions &	



mailing journals .....	203.84	
Franklin Edgerton, Honorarium .....	200.00	
Max L. Margolis, Honorarium .....	200.00	
E. M. Grice, Honorarium .....	100.00	
Printing Journal, Vol. 41, Part 5 .....	987.54	
Lloyds & National Provincial Foreign Bank, purchase of marks on account of Journal .....	512.50	
Printing, reprints .....	54.51	
Printing, programs .....	12.50	
Printing, circulars .....	118.07	
Membership Committee, Printing .....	24.14	
clerical .....	6.50	
miscellaneous .....	1.50	
		32.14
Middle West Branch expense .....	78.75	
Editors expense .....	80.22	
Library expense .....	2.95	
Secretary's expense, printing .....	40.16	
clerical .....	14.12	
postage .....	10.88	
		65.16
Treasurer's expense, printing .....	24.75	
postage .....	4.51	
		29.26
Jan. 1, 1923 Balance, .....	3,120.36	
		<u>\$5,827.65</u>
The following funds are held by the Society:		
Charles W. Bradley Fund .....	\$3,000.00	
Alexander I. Cotheal Fund .....	1,500.00	
William Dwight Whitney Fund .....	1,000.00	
Life Membership Fund .....	3,050.00	
Publication Fund .....	78.50	
Total .....	\$8,628.50	
The foregoing funds, the interest on which is used for publication purposes, are represented in the assets of the Society held by the Yale University for the Treasurer, which on January 1, 1923, were as follows:		
Cash .....	\$3,120.36	
Bonds:		
\$4,000 Third U. S. Liberty Loan .....	3,920.00	(present value)
2,000 Lackawanna Steel Co. 5's 1923 .....	2,000.00	" "
1,000 Virginia Railway Co. 5's 1962 .....	952.50	" "
1,000 Minneapolis General Electric Co. 5's 1934 .....	950.00	" "

Stock:

20 shares Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific  
Co. pfd. . . . . 1,680.00

# REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of the Yale University and have found all correct.

CHARLES C. TORREY  
F. W. WILLIAMS  
*Auditors*

March 29, 1923.

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted: and it was voted that the thanks of the Society be tendered to Professor Clay and Doctor Grice for their faithful labors.

# REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian, Professor A. T. Clay, presented his report, and upon motion it was accepted:

During the year 1922-23 the library has been increased by the addition of 110 new titles and approximately 260 numbers of currently received periodicals. The new titles have been accessioned and acknowledged, and the cataloguing is now in progress. Numbers of periodicals have been added to catalogue cards and placed on the shelves.

In addition to the 110 titles noted above the library has been the recipient of a number of books dealing with subjects more or less unrelated to the other material in the collection, such as "Correct English and how to use it", "The work of the church among the Mormons", "The coal situation" etc., and of a small number of books duplicating works already in the Library. These have been filed away and are accessible but have not been catalogued.

Many volumes of periodicals are complete and should be bound. As new numbers come in some attempt is being made to prepare the volumes for binding, but the final preparation would be costly in time as well as in the actual expense of binding.

## LIST OF ACCESSIONS FOR THE YEAR 1922-23

- Abou'l Baqā ibn Djil'an. *Relation d'un voyage du sultan Qāitbāy en Pa'istine et en Syrie.* 1921.  
Agra and Oudh. Gorakhpur. Supp. notes and statistics to Vol. XXXII of the district gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. 1921  
Albini, J. *Veringetorix.* 1919.

- Amira, Karl von. Die germanischen Todesstrafen. 1922. (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse. XXXI Bd., 3. Abhandlung)
- Anandajñāna. Tarka-Sangraha of Anandajñāna. Ed. with introd. by T. M. Tripāthi. 1917. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 3)
- Anantaprasad Banerji-Sastri. Evolution of Magadhi. Introduction. 1922.
- Bālachandra Sōri. Vasantavilāsamahākāvya. Ed. by Chimanlal D. Dalal. 1917. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 7)
- Bangkok, Siam. Vajiranana national library. Records of the relations between Siam and foreign countries in the 17th century. v. 5. 1921.
- Benjamin, C. D. The variations between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Joshua: chaps. 1-12. 1921.
- Bent, A. C. Life histories of North American petrels and pelicans and their allies. 1922. (U. S. Nat. Museum. Bulletin 121.)
- Bhasa. Balacarita (Die Abenteuer des Knaben Krishna.) Schauspiel von Bhasa. Text herausgegeben von Dr. H. Weller. 1922. 2 copies.
- Bhattacharya, Brindavan C. Indian images. Pt. I. 1921.
- Bhata Vāḍindra. Mahāvīdyā-Vidambana. With the commentaries of Anandapurna and Bhuvanavandara Suri. And the Dasa-sloki of Kularka Pandita with Vivarana and Vivarana Tippiṇi. Ed. by Mangesh Ramakrishna Telang. 1920. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 12)
- Blake, S. F. Native names and uses of some plants of Eastern Guatemala and Honduras. 1922. (U. S. Nat. Museum. Contributions from the U. S. nat. herbarium. v. 24, pt. 4).
- Boston. Museum of fine arts. Bulletin. v. 19. 1921.
- Bihar and Orissa. Patna Museum. Annual report of the Patna Museum. 1918-1919. 2v.
- Buddhaghosa. The Padyacudamani of Buddhaghosacarya. Ed. by M. Ranga Acharya and by S. Kuppuswami Sastri. With a commentary by K. Venkatesvara Sastri and D. S. Satakopa Acharya. 1921.
- Buddhaghosa. Papancaśudani Majjhimanikayaṭṭhakatha of Buddhaghosa-ācariya. Ed. by J. H. Woods and D. Kosambi. Pt. I. Suttas 1-10. 1922.
- The Buddhist Annual of Ceylon. v. 1, no. 3. 1922.
- Castagné, J. Notes sur la politique extérieure de l'Afghanistan depuis 1919 (Missions et traités). 1921. (Revue du monde Musulman. Dec. 1921. v. XLVIII)
- Castagné, J. Le Turkestan depuis la révolution russe (1917-1921). 1922. (Revue du monde Musulman. Extrait. v. 1.)
- K. Česká společnost nauk, Prague. Trída filosoficko-historicko-jazyko-zpytná. Mémoires. 1919.
- Chiera, E. Old Babylonian contracts. 1922. (Univ. of Pennsylvania. The University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section. v. 8, no. 2).
- The China journal of science & arts; ed. by A. de C. Sowerby (Science), J. C. Ferguson (Literature & arts). V. 1, no. 1. 1923.



- Cushman, J. A. The foraminifera of the Atlantic Ocean. Pt. 3. 1922. (U. S. Nat. Museum. Bulletin 104).
- Dandin. Die zehn Prinzen. Ein indischer Roman. Vollständig verdeutscht von Johannes Hertel. 1922. 3v. (Indische Erzähler. Bd. 1-3).
- Densmore, F. Northern Ute music. 1922. (Smithsonian institution. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 75).
- Fischer, A. Aus der religiösen Reformbewegung in der Türkei. Türkische Stimmen verdeutscht von Dr. A. Fischer. 1922. (Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig. Forschungsinstitut für Orientalistik. Arabisch-islamische Abteilung. Nr. 1).
- Fowke, G. Archaeological investigations. 1922. (Smithsonian institution. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology. Bulletin 76).
- Gana-kārikā, Ed. by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal. 1920. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 15).
- Geiger, M. Pali Dhamma vornehmlich in der kanonischen Literatur. Von Magdalene und Wilhelm Geiger. 1920. (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse. XXXI. Bd., 1. Abhandlung).
- Granet, M. La religion des chinois. 1922. (Science et civilisation).
- Grousset, R. Histoire de l'Asie. 1921. 3v.
- Grüh, M. Das vor- und frühgeschichtliche Werden des ägyptischen Volkes. 1922. (Vierteljahrbeilage zu Stimmen des Orients).
- Günter, H. Buddha in der abendländischen Legende? 1922.
- Hamadsāni. Die Maqāsim des Hamadsāni aus dem Arabischen übersetzt von O. Rescher. 1913.
- Handy, W. C. Tattooing in the Marquesas. 1922. (Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Bulletin 1.) (Bayard Dominick expedition. Pub. no. 3).
- Henderson, J. R. The coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. 1921.
- Hespéria. Archives berbères et bulletin de l'Institut des hautes études marocaines. 1921.
- Hira Lal Kavyopadhyaya. A grammar of the Chattisgarhi dialect of eastern Hindi. Originally written by Hira Lal Kavyopadhyaya, and tr. by Sir G. A. Grierson. Rev. and enl. by Pandit Lochan Prasad Kavya-Vinod, under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal. 1921.
- Hitchcock, A. S. Grasses of British Guiana. 1922. (U. S. Nat. Museum. Contributions from the U. S. Nat. Herbarium. v. 22, pt. 6).
- Hoppner, T. Fontes historiae aegyptiacae. Pars I; Auctores ab Homero usque ad Diodorum continens. 1922. (Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis, fasc. 2, pars 1).
- India. Archaeological survey. Jammu and Kashmir. Annual progress report of the Archaeological department. 1919.
- Jacobi, H. Sanatkumaracaritam. Ein Abschnitt aus Haribhadras Neminnathacaritam. 1921. (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse. XXXI. Bd., 2. Abhandlung).
- Jayasinha Sūri. Hanmira-mada-mardana of Jayasinha Sūri. By Chimanlal D. Dalal. 1920. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 10.)
- Jouveau-Dubreuil, G. Vedic Antiquities by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil. 1922.

- Kavindracharya list. Ed. by R. A. K. Sastry. With foreword by Dr. Ganganatha Jha. 1921. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 17.)
- Keith, A. B. Indian logic and atomism. An exposition of the Nyaya and Vaiśeṣika systems. 1921.
- Keith, A. B. The Karma-mīmāṃsa. 1921. (The heritage of India series.)
- Kiel, Universität. Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen an der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel. 1922.
- Kolmodin, J. Traditions de Tsazzege et Hazzega. 1914.
- Lanman, C. R. India and the West. President's address. 1920. (Reprint from the Journal of the Amer. Oriental Society, v. 40, pp. 225-247. 1920.)
- Lanman, C. R. The Sanskrit mutes called mūrdhanya, that is domal. 1919. (Reprint from Festgabe Kaegi, Zürich, 1919.)
- Law, B. C. Ksatriya clans in Buddhist India. With a foreword by Sir Asutosh Mukherjee. 1922.
- Lewy, J. Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien. 1922.
- Lewy, J. Untersuchungen zur Akkadischen Grammatik. 1921.
- Lorimer, D. L. R. The phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Mad-aglashti dialects of modern Persian. 1922. (Prize publication fund, v. VI.)
- Madras (Presidency) Finance (separate revenue) dept. Annual report of the Assistant archaeological superintendent for epigraphy, southern circle.
- Maulvi Muhammad Hamid. Catalogue of the Museum of archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal state. By Maulvi Muhammad Hamid and Pandit Ram Chandra Kak and Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda. With a foreword by Sir John Marshall. 1922. (Archaeological survey of India.)
- Maxon, W. R. Studies of tropical American ferns. no. 4. 1922. (U. S. Nat. Museum. Contributions from the U. S. Nat. herbarium. v. 24, pt. 2).
- Minorsky, V. Notes sur la secte des Ahl-e-Haqq. I-II. 1921.
- Morgenstierne, G. Ueber das Verhältnis zwischen Carudatta und Mr̥cchakatika. 1921.
- Mukherjee, B. L. The soma plant. 1922.
- Nārada. Saṅgita-makaranda of Nārada. Ed. by Mangesh Rāmakrishna Telang. 1920. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. 16.)
- Narasu, P. L. A study of caste. 1922.
- National research council of Japan. Proceedings. no. 1. 1922.  
Transactions and abstracts. V. 1, no. 1.
- Nielsen, C. Der dreieinige Gott in religionshistorischer Beleuchtung. Bd. I. 1922.
- The Orient; a magazine of art & culture. v. 1, no. 1. New York, 1923.
- Pan-Pacific scientific conference. 1st, Honolulu, 1920. Proceedings. 1921. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Special publication no. 7, pts. I-III, 1921.)
- Paramāra Prahlādanadeva. Pārthaparākrama vyāyoga. Ed. by C. D. Dalal. 1917. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 4.)
- Pargiter, F. E. Ancient Indian historical tradition. 1922.

- Pavgee, N. B. The indigenous far famed Soma and the Aryan autochthones in India. 1921.
- Philippine Islands. Bureau of civil service. 22d annual report. 1922.
- Plessis, J. Etude sur les textes concernant Istar-Astarté. 1921.
- Prāchīna Gurjara-Kāvyasangraha. Pt. I. Ed. by C. D. Dalal. 1920. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 13.)
- Rabbath, A., ed. Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient. t. 2, fasc. 3. 1921.
- Rajasekhara. Kavyamimamsa of Rajasekhara. Ed. by C. D. Dalal and R. Anantakrishna Shastri. 1916. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 1.)
- La Revue de l'Académie arabe. no. 9. Sept. 1922.
- Rigveda. Der Rigveda; oder, Die heiligen Hymnen der Brāhmana. Zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt. Mit Commentar und Einleitung von Alfred Ludwig. 1876-81. 4v. in 3.
- Rudrakavi. Rāshtraudhavasakāvya of Rudrakavi. Ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya with an introd. by C. D. Dalal. 1917. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 5.)
- Samyutta-nikaya. The book of the kindred sayings (Sanyutta-nikaya) or grouped suttas. Pt. II. The Nidana book (Nidana-Vagga). Tr. by Mrs. Rhys Davids assisted by F. H. Woodward. 1922. (Pali Text Society. Translation series, no. 10.)
- Saunaka. The Rg-Vedapratishakhyā with the commentary of Uvata. Ed. by Mangal Deva Shastri. Part of the introd. 1922. 2 copies.
- Scheffelowitz, I. Die Entstehung der manichäischen Religion und des Erlösungsmysteriums. 1922.
- Selections from Avesta and Old Persian (First series). Pt. I. Ed. by Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala. 1922.
- Siksha-Samuccaya. A compendium of Buddhist doctrine comp. by Santideva. Tr. from the Sanskrit by Cecil Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse. 1922. (Indian text series.)
- Société des études océaniques, Papeete. Bulletin. no. 6. 1922.
- Society of Oriental Research. Chicago. Journal. 1921.
- Soddhala. Udayasundarikathā of Soddhala. With introd. partly by C. Dalal and continued by Embar Krishnamacharya. 1920. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 11.)
- Sofia-Alessio, F. Ultima Tibulli dies. 1920.
- Somaprabhāchārya. Kumārapāla-pratibodha of Somaprabhāchārya. Ed. by Munirāja Jinavijaya. 1920. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 14.)
- South Manchuria Railway Co. Manchuria. Land of opportunities. 1922.
- Standley, P. C. Trees and shrubs of Mexico. 1922. (Contributions from the U. S. nat. herbarium. v. 23, pt. 2.)
- Stein, O. Megasthenes und Kautilya. 1921. (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Sitzungsberichte, 191 Bd. 5 Abhandlung.)
- Stimmen des Orients. Jahr. 1(2-3). 1922.
- Sullivan, L. R. A contribution to Tongan somatology. 1922. (Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. v. VIII-no. 4). (Bayard Dominick expedition. Pub. no. 2.)
- Swanton, J. R. Early history of the Creek Indians and their neighbors.



1922. (Smithsonian institution. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 73.)
- Taki, R. S. Amourism; or, Premāmrita. 1922.
- Tikapatthana. Tikapatthana of the Abhidhamma Pitaka. Pt. II. Kusalatthana. Together with Buddhaghosa's Commentary from the Pañcappakarnatthakatha. Ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids. 1922. (Pali Text Society.)
- Trombetti, Alfredo. Elementi di Glottologia. 1922 (R. Accademia delle scienze dell' istituto di Bologna. Classe di scienze morali.)
- Underhill, M. M. The Hindu religious year. 1921. (The religious life of India.)
- Vāmana. Lingānusāsana of Vāmana. Ed. with introd. by C. D. Dalal. 1918. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 6.)
- Vārāhagṛhyasūtra, ed. by R. Sama Sastry. 1921. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 18.)
- Vastupala. Naranarayananda of Vastupala. Ed. by C. D. Dalal and R. Anantakrishna Shastry. 1916. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 2.)
- Vatsarāja. A collection of six dramas of Vatsarāja. Ed. by C. D. Dalal. 1918. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 8.)
- Vishnu Purana. The Vishnu Purāṇa; a system of Hindu mythology and tradition. Tr. by H. H. Wilson. Ed. by F. Hall. 1864-70. 5v.
- Der Visvanatha Pañcanana Bhattacharya Karikavali mit des Verfassers eigner Kommentar Siddhantamuktavali aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, von Otto Strauss. 1922. (Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. XVI Bd. no. 1.)
- Wenger, L. Volk und Staat in Aegypten am Ausgang der Römerherrschaft. 1922. (Festrede gehalten in der öffentlichen Sitzung der B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zur Feier des 162. Stiftungstages.)
- Willoughby, W. W. China at the conference. 1922.
- Witzel, M. Keilschriftliche Studien in zwangloser Folge erscheinende Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Keilschrift-Literatur ins besondere der Sumeriologie. Hft. 1 1918.
- Yasabpāla. Moharājaparājaya of Yasabpāla. Ed. by Muni Chaturavijayaji with introd. and appendices by C. D. Dalal. 1918. (Gaekwad's Oriental series, no. 9.)
- Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, herausgegeben von Carl Meinhof. Mit Unterstützung der Hamburgischen wissenschaftlichen Stiftung. 1921-22. Bd. XI-XII.

## REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor Edgerton, the senior editor of the JOURNAL, presented the report of the Editors, and upon motion it was adopted:

The first half of Volume 42 was printed in September, 1922, but did not actually reach this country until late in November. The second half is now (March 1923) in press and should appear very shortly. The Volume will contain 421 pages.

Owing to the chaotic conditions in Germany at present, it has proved impossible to continue printing there, in spite of the best endeavors of both the editors and the printers. We are therefore printing Volume 43 in this country. We have made a contract with the Jewish Publication Society of America, and believe that this marks the beginning of very satisfactory and, we trust, permanent relations with this Society, which has shown a very praiseworthy desire to serve oriental scholarship in this country by renouncing all hope of financial profit from the printing of the *JOURNAL*. The terms on which it has undertaken to print Volume 43 will make it cost our Society but little more than it would probably cost to print in Germany. Volume 43 will be issued in five parts and will contain 480 pages. It is hoped that the first part will appear very shortly.

In accordance with instructions given to the Editors by the Board of Directors, approximately one-fourth of the space of the *JOURNAL* will henceforth be devoted to reviews of important new publications on oriental subjects. We have already received for review a considerable number of such publications, and have arranged for reviews of most of them. Several such reviews will appear in the first part of Volume 43. We bespeak the cooperation of the members of the Society and of orientalists generally in this new venture. The editors hope that all reviews published in the *JOURNAL* will be not perfunctory notices but profound and penetrating studies, of real scholarly value. To achieve this result it will be necessary to find reviewers who are not only competent in scholarship, but also able and willing to give generously of their time and energy to the task of reviewing. This will not infrequently imply a spirit of self-sacrifice on the part of the reviewers, since the small fee which our Society can afford to pay for reviews will hardly seem a compensation for their time and trouble. We hope, however, that the importance of the undertaking will seem to reviewers, as it seems to the Editors, sufficient to justify this sacrifice.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

MAX L. MARGOLIS

*Editors*

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee as printed in the *JOURNAL* (42, 213 and 377). He also reported that the Executive Committee had approved the request of the Société Belge d' Études Orientales for affiliation with the Federation of Asiatic Societies.

Upon motion the report of the Executive Committee was accepted.

## ELECTION OF MEMBERS

On recommendation of the Directors, Professor M. Winter-nitz of the University of Prag and Professor H. Zimmern of

the University of Berlin were duly elected honorary members of the Society.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected corporate members of the Society; the list includes one elected at a later meeting.

Mr. William Y. Bell	Mr. Samuel Pitlik
Dr. Renward Brandstetter	Prof. Lucius C. Porter
Rev. George Weston Briggs	Dr. Nathaniel Reich
Prof. John F. B. Carruthers	Mr. Halsey A. Rine
Rabbi Adolph Coblenz	Mr. Samuel Rosenblatt
Prof. Thomas F. Cummings	Mrs. Wilfred H. Schöff
Dr. Barnett A. Elzas	Dr. T. Leslie Shear
Dr. A. L. Frothingham	Miss Marion W. Sleezer
Miss Ann Lillian Leathers	Mr. N. L. Thacker
Prof. Isadore Levine	Prof. Rudolf Tschudi
Mr. Leon J. Liebreich	Mr. W. H. Weigel, Jr.
Prof. Francis C. MacDonald	Mr. Peter H. Wooldridge
Rev. Dr. Philo Laos Mills	[Total: 25]

Professor Haupt, for the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1923, reported nominations for the several offices as follows:

President: President Cyrus Adler, Dropsie College, Philadelphia.

Vice-Presidents: Professor Roland G. Kent, Philadelphia.

Professor C. R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass.

Professor Ira M. Price, Chicago.

Corresponding Secretary: Dr. Charles J. Ogden, New York.

Recording Secretary: Professor LeRoy C. Barret, Hartford.

Treasurer: Professor John C. Archer, New Haven.

Librarian: Professor A. T. Clay, New Haven.

Editors of the Journal: Professor Franklin Edgerton, Philadelphia.

Professor Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia.

Directors (term expiring 1926): Mrs. A. H. Saunders, New York.

Professor N. Schmidt, Ithaca.

Professor H. H. Bender, Princeton.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

President Hopkins delivered an address on "The Development of Hindu Ethics".

The session adjourned at 12:40 P. M.

## THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2:30 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon; the reading of papers was immediately begun.



Professor PAUL HAUPT, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Sumerian Origin of the Semitic Word for 'Snow'; (b) Plato's Atlantis; (c) Leprosy and Framboesia; (d) Apples of Gold in Baskets of Silver. Remarks by Dr. Elzas, Dr. Chapman, Prof. Olmstead, and the author.

(a) Heb. *šālḡ*, snow, denotes also fullers' earth = pB *šālḡ* or *šālḡk* < Ass. *šallaku*, whitener, Fr. *blanchisseur* (cf. Mark 9, 3) < Sum. *azalak* (JHUC 306, 4). We speak of snowy linen; the Semites regarded snow as a white blanket (<blank, white). Sum. *zalak*, bright (RA 17, 33) < za, bright + lak = lax, lux, to wash, rub (cf. JAOS 37, 322, n. 11). Arab. *ḡasidī*, washerman, may be derived from *šālḡ*.

(b) Atlantis is not a great land submerged in the region of the Azores, but southwestern Spain, which was supposed to be an island as was also Cornwall whence tin was brought to Spain and thence to the East (contrast GA<sup>1</sup> 161<sup>f</sup>. 837<sup>n</sup>). Sargon of Accad (c. 2975 B. C.) calls southwestern Spain *mdt Anaku*, the Tin-land, while Esarhaddon (681-668) uses the name *Tarslsu* which we find in OT. According to Strabo (139) the people of Tarshish had annals, poems, and laws, which were said to be 6000 years old. After the destruction of Tartessus near the mouth of the Guadalquivir (c. 500 B. C.) Tarshish was often confounded with Gades (Cadix). Cf. JHUC 287, 46; Schulten, *Tartessos* (1922) pp. 6, 10, 14, 55, 80, 88.

(c) Heb. *ḡara't* (= Ass. *ḡarita* = Arab. *naḡd'ah*, whiteness) denotes a variety of skin-diseases (Numbers, SBOT, 45<sup>f</sup>) including frambesia which makes hairs turn white (Lev. 13, 3, 10, 25). Patients suffering from this highly contagious disease must be segregated, contaminated houses and clothing thoroughly cleansed and disinfected or destroyed (Lev. 13, 46, 58; 14, 41, 45). This disease is due to a minute protozoal blood-parasite, *treponema pertenue*, which resembles the morbid agent of syphilis, *treponema pallidum*.

(d) Prov. 25, 11 means: Like gold gravings (*pittāḡē*) on chased silver plate is a word spoken in the nick (< to nick, to nod, wink; cf. ZA 33, 62). 'Al-*afnāy* signifies lit. at his (=the; cf. Kings 299, 30) great (GK<sup>288</sup> 124, e') turn. Heb. *šfān*, wheel < *yapan* = *pan* (AJSL 22, 258) denotes prop. turn which may also mean turning-point, crisis (cf. Arab. *fāḡnah*, moment) and also (in pB Hebrew) form, mode (cf. Arab. *fann*, find). It is a form like *ḡḡār*, treasure; *ḡḡār*, cairn (PAPS 58, 241). Contrast JBL 33, 291; AJSL 36, 258<sup>f</sup>; JAOS 40, 324<sup>f</sup>.

Professor GEORGE A. BARTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) The Form and Nature of E-PA at Lagash; (b) The Comparative Degree in Sumerian; (c) Mormonism and Oriental Research. Remarks by President Hopkins and Dr. Ogden.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: Thomas Stevens and the discovery of the Devanāgarī manuscript of his *Christian Purāṇa*.

Thomas Stevens, born 1549 died 1619, has the double distinction of being the first Englishman positively known to have visited India, and the first European to have taken a scholarly interest in the vernacular literature of India. He went to Goa as a Jesuit missionary in 1579. He was greatly honored for his character and linguistic ability.

He was the first to prepare a Marathi Grammar. He wrote a small Catechism in Marathi, and an immortal work, his *Christian Parāṣya*. Until recently only manuscripts of this work in Roman character were known, and an edition based on these was published at Mangalore in 1907. In Aug. 1922, however, I discovered in the library of the School for Oriental Studies in London a Devanāgarī manuscript of this work, which is without doubt the original text of this opus magnum of Thomas Stevens.

Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College: The Parasitic Vowel in Segolate Forms. Remarks by Professor Haupt and the author.

Dr. EDWARD CHIERA, of the University of Pennsylvania: An Amoritic Legend in Sumerian. Remarks by Professor Clay.

A Sumerian tablet from the Nippur collection contains an interesting legend which is staged in the city of Ninab. It starts with a description of the land, which lacks important things for civilized life. The god Martu remarks to his mother that all his friends have wives and that she should provide him with one. The marriage with the goddess Namrat follows, and the land is placed in a more normal condition. The interest of the story lies in the fact that all the gods mentioned are foreign deities.

Mr. WILFRED H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: Nard: an Eastern love-charm that found its way into the Hebrew Scriptures and Christian Gospels.

Professor LEROY WATERMAN, of the University of Michigan: (a) Note on a Votive Prayer to Nabu; (b) The Assyrian reading of the name Sargon.

(a) A discussion of Ashurbanipal's votive prayer to Nabu, line 4, (Layard Pl. 85 and duplicates) as raised by V. Scheil ZA XVII p. 95, in view of another duplicate text of the prayer in the possession of the University of Michigan.

(b) A critique of the evidence for the reading *Sharr-ukēnu*, and a presentation of the evidence for the reading *Sharru-ukin*.

The session adjourned at 4:30 o'clock.

### THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order at 9:35 o'clock on Wednesday morning: the reading of papers was immediately begun.

Rev. Dr. FRANK K. SANDERS, of New York City: (a) A New Series on Living Religions. (b) A proposed plan to enlist the cooperation of missionaries.

Dr. ROBERT H. FREIFFER, of Harvard University: A Classification of Harper's *Assyrian Letters*. Remarks by Professors Waterman, Olmstead, Clay, Kent, Haupt, and Dr. Ogden. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 43. 26-40.]

Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN, of the Hartford Theological Seminary: The Problem of Inconsequent Post-dating in the Books of Kings.

Two modes of dating are recognized by Biblical chronologists: coincident-dating and post-dating. The annals of Menahem and Pekahiah (II Kings 15, 13, 17, 23) show what may be called *inconsequent post-dating*. This was an arbitrary imitation of the scheme we find in the upper portion of the Assyrian Canon before the changes introduced by the Sargonides. Menahem and his son were pro-Assyrian, and nothing was too Assyrian for them. Their so-called first year answers to the 'eponym-year' of the Assyrian kings. They probably introduced the eponym system into their administration. This leads to a number of important conclusions.

Professor LEROY C. BARRETT, of Trinity College: The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Ten. Remarks by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor AARON EMBERT, of the Johns Hopkins University: (a) Egyptian  $T^3$  *mḥ*, 'Delta,' and  $T^3$  *mrj*, 'Egypt'; (b) Several Egyptian Etymologies. Remarks by Professor Meek, Dr. Elzas, Dr. Reich, Dr. Chapman, and the author.

(a) *Mḥ* and *Mḥ-t* are old Eg. words for sea, <*mḥ*, fill and *mḥj*, be inundated. *Mḥ yr-t* (big sea)=the primeval waters. *Mḥy*, Lower Egypt, <*mḥ*, sea, here=the Mediterranean. Heb. *māḥā* and Arab. *maḥā*, destroy, efface, meant originally to flood. Arab. *maḥṣāḥ*, north wind = Eg. *mḥj-t*, north wind.

Eg. *mr*, sea, is a synonym of *mḥ*; cf. *mḥ yr*=Lake Moeris. In  $T^3$  *mrj* Egypt, *mr*=the Mediterranean.  $T^3$  *mrj* properly means sea land, and was originally a designation for Northern Egypt only (=  $T^3$  *mḥ*). *Mr*, sea, is etymologically=Ass. *Amurru*, West, Mediterranean=Arab. *gamrah*. *Mḥy*  $T^3$  *mḥ* and  $T^3$  *mrj* are expressions like Ass. *māt ilīmim*.

(b) *Nn-ḥm*, spleen, prop. not conducive to walking.—*iyri-t*, bean <*iyr*, be pregnant.—*ḥt*, metal=Arab. *ḥīr*, Heb. *ḥē'ir*, well, pit.—*ḥm-t*, woman = perforata; cf. Heb. *neḡbā*.—*ḥm*, phallus, prop. perforator.—*ḥnn*, phallus=ḥnn, hoe, plough.—*ḥms*, phallus=Heb. *ḥomeṣ*, abdomen, 'Bilin *ḥimez*, phallus.

Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK, of Bryn Mawr College: Babyloniaca: a discussion of some difficult passages and words in the inscriptions of the Babylonian kings. Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, of Yale University: A Buddhistic Passage in Manu. Remarks by Professor Jackson.

This paper discusses the provenance of the opening verses of the twelfth book of Manu and shows that they agree with the Ten Sins of Buddhism, the arrangement being Buddhistic and not Brahmanic.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Some Notes on the Septuagint. Remarks by Professors Haupt, Gottheil, Olmstead, Dr. Chapman, and the author.

Professor CHARLES R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: Sanskrit Books for Western Students: the need and the essential requirements. Remarks by Professor Edgerton.



Indianists have generally assumed for the last fifty years that the greatest possible service to science lay in extending by original research our knowledge of ancient India. I maintain that at the present this is unquestionably an error. The general need of suitable English books, —readers, grammars, dictionaries,—for beginners in Sanskrit is now more urgent than any other whatsoever, since the existing works are either unprocurable or difficult to use effectively. The readers all fail in the choice of the specimens of the literature. The inexorable requirements for beginners are: simplicity of language, intrinsic interest of subject-matter, and (in narrative pieces) quick-moving action and abounding incident, with the omission of tedious descriptions and passages textually corrupt.

Professor RICHARD GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: A New Title in the list of al-Ghazālī's Works. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 43.85-91.]

Professor THOMAS F. CUMMINGS, of the Biblical Seminary in New York: The Irreducible Minimum in Learning a Foreign Language. Remarks by Professors Lanman, Bloomfield, and Haupt. [Printed in the JOURNAL, 43. 81-84.]

It was voted: that the Corresponding Secretary send the greetings of the Society to the recently organized Société Belge d'Études Orientales.

The session adjourned at 12: 35 P. M.

## THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at 2:30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon: the reading of papers was immediately resumed.

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: The Date and Manner of Mānī's Death. Remarks by Professor Meek, Dr. Ogden, and the author.

Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: Ithoter Rivāyat, an eighteenth century Zoroastrian manuscript in Persian. Remarks by Professor Jackson.

This manuscript is dated A. H. 1187=1773 A. D. It states that the Zoroastrian Mobeds and Dasturs of India sent seventy-eight (Gujarati *ithoter*) questions to the Mobeds and Dasturs of Yazd and Kerman in Persia, requesting them to explain certain Zoroastrian religious ceremonies which were not clear to them. The manuscript contains both the questions and the answers in full.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: Early Ashur. Remarks by President Hopkins.

This paper is a preliminary statement of those parts of my *History of Assyria* which are based primarily on the results of the German excavations of the Ishtar temple at the earliest Assyrian capital.

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of the Johns Hopkins University: The Sālibhadra Carita, a story of conversion to Jaina monkhood.

This is a mahākāvya elaborated by the learned and elegant writer and redactor Pradyumnaśūri from the simpler chronicle by Dharmakumāra. It tells how a wealthy and luxurious young merchant prince obtained enlightenment (*pratyekubodhi*) on coming in contact with King Śreṇika whom he found like any other mortal. Together with his brother-in-law, Dhanya, he receives instruction from Mahāvira, turns wandering beggar-ascetic, dies from fast under a tree on the sacred mountain Vaibhāra, and enters into highest bliss.

President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel. Remarks by Professor Olmstead, Mr. Moran, Dr. Chapman, and the author.

The Bible shows evidence that three distinct calendars were employed at different periods in ancient Israel. The oldest, the Canaanite calendar, was employed until about 608 B. C. The second, a soli-lunar calendar based upon a Babylonian original, was employed from about 608 B. C. to the beginning of the Greek era, or even later. In this calendar the months were indicated by number. The third calendar, also soli-lunar, but with a more exact system of intercalation, employed the Babylonian names of the months. It was introduced during the Greek period. A reorganization of the religious festivals accompanied the various changes of the calendar.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: Sāṅkhyā and Yoga in the Bhagavad Gītā. Remarks by President Hopkins, Professor Lanman, and the author.

In the Gītā these terms denote primarily not metaphysical systems, but methods of salvation. Sāṅkhyā means the "way of knowledge"—salvation by realization of supreme truth, represented as implying renunciation of all activities, i. e. asceticism (elsewhere associated rather with Yoga!). Yoga means the "way of disciplined activity"—salvation by participation in normal action, as prescribed by duty, without interest in results. To be sure, the word *yoga* is used in other senses in the Gītā; but never when bracketed with Sāṅkhyā. Crucial passages: 3. 3ff., 5. 2ff. Is this understanding of the terms a personal idiosyncrasy of the Gītā's author—or must we revise our notions of the history of the expressions?

Professor GEORGE R. BERRY, of Colgate University: Priests and Levites.

Ch. 40-48 of Ezekiel are regarded as belonging to the late Greek period; the accounts concerning priests and Levites in P as largely unhistorical; the material original with the Chronicler as entirely unhistorical and the unhistorical material in P and the Chronicler as much more ideal than anachronistic. Consequently, the designation of priests as Aaronites in P and the Chronicler is substantially ideal, corresponding to no material historical reality. The distinction between priests and Levites is also principally ideal. The references to Zadokites in ch. 40-48 of Ezekiel correspond to the conditions of the Maccabean period.

Mr. JAL C. PAVRY, of Columbia University: The Zoroastrian 'Bridge of Judgment' in the Pahlavi Literature.

This paper presents the results of a detailed study of those passages in the Pahlavi texts (the patristic or extra-canonical writings of the Zoroastrians) in which the Chinvat Bridge, 'Bridge of the Separator,' is alluded to. These passages are treated in such a way as to bring out the various aspects of the eschatological ideas of the Zoroastrian Church as developed during the Sassanian period and later, thus supplementing the Avestan texts themselves.

The session adjourned at 4:35 P. M.

## THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order at 9:30 o'clock on Thursday morning.

It was announced that the Directors had accepted the invitation to meet at Columbia University, New York City, during Easter Week 1924; the exact days to be determined by the Executive Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary, Doctor Charles J. Ogden, spoke briefly concerning the plans of the Committee on the Extension of Membership and Resources.

Informal reports were received concerning the American Schools of Oriental Research; the centenary celebration of the Société Asiatique; the proposed publication of Blake's Grammar of the Tagalog Language and Edgerton's Pañcatantra; and the Directors' action proposing to devote the income of the Nies Fund to publications in the Semitic field.

After a brief discussion upon the proposal to hold separate sessions, Indo-Iranian and Semitic, it was voted to lay the matter on the table.

President Hopkins appointed as a Committee on Arrangements for the meeting in 1924 Professors Gottheil, Prince, Davidson, and Mrs. A. V. W. Jackson, and the Corresponding Secretary, *ex-officio*.

As the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1924, the President appointed Professor Barton, Mrs. Jastrow, and Doctor Haas.

As auditors the President appointed Professors Torrey and F. W. Williams.

The following resolution was adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to record its grateful appreciation of the cordial hospitality extended to it by Princeton University during its sessions: to acknowledge its indebtedness to Professor Bender and the local committee for their careful



provision for our comfort; to express to President and Mrs. Hibben the pleasure afforded by the opportunity to meet them in their home; to express thanks to Dean West for his cordial words and deeds of welcome in Procter Hall; to Doctor Russell for the delightful musical program rendered; to Doctor Gerould and the staff of the University Library for the special exhibit made ready for our inspection; to the Nassau Club and the Present Day Club for the many courtesies extended to us. We shall carry from Princeton memories of a place where beauty furnishes inspiration to learning.

The reading of papers was resumed.

Mr. N. L. THACKER, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: Are the Land of PUNT and the God BES African or Indian?

The African theory for Punt is based chiefly on the cult of Bes and pygmies connected therewith. However: (1) Facts concerning the direction, population and products of Punt; (2) The Dwarf Incarnation of Vishnu and the dwarfs used in temple-worship in India, corresponding to Bes and pygmies; (3) The stories in Egyptian and Indian literature concerning the migration to Egypt; (4) Records of certain Indian Princes showing that they are descended from those who went to Egypt in the Second dynasty and returned to India after the rise of Islam; seem to prove that Punt should be sought in India.

Dr. NATHANIEL REICH, of the University of Pennsylvania Museum: Recently discovered Egyptian-Greek papyri of a family-archive in Thebes.

Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of New York City: Bhāsa's Treatment of the Udayana Legend.

This paper examines the legendary material utilized by Bhāsa in his play *Pratijñāyauḡandharāyana*. The action of the drama is too episodic to enable us to reconstruct from it the whole story of Udayana's captivity and his wooing of Vāsavadattā; but it is evident that Bhāsa treats the incident in a more realistic and serious fashion than does the light-hearted account of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and herein he is probably more faithful to the original legend. A passage in the sixth act of his *Svapnavāsavadattā* is, however, in agreement with the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; hence it would seem that divergent recensions of the tale were current even in Bhāsa's time.

Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, of Ithaca, N. Y.: Possible Sources of the Western Alphabet in the Astrological Signs of the Orient.

Some light may be thrown on the sources of our alphabet by a study of the signs used in primitive astrology. The Signs of the Zodiac are amongst the most primitive known and are common to East and West. Among the primitives from which Chinese ideographs are built up are twenty-two horary characters, twelve of which correspond to Signs of the Zodiac. These and a few other astrological figures were first scratched on "Calendar Stones" and on the walls of caves. They de-

veloped into a numerical system for counting days, months and years, were used with phonetic value in ideographic writing; and they show interesting correspondence with early alphabetic forms.

The following papers were presented by title:

Professor MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, of the Johns Hopkins University: On the meaning of the words *pratyakabuddha* and *pratyekabodhi*.

This paper elaborates the hint held out in the author's *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārṣvanātha*, p. 5, note 9. Both in Buddhist and in Jaina religion the words imply enlightenment thru some particular (single) event which impresses a single individual with the perishableness of earthly things, and thus brings about his enlightenment and salvation.

Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of New York City: On the names of an ancient Hindu people, Vatsa, Vaccha, Vaṇṣa.

This name of a people who dwelt along the lower reaches of the Jumna, about 500 B. C., appears in Sanskrit as Vatsa, in Prakrit as Vaccha, and in Pāli (Aḍguttara-Nikāya and Jātaka Comm.) as Vaṇṣa. Since the Pāli form, unlike the Prakrit, is not phonetically derivable from the Sanskrit, an original \*Vassa may be conjectured, whence Vatsa in Sanskrit through a sort of dissimilation (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* 1, § 153), and Vaṇṣa in the dialectical source of the Pāli form through so-called 'spontaneous nasalization' (Geiger, *Pāli*, p. 43; cf. Grierson, *JRAS* 1922, p. 381-388).

Mr. N. L. TRACKER, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: Are the Hieroglyphic and the Sanskrit Languages Related?

Although it is held that no connection whatever exists between the Hieroglyphic and Sanskrit languages, the number and nature of the analogies between the two seem to indicate that there is some relation, because: (1) When a Sanskrit word equivalent to a Hieroglyphic determinative is broken up into syllables, these correspond to the pictures in the phonetic group for the determinative; (2) The relation of many so-called African words can be traced to Sanskrit; (3) Although in the grammar definite functions have been assigned to certain signs, in translations these functions have been neglected; (4) Transliterations into Sanskrit are at the same time coherent translations.

Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, of the Johns Hopkins University: Construction of co-ordinated words in modern spoken Tagalog.

This paper deals with the Tagalog material collected as described in my article presented to the Society last year on 'Long-distance collection of Philippine linguistic material.' The material here treated seems to show that the original characteristic Philippine construction is everywhere giving way to a simpler analytic construction like that in English, for instance. The material collected for the other languages, Iloko, Pampanga, Bisaya, Bikol, etc., will be published later.

Professor GEORGE S. DUNCAN, of the American University and the Y. M. C. A. School of Religion, Washington: Select Babylonian Business Documents from the reign of Darius I.

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of New York City: The Meters of King Harsha's Sanskrit Drama Priyadarśikā.

This play contains fewer stanzas and shows less variety of metrical structure than either of the other dramas attributed to Harshadeva. In its 49 stanzas only 8 different verse-forms are employed, three of these occurring but once each; and 21 stanzas, or somewhat less than half, are in a single meter, the *śardūlavikrīḍita*.

Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, of the Department of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University: An Experimental Appreciation of I Kings 1, 5.

This passage referring to Adonijah and his followers speaks of swift runners as being in his suite. The old Hebrew commentators quote two passages in the Talmud stating that such messengers or runners were splenectomized in order to make them run faster. References to such a practice are also found in Pliny's Natural History and in modern literature. The author in conjunction with E. M. Finesilver undertook a physiological research on the subject. For the purpose of determining whether the excision of the spleen exerts any influence on the muscular integration, white rats were used. The result of this work indicates that splenectomized rats as compared with normal rats are more efficient in running and in muscular coordination.

Dr. CLARENCE A. MANNING, of Columbia University: Yermak Timofeyevich in Russian Folk Poetry. [To be printed in the JOURNAL].

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, of Cairo, Egypt: Notes on the Recent Census of the Moslem World.

The Society adjourned at 11:15 A. M., to meet in New York in 1924.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS SEVENTH MEETING AT CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 23-24, 1923

In 1922 the Executive Committee of the Middle West Branch accepted the invitation of the University of Michigan to meet at Ann Arbor, February 23 and 24, 1923. In the early part of February, 1923, so many members of the Branch were seriously ill and the prospects of the meeting were consequently so poor that the Executive Committee found it advisable to change the place of meeting from Ann Arbor to Chicago; for the central location of Chicago made it apparent that a larger number of members could be got together than at Ann Arbor. A timely invitation from the University of Chicago was therefore welcomed.

The Secretary-Treasurer, Professor T. George Allen, was one of those whose illness made attendance impossible. In his absence, Dr. William F. Edgerton acted unofficially as Secretary-Treasurer. There are known to have been present the following members.

Clark	Keyfitz	Olmstead
Edgerton, W. F.	Laufer	Price
Eiselen	Luckenbill	Sellers
Fuller	Lybyer	Smith, J. M. P.
Kelly	Maynard	Sprengling

Some visitors also were present at each session.

The number of papers on the program was small enough to allow ample time for discussion. At the beginning of the first session, the members voted to discuss each paper immediately after the reading of the paper itself. The discussions were general, and proved to be a valuable part of the program.

At the Friday morning session, the following papers were read:

Professor WALTER E. CLARK, of the University of Chicago:  
Some Misunderstandings about India.

Professor IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago:  
Some References to Transportation by Water in Early Babylonia.

Early Babylonia developed a net-work of canals for irrigation and transportation. Numerous references in Sumerian documents speak of digging, maintenance and use of such canals, both for irrigation and transportation. Transportation by boats between fields and cities, between centers of commerce, and foreign parts, is often cited in the Gudea inscriptions. Conventional boats are pictured on early seal-cylinders, though furnishing little light on the construction of the marine equipment of that day.

Professor MARTIN SPRENGLING, of the University of Chicago:  
Kalila wa Dimma Studies: The King of the Apes.

Dr. A. R. NYKL, of Northwestern University, was unable to be present to read his paper, "Two Editions of Ibn Hazm's 'Character and Conduct'": but he sent the following abstract to the Secretary-Treasurer:

Asín's Spanish translation is based on a more complete Cairo edition, in which there is a good deal of self-analysis (reminding one of Montaigne and Spinoza), which is almost entirely omitted from the Cairo edition (Muhammad Edhem's). The thesis set forth by the Zāhirite philosopher is that the ultimate goal of all human action is the avoidance of pain (*hamm*), the only way of attaining this ultimate goal being the concentration on such work as would assure the seeker eternal life in the *Janna*.

The following papers were read at the Friday afternoon session:

Professor D. D. LUCKENBILL, of the University of Chicago:  
The Origin of the Akkadians. (To be published in the July, 1923, number of *AJSL*.)

Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, of the University of Chicago:  
The Foundations of Pan-Amurrism.

This new theory is based on historical, philological, and mythological arguments. Comparative mythology does not confirm Pan-Amurrism. The proofs advanced to turn Tammuz and Gilgamesh into Amorites are unreal.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Illinois: The Imperial Free City of Assyria.

Professor EUGENE H. BYRNE, of the University of Wisconsin: Studies in the History of Trade with the Near East, Suggested by Recent Work in the Archives of Genoa. (Read by title).

A short business meeting followed the reading of papers. In accordance with the custom of the Branch, a Nominating Committee was nominated from the floor, and instructed to report nominees at the Saturday morning session. Professors Kelly, Olmstead, and Clark were nominated and elected the Nominating Committee.

Professor Price read a letter from Professor Waterman inviting the Branch to meet at Ann Arbor in 1924. President Eiselen stated that, while he recognized the prior claim of the University of Michigan and the desirability of going farther away from Chicago than Evanston next year, he wished the Branch to understand that it would be cordially welcome at Evanston. Professor Clark stated unofficially that the western Branch of the American Anthropological Society would welcome a joint meeting with this Branch. Professor Olmstead suggested that a committee be appointed to arrange a joint meeting with the Anthropological Society two years hence.

Professor Luckenbill suggested that the end of February is not a good season for the meeting. After general discussion, Professor Luckenbill moved that the time of meeting be referred to the new Executive Committee with instructions to consult the membership before making a decision. Professor Smith moved to amend this motion in such a way as to refer both time and place of the next meeting to the new Executive Committee. Professor Luckenbill accepted the amendment, and the motion, being properly seconded, was carried unanimously.

On motion, the Chair appointed a Special Committee to frame a resolution to be addressed to the parent Society, expressing the desire of the Middle West Branch to have adequate representation on the Board of Directors. The special Committee was instructed to report Saturday morning. The session then adjourned.

President Eiselen opened the Friday evening session by introducing Professor E. J. Goodspeed, Secretary to the President



of the University of Chicago, who officially welcomed the Branch on behalf of the University. President Eiselen then delivered his presidential address on "Some Unfinished Problems." After the presidential address, Professor Lybyer read a paper on "The Return of the Turk." After the close of his paper, Professor Lybyer answered questions propounded by a number of members and visitors.

The Saturday morning session was opened by the reading of the following papers:

Dean SAMUEL A. B. MERCER of Bexley Hall, Gambier Ohio: The Anaphora of St. Gregory. (Read by title by Dr. J. A. Maynard.)

Professor O. R. SELLERS, of McCormick Theological Seminary: Meter in Egyptian.

Though we are uncertain as to the pronunciation of the Egyptian language, I think it reasonable to suppose that an ordinary word will have one beat, while a long word may have two beats and a short word or a word in close relation with the one following may have no beat. On this basis we find 3+3 meter (e. g., Pyramid Texts 546), 2+2 meter (Pyramid Texts 550), 3+2 meter (*Death a Glad Release*, Erman, *Aeg. Chrestomathie*, p. 33), and 4+3 meter (*Song of the Thresher*, Erman, *Aeg. Chrestomathie*, p. 32).

Professor MARTIN SPRENGLING, of the University of Chicago: Writings of Ibn el Muqaffa' recently published.

The reading of papers was followed by a business meeting. Professor Kelly, as Chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported, and the Society unanimously elected, the following as the officers for the ensuing year:

President, Professor Ira M. Price, of the University of Chicago.

Vice-President, Professor Louis B. Wolfenson, of the University of Wisconsin.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor T. George Allen, of the University of Chicago.

Members of the Executive Committee, Professor F. C. Eiselen of Garrett Biblical Institute and Professor Moses Bittenwieser of Hebrew Union College.

Professor J. M. P. Smith, as Chairman of the Special Committee elected the previous afternoon, introduced the following resolution:

"Resolved that it is the sense of the Middle West Branch

of the American Oriental Society that the officials of said Branch should have the same voting representation on the Board of Directors of the American Oriental Society as the corresponding officials of the parent Society."

This resolution was seconded by Professor D. D. Luckenbill and carried unanimously.

Professor Olmstead moved that the Branch express its thanks to the University of Chicago and to the Oriental Institute for the hospitality extended on such short notice; and that the Branch further express its regret that its Secretary-Treasurer had been unable to attend the sessions, and also its sympathy for him in his illness. This motion was duly seconded and unanimously carried.

On request, Professor J. M. P. Smith read to the Society a cabled article on the discoveries of Tutenkhamon's tomb in Egypt, from Professor Breasted, now in Egypt, which had been printed in the Chicago Daily News of February 22nd. The meeting then adjourned.

T. GEORGE ALLEN, Secretary-Treasurer  
by WILLIAM F. EDGERTON

## FIVE POEMS BY NIMR IBN 'ADWĀN

H. H. SPOER

NEW YORK CITY

IN THE YEAR 1904 I was privileged to journey with the late Prof. J. Euting in the districts east of the Jordan. It was on this journey that I first became acquainted with the poems of Nimr, the *šēh* and the "Hatim Tai" of the 'Adwān. Prof. Euting recited some stanzas by Nimr, but whether he had committed any poems to paper I do not know. I made several journeys into the country of the 'Adwān and was successful in collecting about a score of poems and some oral traditions concerning the famous *šēh* himself. Further journeys undertaken together with my friend Mr. E. N. Haddad into the same and adjoining districts have more than doubled the original collection.

Nimr belonged to the family of the Qarīdī, as he tells us in a poem addressed to Muṭṭlaq es-salmān, *šēh* of the Ḥrēsi, a subdivision of the Beni Šaḥr (Poem B. 5). He was the second of three brothers. The oldest was named Šāliḥ and the youngest Kayid<sup>1</sup>. He seems to refer to these two, though not by name, in a poem in which he pours out his deep sorrow and despair over the death of "the little love," i. e. the beloved wife Waḍḥa<sup>2</sup>.

In the days of Nimr and Waḍḥa the power of the 'Adwān Bedu extended over the whole Belka, which the lovesick Nimr would willingly have given away, yea, he would have added half of Ṭaffila as a present to those who would bring Waḍḥa back from her parents, to whom she had gone on a visit which had been prolonged beyond the "three nights" agreed upon (Poem II).

In those days there circulated a Bedawi proverb, according to Burckhardt,<sup>3</sup> *methel el-belka ma tellaka*, "thou canst not find

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Suleiman ibn Mub. Eff. ḥatib es-salti.

<sup>2</sup> Four Poems by Nimr ibn 'Adwān ed. by H. H. Spoer, in *ZDMG* 66. 189-203.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in Syria*, p. 369.



a country like the Belka", while Taffila<sup>4</sup>, then as now, enjoyed a high reputation for its extremely fruitful soil.

The Emir of the 'Adwān was, in Nimr's time, his cousin Diyāb el-'Adwān, mentioned in a poem<sup>5</sup>. When Burckhardt in 1812 visited the Belka he found that the 'Adwān, who had formerly been the chief tribe of the province, had been reduced to the lowest condition by their inveterate enemies the "Beni Sza-kher"<sup>6</sup>. The Beni Šaḥr had to retire northward before the ever increasing power of the Wahaby. In their distress they appealed to the 'Adwān Bedu who allowed them to graze their cattle in the 'Adwān country for a small annual tribute. The Beni Šaḥr returned evil for good, and gradually detaching the other tribes from their alliance with the 'Adwān, they finally drove these across the Zerka<sup>7</sup> and took possession of the land of their benefactors. Burckhardt<sup>8</sup> relates that Ḥamūd eš šāliḥ, chief of the 'Adwān, tried to regain the country with the aid of the Pasha of Damascus; he failed, as the Beni Šaḥr were too strong. The second chief<sup>9</sup> of the 'Adwān in those evil days joined the Beni Šaḥr together with his thirteen sons. At the time of Burckhardt's visit the 'Adwān were driven into the mountains of Adjlūn. It is quite probable that the great political calamity which befel the 'Adwān in the declining days of Nimr's life may be referred to in some of his poems where he speaks with disgust of "beggars" and "shepherds" as being put over him (e.g. Poems XXXIX. 12; XXXIII. 12; see below). The sun of the prosperity of the 'Adwān set completely in the year 1864, when their old hunting and camping ground passed entirely into the control of the Turkish Government. Even to this day the greatest enemies of the 'Adwān are still the powerful Beni Šaḥr.

The Beni Šaḥr are a clan of the Beni 'Alī Anēzeh, who defeated the French troops at Mount Tabor<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Ik.* p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> Also acc. to Suleiman ibn Muḥ. Eff.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 368f.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. the biblical Jabbok.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 368f.

<sup>9</sup> This was not Nimr, who according to tradition and his own poems had only four or five sons, though he was at one time allied with the Beni Šaḥr.

<sup>10</sup> R. N. Upton in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1876, p. 382; 1877, p. 441.

At one time, however, Nimr united himself with the Beni Šahr in war upon his own people, a situation which was very repugnant to his feelings, for he breaks out in the words:

"O my loneliness in my circle after being  
Entertained, and entertaining those who came to me;  
After I had been a place of refuge to him who took refuge  
with me,  
I do not to-day find for myself a partner."

And contemplating what he had done, he exclaims in real anguish of soul at the thought of his degrading action:

"Would I had been created a bird . . .  
Who dies in the world even if he were not born a second  
time,  
Who prefers a miserable death to a life with shame."  
(Poem A, vv. 9-12.)

Nimr's marriage with the daughter of one of the *šeyūh* of the Šhūr, the sister of Ibn Haḍḍāl Jedē'a (Poem I), brought about more friendly relations between the two tribes. It seems that strong bonds of friendship bound Nimr to Ibn Haḍḍāl his brother-in-law, although in the fierceness of his anger when Waḍḥa stayed with her parents a longer period than Nimr had permitted her, at her brother's request, Nimr, in true Oriental fashion, which knows little restraint in giving expression to love or hatred, uttered this imprecation against him:

"A lightning flashed, O Hamūd, toward Ibn Haḍḍāl;  
May God grant that his land be barren." (Poem I, v. 3.)

In later years, after Waḍḥa's death, he poured out his grief to him in the words:

"I complain to thee, O Jedē'a, of the things which have  
happened to me.  
O my stay, O Jedē'a, time has forsaken me."<sup>10</sup>

Nimr's personal reputation was that of a brave warrior, as may be inferred from the story of the terrified maiden (cf. story of How Nimr got his Wife), who finding herself in the power of a ruffian, called upon the name of Nimr as being

<sup>10</sup> Spoer in *ZDMG* 66 p. 197, lines 3, 4.

one to conjure with, although he was personally unknown to her. His recognized courage is referred to also in the humorous poem of "The Leopard and the Gun," as I have called it, which my Arab informants declared to be worthy of Mutanabbi. As the arms of famous warriors had names, so Nimr's gun was known by the name of *marīḍa*. He mentions the gun by name in a poem (Deathbed Scene).

In various poems Nimr refers to the fact that he obtained his best-beloved wife without payment of the usual bridal price. He says:

"She came to me a gift, nor did I send the dowry for her;  
I have paid no treasures for her." (Cf. Poems VIII.11;  
XVI. 9; XVIII. 13.)

"She came to me a present. I sent her no dowry of noble  
camels." (Poem I. 3).

Nimr never details in his poems the circumstances which bestowed upon him this great happiness. They are, however, well known, although they are related with some variations. One story is that Nimr delivered Waḍḥa from the clutches of a slave, i. e. a black man, and in gratitude for her preservation, her parents sent her to him, attired in richest bridal robes, without requiring the invariable return of the bridal price. However, according to Suleiman ibn Muḥammed Effendi, *ḥafīẓ es-saltī*, the story is as follows:

"It came to pass that Nimr went one day on a *razzu* against the Ṣḥūr; with him were twenty men armed with guns. All that night they did not come up with the enemy. On the following day they hid themselves in a cave which was near by, called *muḥārāt* or *ḥaf es-sāmik*, in the district of Sāmik, the great plain which stretches north-east of the town of Madeha. When morning came the sister of Waḍḥa went to gather wood, and as she went she passed near the entrance of the cave in which the men were hidden. She belonged to the family of al-Qutād, the inveterate enemies of Nimr. Now one of the Ṣḥūr Bedu had followed in her steps. And the evil of his soul prompted him to take away her honor, and when she came near the mouth of the cave he seized her unawares and led her within the cave, while in vain she cried out against him. Then she cried out with a loud voice: 'I stand under the protection of Nimr



ibn 'Adwān,' little knowing that he himself was within. And when that evil one was about to force her, Nimr shot him down before he had dishonored her. Then Nimr confessed to her who he was, but made her promise not to betray him nor his men. Then the girl went home and calling her father and her brothers and making them swear not to reveal what she was about to tell them, she related all that happened. Nimr asked the girl in marriage, but the men of the tribe desired that Wadḥa should be given in her stead, for they well knew what influence and experience Wadḥa had, and they said: 'Surely she will protect us (i. e. bring no shame upon us) in the land of strangers.' Nimr's frequent reference to Wadḥa as "the daughter of a clan" (cf. Poems I. 2; VII. 11; XVII. 6) bears out the high opinion which her clansmen had of her.

It must be also to such recognized characteristics as these that Nimr alludes in the line "She has the nature of leopards," i. e. heroes (Poem XVI. 9); and indeed all that is said of her reveals a nature far above the ordinary. Her resourcefulness is adequately demonstrated by her ride upon the *ḡalāl* by night, so that both she and the messenger of Nimr might be enabled to keep their words. Wadḥa's superiority is shown by the fact that she became an object of praise to all who came to the tent (cf. Poems VIII. 11; XVII. 6), while her hospitality and courtesy to the stranger have inspired many a line in her husband's poems, when after her death he saw the cheerless cold hearth looking inhospitably at him (Poem XXI, Introduction).

Her virtues were incomparable (e. g. Poem VIII), and are often dwelt upon. "She is not a gossip"—an obvious danger in a community where the life of one's neighbor is so much revealed to the eyes of the curious—"the way of foul speech I have not found in her" (Poem XXXVI. 10); nor did she ever leave the path of virtue; temptation to evil was rather a stimulus to resistance than otherwise. Thus he says to her:

"I have never seen her sitting between two;  
 She has never waved to her neighbor with her hand;  
 She has not winked at an illustrious one with the pupil  
     of her eye;  
 And the father of deeds never looked for a promise from her.  
 The odor of her sweat diffused like garden flowers;

The roses of virtue are growing over her cheek.  
 And if the piper should pipe between the two divisions  
 (i. e. the rows of the tents),  
 And if the devil should flatter her, he would stimulate her  
 resistance." (Poem XVIII. 9-12.)

Her intellectual superiority and purity of soul called forth many couplets in praise of her:

"And mind and dignity and beauty are with the beautiful;  
 And a chaste soul that walks in no vice." (Poem IX. 9.)

Her personal virtues are visibly indicated on her forehead by the letter *h*, i. e. *hiya*, "virtue" ("And when the forehead becomes visible, over it is written the letter *h*," Poem XXIII. 9); while the *q*, i. e. *qamir*, with which "her name is provided," expresses her inherent worth (Poem XXXIII. 19). She had also that helpful practical love to one's neighbor without which the other virtues lose half their value. Thus he says:

"She is quick toward her neighbors (i. e. to help) and considerate of the guest." (Poem XXXIII. 10.)

"She is free from worldliness;

She is neither worldly nor of the worldly ones." (Poem VIII. 8.)

She had a conciliatory disposition and never allowed a strife to continue over night, so that her "neighbors never went to bed in her anger" (Poem XVIII. 15). The cheerfulness of her disposition is praised in the words:

"With laughter and with love she consoled us,  
 In language of pearls for beauty and loveliness." (Poem IV. 11.)

It is therefore not surprising that the poet husband should say that she "has no equal among settlers or Bedu" (Poem XXIV. 9), that all women disappointed him but Wadha (Poem addressed to Renen) whose equal "he has noted only in piles of sheets of paper (i. e. ancient poetry)" (Poem XVIII. 3).

Wadha influenced Nimr not only as poet (Poem XXII. 4, 5). By her gentle nature, but evidently firm character, she exercised a beneficial influence upon the perhaps impulsive and somewhat violent disposition of her warrior husband. Her very

presence sufficed to hold back his hand from evil and his mouth from speaking guile:

"By God, there are not between me and her anger and reproaches.

I restrain my tongue, I hold back my hand from what is faulty." (Poem VI. 10)

Nevertheless she once went back to her family because Nimr "had angered her" (Poem II). She is his "patience" and "great comforter" (Poem XVI. 12f.; XVIII. 6).

"If I come home disturbed in mind, Waḡha would console me,

As if she were the Merciful one", who soothes her child" (Poem VIII. 6; XVII. 5).

Yet with all this "she has the nature of leopards" (Poem XVI. 9), of those strong and beautiful animals which seeing one cannot but greatly admire, although one knows that clothed in all this beauty there reposes a fierce and dangerous strength; though "sweet to the neighbor" she is to the antagonist "twice foul" (Poem XVI. 11), a trait considered praiseworthy in a Bedawiye.

Waḡha and Nimr lived together for twenty years (Poem XXXVIII. 9). If Nimr's devotion to Waḡha was exceedingly great and his admiration of her boundless, her own unlimited devotion to Nimr is adequately expressed in the following line from Nimr's poems:

"She would swear only by the life of her support" (i. e. Nimr; Poem VIII. 7).

She bore him only one son, 'Agāb, to whom the poet-father poured out his lamentations over her untimely death. It took place while Nimr was on a journey (Poem XXVI. 2) to Damascus (Poem V, Introduction), 'Agāb being 70 days old (Poem IX, Introduction). Waḡha's age is nowhere stated, but she must have been of a tender age when married, for Nimr alludes to her as a "tender girl." If we assume that she married Nimr at the age of twelve or thirteen, which is by no means early, she must have died at about the age of thirty-three, 70 days after 'Agāb's birth. Her place of burial, frequently alluded to in

\* Fātimah.



the poems, is in the district of *diyāb* (Poem V. 9) at Zabarāt Nimrīn in the *Rūr* (Poem IX. 8; XVI. 14; XVII. 2; XVIII. 6) not far from the Dead Sea in a place called *glā'*. The tomb is daubed with red and pointed out to this day. Waḍḥa was the tenth wife of Nimr according to one account (Story of the *šēh*), according to another the eighth.

Nimr had besides 'Agāb at least three other sons, named Fāris (from whom Nimr was called Abu Fāris, he being the first born, cf. Poem XXXV. 3), Muslat, and Sulṭān, and one daughter Sāra (Poem XXIV. 6; cf. notes to Poem C, verse 1). With the exception of Muslat all are referred to in his poems. Fāris, or as he is also called Fāḍil, was the father of Qablān, the father of Fāhid, the father of Fawāz, the father of Šālih, who was still living, a very old man, in 1906.

Nimr's exclusive devotion to Waḍḥa, evident enough in his eulogies and lamentations, is still further emphasized by the fact, often expressed in his poems, that after her death no woman found favor in his eyes, and though he married many—according to some native authorities eighty—he divorced them all and returned them to their homes. This is the more remarkable in that it entailed great material losses, as his wives were not divorced for any reason which would enable him to reclaim the bridal price.

The opinion of some of the companions of Nimr was that he was a trifle crazy in consequence of his love for Waḍḥa, as he implies in some of his poems, e. g. XI. 18; XIII. 14; XV. 8. The Arabs, accustomed to such stories as *Majnūn Lēlā*, *Ḥātim Tai* and others, would scarcely have held him in derision solely on account of his love for Waḍḥa. Their antagonism may have arisen out of the fact that he idealized Waḍḥa so much that he could not find a worthy successor, but divorced scores of women, which could not be done without giving offence to both the gentler sex and their male defenders. As the Bedawiye is by no means held in seclusion, but enjoys the fullest liberty, some of his antagonists may have been women.

There are certain *qaṣāyid* relating to Waḍḥa which have been interwoven with poems evidently by another hand or at least claiming to be by another hand; for example, the poem ascribed to Ḥammūd ibn Ḥaḍḍāl (poem II), who, listening to Nimr's complaint, reproaches him from his point of view. One

need not infer from the uniting of two or three poems by means of a story or another *qaṣīde* which takes up the challenge, that a regular collection of the poems of Nimr ever existed. Such collections, more or less complete, are by no means unprecedented; but I was unable to discover any even after prolonged and careful inquiry in all possible directions. The circumstance is, however, interesting as showing what special poems had appealed to the imagination of other poets, and possibly even of the community or district with which such poets were associated. On the other hand it may be that Nimr is defending himself here against the attacks made upon him — a not unnatural course. If this is the case we cannot but admire the skill of the poet in presenting his own case and that of his imaginary opponent.

It is likely that these groupings of poems have grown out of discussions which Nimr had with the men. This seems to be borne out by the following lines, where direct reference is made to the fact that the people are gossiping about Nimr:

'There came to me my consumer and said to me, 'Thou hast consumed thyself.'

I said, 'If thou couldst see thyself, thou wouldst not ask.'

He said, 'I am ashamed and the people gossip about it.'

I said to him, 'Thou art stupid; leave me in peace with it'."

(Poem XXVIII. 4, 5.)

The incident which led to the cessation of Nimr's elegiac poems relating to Wadhā and his irreparable loss is related in the story of *Ṣaḥ Tibbāt* and his three sons. This *Ṣaḥ* addressed to Nimr a *qaṣīde* reproaching him for excess of grief and reflecting upon the transitoriness of human things. When Nimr recited this *qaṣīde* to his tribesmen, one of them told of a still greater misfortune which had befallen a Bedawi of the *Da'āf*, who while hunting had accidentally shot his only son, and whose wife and three daughters were burnt to death the same day. Nimr was completely overcome by this dreadful story of woe, and resolved that he must no longer yield to such unbridled grief, but follow the more dignified course of suffering silently, like the much more deeply afflicted *Ṣaḥ*. Henceforth he wrote no more amorous poems.

The religious attitude of Nimr is clearly mirrored in his poems.

One finds the usual references to sacrifices (Poem XX. 8), writing in the sand (XL. 6), predestination (VI. 4), the bird of death (XII. 4; XXIX. 3), "the green bird" of ill omen (XLII. 12), the Day of Resurrection (XII. 15; XXV. 8), and an implicit belief in "the One of Whom there are no descriptions" (XXXII. 1). He cheerfully curses his opponents, committing them to the tender mercies of the *ḡann* and *ṣera'in*. There is also another side to his faith, which he expresses in the words:

"To whom, O men, shall I complain of the aching heart,  
to whom?  
And healing is absent from the bazaar of lovers, O mankind!  
I commend my state to Him who lifts up the clouds;  
My God, be He exalted, knoweth the secret of my condition."  
(Poem XXX. 15, 16.)

In some of the poems mourning customs are referred to (XX. 13ff., cf. Spoer, *ZDMG* 66 Poem IV. 8).

In old age, when contemplating his past heroic deeds, his successes in the hunt as well as on the *razzu*, he feels comforted by the thought that the Creator is good, and that although the good things have passed away the evil things likewise perish:

"Praised be He who has done so to us, be He praised!  
Neither well-being has remained with us, nor has evil continued."  
(Poem XXXIX. 7.)

The poems of Nimr reveal the man in all his moods, the passionate lover, the inconsolable mourner, the fearless warrior and hunter, the *ṣāḥ* who in the lifetime of Wadhā and the time of his wealth had an ever open hand and hospitable roof for all who came. By his friends he was called "the protector of the weak" (Poem II. 1; XXXV. 3).

Nimr's was a name to conjure with, yet in old age we find him ill and forsaken. The numerous friends of his prosperous days pass by him and do not even return his salutation:

"I had among the Arabs many friends,  
They pass by me and do not return unto me the salutations."  
(Poem XXXIX. 9.)

Well might he say of himself, "that which has happened to Job, I possess it" (in a poem to Jusif Ibn Abu Nṣēr; XXXVI. 8).



To the last moment, however, the noble pride of his soul was not crushed by all the calamity which had befallen him. With bitter contempt he speaks of the degradation into which his own clan has sunk. In the burning pain of his wounded soul he cries out:

"O my district, in thee was a shepherd of sheep made *ṣēḥ*,  
And after me beggars were made *ḥuyūḥ*, and a vile one"  
(Poem XXXIX. 12).

This was the hardest blow to the proud old *ṣēḥ* of the 'Adwān. His own great calamity he had learned to lay before "Him who knows the secret of my condition." But for this condition of his people he knows of no remedy and he bursts out in anguish of soul:

"By God, if it were not for the sake of modesty and fear  
I should say,  
May they be destroyed, or may they be for destruction."  
(Poem XXXIX. 11.)

Where no honor is left, there life must cease. This, as well as many other references which point to a loss of power, may refer to the political overthrow of the 'Adwān by the Beni Ṣāḥr, an event which took place during the decline of Nimr's years (Poem XXXIX).

One cannot help feeling, when reading these poems, that their writer was a man of noble character, passionate in his love and hatred, generous like Ḥātim Tai and lovesick like Majnūn Lēla; a true Bedawi in whom the strong light of the virtues of his race was not overshadowed by the meanness which so often mars the life of these people. We are therefore not surprised at the eulogy of Nimr's nobility of character in the poem by Jusif Ibn Abu Nṣēr.

His love, we must not forget, was built upon the moral and mental perfections of Waḡḡa and not merely upon her physical attractions, which assuredly must have been very great, and Burckhardt is undoubtedly right in saying that the "Bedouins are perhaps the only people of the East that can with justice be entitled true lovers."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Bedouins and Wahabys*, 1831, vol. I, p. 273.

Nimr died in the year 1238 A. H., a broken and disappointed man, only unshaken in his devotion to Waḡḡa. This is touchingly brought out in one of his poems when he thought that he was dying. The Bedu who are standing around his bed are addressing him, Nimr having asked for his gun, *maḡida*:

"Thy gun does not profit thee, O poor one.  
Seek for thyself fine castles in Paradise."

To this Nimr answers:

"I desire neither castles nor gardens in Paradise;  
I desire Waḡḡa who keeps herself hidden in a grave."  
(Poem XLI. 4, 5.)

His prayer that the grave might take him as one "who seeketh refuge" and "as the protected guest," *ṭinīb u diḡīl*, was at last fulfilled, but not until he had drained the cup of earthly suffering (Poem XXVI. 7) and had seen those of high estate trampled under foot. He lies buried at 'Ain 'Aḡūz,<sup>13</sup> just beyond the shadow of a group of mighty trees. His tomb is surrounded by 21 square hewn stones, about three feet high. On the front part of the tomb is a pointed slab, into which an epitaph is cut. Upon a horizontal stone laid across the two upright stones in front of this slab sacrifices are still offered. I myself have seen the blood-daubed stones.

The story is told<sup>14</sup> that when Nimr was dying at 'Aḡūz, his sons asked him whether he wished to be buried at Nimrīn where Waḡḡa was buried, or in Jerusalem, the Holy City. He answered with a play upon the name of the place: *'aḡūz nam yaḡūz* = 'Aḡūz will also do. This is a good story but hardly likely to be true of Nimr; if he had any choice in the matter, he would probably have chosen Nimrīn.

The epitaph is as follows:

Year 1238.  
Surely has led thee  
The All-Merciful from thy camping places;  
And the eyes of the people (or, the noble ones) feed in thy  
camping place;

<sup>13</sup> For a description see A. Goodrich-Freer, *In a Syrian Saddle*, p. 119.

<sup>14</sup> Heinrich Frauenberger in the *Globus* for 1893, pp. 19 ff.: "Von Amman nach Djerash."



And the worms of the grave eat thine eyes;  
 And thy camping places are a spectacle to the eyes of the  
 people;  
 May the All-Merciful cover the sins of Nîmr ibn 'Adwân.<sup>4</sup>

*Inscription on Nîmr's Tomb (incomplete)*

بسمه

١٢٣٨

قد تنقذك

الرحمان عن ديارك

وعيون الناس ترعى بدارك

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the copy of the inscription which I made about 18 years ago has become illegible in the course of time, and the photograph is not sufficiently distinct to supply the missing line. I give therefore Frauenberger's German translation, made by the Dragoman of the German Consulate in 1893:

"Der Tod führt dich aus deinen Lagerstätten fort;  
 Und das Schicksal führt dich von einem Haus zum anderen;  
 Und die Würmer des Grabes weiden in deinen Augen;  
 Und die Augen der Ueberlebenden schauen in deine Lagerstätten."

The last line is omitted in this translation. I give the incomplete Arabic text above.



دود الغير يا كل عيونك  
واذ يارك لعبون الناس مراى  
تقدمه الرحمان نمر ابن عدوان

*Text of Nimr's Poems*

A

زعل مرة نمر رجل واقام عند بنى صخر وتحارب هو وبنى صخر مع  
العدوان فطردهم وبقي مع بنى صخر بالبلقا بلاد العدوان فقام  
يتشد ويصرق اهلكه وقومه لاجل يلقون ويرضونه ويرجعونه المنازل  
ويطردون بنى صخر ويرجعون من بسان الى البلقا فقال:

- ١ يا خالقي يا عالم السر مني
- يا قايل للشي كن فيكون
- ٢ يا مخلق باملك مشرك ومنى
- يا واحد امرك بين كاف و نون
- ٣ يا رب فرسخ برزخ الهم عني
- يا من عليك اصعب الاشيا يهون
- ٤ الله باثنين ذرق مبتلي
- واحد نهف قلبي والاخر يخون
- ٥ يا حمود قول لحمود يجر عني
- ربع تدانونا وعنا يخون
- ٦ داسوا بوجهي واللوازم غدتني
- ذهبوا ذهاب الملح ما تمتوني
- ٧ يا حمود عند الثاب لاصحك بستي
- واذا اخنلت بابكي واكازي عيوني
- ٨ واليوم ما لي سهوة غير او تي
- واعضت باطراف الشقايا امنوني
- ٩ و يا وحشتي بدبرتي عقب ما اتني
- متوانب ووانب الي يجوني
- ١٠ من بعد ما نى منوى لليرديني
- اليوم ما لاقى لحالي زبون
- ١١ يا ريشي خلقت طير بعثي ويعثي
- ويخوض رهراه السما بمتونه
- ١٢ يموت بالدنيا ولو ما يشي
- موتة كبد ولا معاته يهون

## B

نوبه يا الربيع مطلق ابن سلمان معافوظ الحريشي من لمومة بنى صخر  
اشتراله فرب زينه من الجياد وانطى غم بالعالي حين اشتراها بلمة  
اجاويد ريعه الحضور ترثي متفرك بذبحه نمر ابن عدوان وانا معاني  
يظهر القرب وانت يا نمر ييلك الخبر بالخال ارسل عليه حميد يعطله  
باعدامه الحياء:

١ يا طرؤش يثي صوب شرق تمدون

يا مرافقين الرشذ خذوا وصاتي

٢ عمطلق السلطان ملزوم تلغون

ذيب الخلا يا حامي التاليات

٣ عالوصف شاري حمرا منوة الي يشوفون

معلته تركب على المكملات

٤ حمرا صريخة الطول والرام باعور

والذيل ردن مشوح بالنباء

٥ اصحي على حمراك من هلي واصون

عبال القريضي معطين الهواة

وبعدين تكلم نمر بلسان مطلق وقال:

٦ يا طرؤش يثي صوب الغرب تمدون

تريضوا يا جواد خذوا وضاة

٧ يا نمر هو نها ترى الهون بالهون

من شافت نفسه وقع بالشمات

٨ يا نمر عمر ما راح منك خيال مطعون

بهوشك بعينك والرمق صافيات

و نمر رد له بالجواب:

٩ اصبر عثي يا اخوي ساعه بمقدار

بمقدار غطاء القلم بالدواة

١٠ فصلك بدلات ما لون من لون

لما لقيت الي عقدرك بواني

١١ حارم عثي شرب بن و غليون

غير تروى من ضميرك عواني

## C

ويتم ابيات بنبه به عياله:

١ يا قاربت البيض خمسة اشكال

- تنتين زغل وثلاثة زلال  
 ٢ واحده كهيلة محققة بوسط ميدان  
 خيالها يفرح بجزء المثال  
 ٣ وواحده مثل الصيد حلوات الارواق  
 التي حواهن يا سعيد الزمان  
 ٤ وواحده مثل البرق انفضي على الليال  
 يبات حليتها من الهتم خال  
 ٥ وواحده بهيمة شملت الشيل والحلال  
 ومن الظفر ومن همته ما تبالي  
 ٦ وواحده قوية الراب و الذيل مشوال  
 لو انقطع صرور اعتناها ما تواني

## D

عدون يوما من الايام ان نمر فقد فرسه فارسل على الوحيدى شيخ  
 عربان الشياها والطرايين من عربان بلاد غرة لاجل ينظونه العرب  
 المنطولة والى انذكرت عندهم والوحيدى الذي غدى له مري تسمى صاحبه  
 وعنده عجي وامته نمر اها تحكم عن ولد بعلمها فمكنت ان ترمى العرب  
 لنمر فعاد المرسل فارغ ولته لفي واخبر نمر بالامر عجّل له بجواب  
 ودره

- ١ يا راكب من فوق حتر ومعيدى  
 ومرفق الفرعان وهند العراق  
 ٢ وامته لفتنا من بلاد يعينه  
 وابوه اجانا من اعمام السايب  
 ٣ والبوق ما هو ميمثك يا الوحيدى  
 والبوق ما بين الزجاجيل هو عيب  
 ٤ ان كان لشور العذارى ترينى  
 شور النساء مركب على عيب  
 ٥ واختم الايات بطاها الرسول  
 يا عيب ثم القال ثم القيل

## E

حدونا بواقعة راي بها نمر نمر الحلا فارتهق مختارا و هو يصعصع  
 مع يندقته ولنه تخاطبه وتركته بالصج يا نمر رزن واوزنه زين ترش



ضمين برميه فلبس طلبها واقته وبنى ابيات تقل شعر المتنبي بوصف  
الامد:

- ١ طليت انا صوب الحلى بالكلايف  
احب جيل الصيد ما فيه ربي
- ٢ ونسي يارقط الجلد لجملة الصيد خايف  
والي يمدى بالصيد ما يمدى به
- ٣ يا يندقي يالي عليك الوصايف  
عمري دنا والمنايا قريه
- ٤ ملحك يدقته اكفوف التضاييف  
بزرع مدحرج من قضايف سكيه  
فردت له اليندقيه:
- ٥ ان كنت مرعوب من الموت خايف  
حق النظر وافرقت ذبايع سبيه
- ٦ وقع الفهد عقب ما كان واقف  
يا عرّب كفته يا ربوعي عجيبه
- ٧ وقع الفهد عقب ما كان واقف  
كلته لعين النائمات الجديبه

*Arabic text of Nimr's Poems: Transliteration*

A

zi'il mara nimr rahal wa agām 'ind bini ṣaḥr u taḥārab hu wa  
bini ṣaḥr ma' al-'adwān faṭ radōhum wa biḡi ma' bini ṣaḥr bil-  
balga (blād al-'adwān) faḡām yanšid wayu'arrif ahlāh u gōmah  
laḡl yalfun wa yurḡūna wa yarḡi'ūnah al-mānazil u yaṭridūn  
bini ṣaḥr u yarḡi'ūn min bēsān ila l-balga (faḡāl):

1. yā ḥālḡi yā 'ālim as-sirr minni  
yā ḡayil laṭ-ṣai ċin fayakūni
2. yā miḡliḡin bal-milk maṣrak u sinni  
yā wāḡdan amrak bēn ċāfin u nūni
3. yā rabb farsih barzah al-hamm 'inni  
yā min 'alēk aṣ'ab iṣ-ṣai yahūni
4. allāh biṭnēn zurgin sabanni  
wāḡad nahaf ḡalbi wal-āḡar iḡūni
5. yā ḡmūd ḡul la ḡmūd iḡizz 'inni  
rab'in tidānūna u'anna iḡūni

6. dāsu biwaḡhi wal-lawāzim ṭadanni  
iḡhabu ḡahāb al-milḡ mā timannūni
7. yā ḡmūd 'ind an-nās laḡḡhak bisinni  
wiḡa ḡtalēt babḡi waḡāzi iḡbūni
8. wal-yōm mā li ṡahutin ṭēr awinni  
wa'uḡḡ biṭrāf aṡ-ṡafāya snūni
9. u yā wiḡiṡti bidirti 'ugub manni  
mitwānis wawānis alli yaḡōni
10. min ba'd māni manwa lalyazlibanni  
al-yōm mā lāḡi li ḡālī zbūni
11. yā rētni iḡliḡit ṭērin i'alli wiṡanni  
wiḡūḡ rahrāḡ is-sama bintōni
12. yamūt bad-dinya wa lau mā iṭanni  
mōtit ḡabad u la ma' āṡah biḡōni

## B

nōba yar-rab' muṭlag ibn salmān mḡāfūz al-ḡrēṡa min lim-  
ūmat beni ṡaḡr aṡtarāloh ifrus zēna imaḡ-ḡiyād wanṡa ḡisamin  
bal-'ālī ḡin iṡtrāḡa blammet aḡāwid rab'ah al-ḡḡūr taranni  
mitadarḡin biḡabbīt nimir ibn 'adwān wana mi'talī bṡahr al-  
faras want yā nimir yablarah al-ḡaber bal-ḡāl arsal 'alēḡ ḡaṡida  
yiṡṡṡleḡ ba'dāmo l-haiyā:

1. yā ṭrūṡ yalli ṡōb ṡarḡin timiddōn  
yā mrāḡḡin ar-riṡḡ ḡiḡu wiṡāti
2. 'a maṭlag as-salmān malzūm talfūn  
ḡib al-ḡalā yā ḡāmya t-tālyāti
3. 'al-waṡf ṡāri ḡamra manwit alli iṡūfūn  
m'allama tarkiḡ 'al-mukmalāti
4. ḡamra ṡariḡat aṡ-ṡūl war-rās nā'ūr  
waḡ-ḡēl ridn imṡauwiḡin ḡan-nibāti
5. iṡḡa 'ala ḡamrāk min halli wāsūn  
'iyāl al-ḡrēḡi mi'tḡin al-hwāti

wib'adēn tiḡallam nimir bilsān muṭlag u ḡāl:

6. yā ṭrūṡ yalli ṡōb al-ṡarḡ timiddōn  
ṡaraiyaḡu yā ḡwād ḡiḡu wiṡāti
7. yā nimir ḡauwinḡa tara l-hōn bal-hōn  
man ṡāfat-nafsah wiḡi' baṡ-ṡimāti

8. yā nimr 'umur mā rāḥ minnak ḥaiyāl maṭ'un:  
bhōṣak b'ēnak war-rimag ṣāfnāti  
u nimr radd loh bal-ḡiwāb:
9. aṣḥir 'alaiya yāḥūi sā'tin ibmigdār  
bimigdār ṣaṭṭāt al-galam bad-dīwāti
10. faṣṣalt lak badlāt mā lōn min lōn  
lima laḡēt alli 'agadrak iwāti
11. ḥārim 'alaiya ṣurb binnin u ṣalyūn  
ṣēr tarwa min ḡimīrak ihwāti

## C

wa yammam abyāt inabbeḥ bah 'iyālah:

1. yā fārs al-biḍ ḥamsat aṣkāli  
ṭintēn zaḡal u ṭalāṭat zalāli
2. waḥda kihēla imḥaffala bwast midāni  
ḥaiyālha yafrāḥ ibḡazz al-maṣāli
3. u wāḥda miṭl aṣ-ṣēd ḥilwāt al-argābi  
alli ḥawāḥin yā si'id az-zimāni
4. u wāḥda miṭl ad-dirr itfaḍḍi 'ala l-bāli:  
ibāt ḥililha min al-hamm ḥāli
5. u wāḥda bihīma ṣaḥlat aṣ-ṣēl waḡ-ḡilāli:  
wamn az-zifar wa min hamamah ma tbāli
6. u wiḥdatin giwiyat ar-rās waḡ-ḡel miṣwāli:  
lau tgatṭa' ṣrūr 'inānha mā tiwāni

## D

'addūna yōman min al-aiyām an nimr faḡad frusuh farsal  
'ala l-uḥēdi ṣēḥ 'urbān at-tayāha waṭ-ṭarābin min 'urbān iblād  
ṣazza laḡi yaṭūnah al-faras al-manṭūla walli indakarāt 'in-  
dahum wal-uḥēdi allagī ṭada loh mara tasma ṣālḥa wa 'indah  
'aḡi wa ummah tarāha ṭhakam 'an walad ba'laha famana'at  
an tarsil al-faras linimr fa'ād al-miṣāl fārṣan wa lannah lafa  
waḥbar nimr bal-amr 'aḡḡal loh baḡ-ḡiwāb u dazṣāḥ:

1. yā rāḥibin min lōḡ ḥurrin wim'ēdi  
wimraffa' aḡ-ḡir'ān waḥiḍ al-'arāḡib
2. wimmah lifatna min bilādin bi'idi  
wabūḥ aḡāna min 'inām as-sabāsib



3. wal-bōg mā hu sīmtak yal-uḥēdi  
wal-bōg mā hēn ar-raḡāḡil bu 'ēb
4. in ḡān lišōr al-'aḡāra tiridi  
šōr in -nsā sāsaḥ mraḡḡab 'ala 'ēb
5. waḡtum al-abyāt biṡāha r-rasūl  
yā 'ēb tummal-ḡāl tummal-ḡil

## E

ḡaddatōna bwāḡi'tin ra'a bha nimir nimir al-ḡala fartahaḡ muḡ-  
tāran u hu yiṡa'sa'an ma' bindiḡiyataḡ ulannah tiḡātibah wat-  
raḡḡadah baṡ-ṡiḡḡ yā nimir razzin wa wazznah zēn tarannī ḡi-  
mīn ibramyah ṡalabba ṡalabba waḡtaloh wa bana abyāt tigil  
ṡi'r al-matnabbi biwaṡf al-asad:

1. ṡallēt ana ṡōb al-ḡala bal-ḡalāyif  
aḡsib ḡil aṡ-ṡēd ma fih ribā
2. wanni bargat al-ḡild laḡimlat aṡ-ṡēd ḡāyif  
willi ya'di biṡ-ṡēd mā yin'adibah
3. yā bindiḡi yalli 'alēḡi l-wiṡāyif  
'imri dana wal-mināya ḡiriba
4. milḡak idigginnah ikfuf an-niṡāyif  
bizrak imdaḡraḡ min ḡiḡāyib siḡiba  
faraddat loh al-bindiḡiyah
5. in kint mar'ūbin imnal-mōt ḡāyif  
ḡigg an-naṡar wafrīḡ ṡidāyi' sibibah
6. wiḡi' al-faḡad 'iḡib mā ḡān wāḡif  
yā 'ird ḡaffah yā ribū'i 'iḡiba
7. wiḡi' al-faḡad 'iḡib mā ḡān wāḡif  
killah la'ēn an-nāṡrāt al-ḡidila

*Translation*A. Nimir and the Beni ṡaḡr<sup>14</sup>

Nimir was once angry, and he went to dwell with the Beni ṡaḡr. Then he and the Beni ṡaḡr made war upon the 'Adwān

<sup>14</sup> I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. ḡaṡḡad for many valuable suggestions in connection with the difficult translation of these poems.

and drove them away, and he stayed with the Beni Šahr in the Belka, the land of the 'Adwān. And he began to compose and to write to his family and his people that they might come and agree with him and take him home and drive away the Beni Šahr and return from Besān to the Belka. And he said:

1. O my Creator, o Knower of my secret,  
O Speaker of the thing—be! and it will be;
2. O Creator in the world of idolaters and Sunnites,  
O Only One, Thy command is between *kāf* and *nūn*.
3. O Lord, remove from me the isthmus of grief,  
O Thou to whom the most difficult things are easy!
4. God has bound me with two blue ones (i. e. eyes);  
One has perplexed my heart, the other has betrayed.
5. O Ḥamūd! tell Ḥamūd he should be in my place.  
A clan came near to us and betrayed us.
6. They trampled upon my face and our necessities were  
trodden under foot.  
They went the going of the salt and showed me no  
favor.
7. O Ḥamūd, among the people I laugh with my teeth,  
But when I am alone, I weep, and think of what  
saddens me.
8. And now I have no other diversion than to hum,  
And I bite the edges of the lips, my teeth!
9. O my loneliness in my circle after being  
Entertained, entertaining those who came to me;
10. After I have been a place of refuge to him who took  
refuge with me,  
I do not find today for myself a partner.
11. Would I had been created a bird that soars and sings,  
Who wades through the expanse of heaven with its  
greatness;
12. Who dies in the world even if he be not (created)  
a second time,  
Who prefers a miserable death to a life with shame.

#### B. Nimr and Muṭlaq

One day, O ye of the spring-encampment, Muṭlaq, *šēḥ* of the Ḥrēši, a division of the Beni Šahr, bought a beautiful mare,

of the noble ones, and he made an oath by the Highest when he bought her, before the chief of the nobles of his people present: "Behold, I will slaughter Nimr Ibn 'Adwān while I am on the back of the mare." And, O Nimr, this news reached thee. And he sent at once to him a *qaṣīde* that he would fight him unto death.

1. O ye messengers, O ye who stretch yourselves towards the East,  
O ye companions of Rōshd, receive my commands.
2. Ye must enter at Muṭlaq es-Salmān's;  
A wolf of the wilderness, O protector of horses  
which remain behind at the *razzu*;
3. In respect of its type, he is buying a red one, the  
desire of onlookers;  
Taught to run before the fleetest horses.
4. A red one, beautiful of stature, and the head stretched,  
The tail is like the long fringes of the sleeve which  
wave on the mountains.
5. Take care for thy red one, for those who warn [thee]:  
The family of the Qarīdī hit the aim!

After this Nimr speaks in place of Muṭlaq and says:

6. O messengers who stretch toward the West,  
Lie down to rest, ye noble ones, and perform ablutions.
7. O Nimr make it easy, and thou wilt see (that) the  
easy (is returned) by the easy.  
He whom his soul sees comes into derision.
8. Never, O Nimr, has a stabbed rider of thy people  
returned.  
I will slay thee, thyself, and the horse standing quiet.

And Nimr returned to him the answer:

9. Wait, O brother, for me as long as one hour,  
As long as the dipping of a pen in the inkstand.
10. I'll cut thee out garments not colored by means of  
dye,  
Until I shall see what fits thy measure.
11. May there be forbidden to me the drinking of coffee  
and the smoking of a pipe,  
Except my stroke be satiated with thy inside.



## C. Nimr admonishes his Children

Once he composed verses and admonished in them his children.

1. O Fāris, the white ones are of five kinds,  
Two are counterfeit and three noble.
2. One is like a high-bred mare, saddled in the midst  
of the race-course.  
Her rider rejoices over the slaughtering of the strag-  
glers at the time of the *rāzzā*.
3. And one is like the wild game, that have beautiful  
necks.  
He who guards them, O happy one of the times!
4. And one is like pearls and quiets the mind;  
Her husband passes the night free from cares.
5. And one is an animal, suited for the carrying of burdens  
and the pack-saddle,  
And she takes no heed of glanders and its anxieties.
6. And one is pig-headed, and her tail is raised;  
When the rings of her rein are broken she does not  
stop.

## D. The Lost Mare

It is said that one day Nimr, missing his mare, sent to El-Wahīde, Šeḥ of the Tayāha and the Tarābīn Arabs from the Arabs of the district of Gāza, desiring that they should give up the stolen mare which had been found with them. But El-Wahīde, who had died, had a wife whose name was Šālḥa, and he had left an orphan. And his mother ruled in place of the son of her husband. She refused to send the mare to Nimr and the messenger returned empty. And when he came back home and informed Nimr of the matter, he quickly prepared an answer for him and sent it:

1. O rider on a thorough-bred ruddy camel  
That has long, slender legs and hocks,
2. And his mother came to us from a far country,  
And his father came to us from the uncles of the  
Sabāsib,
3. And deception is not thy characteristic, O Wahīde,  
And deception among men is a shame.

4. If thou desirest the counsel of the maidens,  
The counsel of women, its foundations rest upon  
shame.
5. And I seal the verses by Tāha, the prophet;  
O shame then on what is said, and on what was said.

#### E. The Leopard and the Gun

We are told that once upon a time Nimr saw the *nimr* (i. e. leopard) of the wild. And he became frightened and perplexed and he began to talk with his gun, and she conversed with him and strengthened him, saying: "In truth, O Nimr, do not fear, lift up and aim well. I am security, thou wilt bring him down." And he fulfilled her wish and killed him. And he composed verses like the poem of Mutanabbi of the description of the lion.

1. I looked forth into the open with the ammunition.  
I thought of the kinds of game, there is no doubt.
2. And behold, I met the chequered of skin, watching  
for all the game.  
And he who hunts the game, one may not hunt him.
3. O gun, O thou which containest the various descriptions;  
My age is approaching, and the things predestined  
are near.
4. The palms of the pure ones pounded thy salt.  
Thy seed is rounded, cast from staves.  
Upon this answered the gun and spake:
5. If thou art terrified of death, art afraid,  
Aim well and distinguish the waving of his tail.
6. The leopard fell after he had been standing.  
The width of his sole, O my people, it is a marvel.
7. The leopard fell after he had been standing.  
That is all for the eyes of those whose curls are  
hanging loose.

#### Notes to the Arabic Text

Poem A. Nimr and the Beni Šahr.

- V. 5 جَرَّ to shear. يَجْرُ عَنْهُ he should be in my place; however, Socin-Stumme, *Diwan aus Central-Arabien*, have the mean-

ing "to cut off some one from something," which gives a better sense here. "O Ḥamūd, tell Ḥamūd, he should be cut off instead of me." This rendering agrees also with Poem C v. 2. *يجز المثال*.

- V. 6 *على دوما* cf. Dozy, Suppl.: *cum* دوما "marcher sur." *حقوقنا اندامت ای لوازم* Dozy, *op. cit.* *devoirs*. Plural of لازم. *بارود ای ملح*.
- V. 7 *بابکی* cf. Spoer and Haddad: *Manual of Palestinian Arabic* § 102. *اتذکر کوری ای اکازی* orig. gloss.
- V. 8 *اقال قصید ای اوتی* orig. gloss. Acc. to Wetzstein, "Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern etc." ZDMG 22. 150, *ونی* has the meaning of "träge sein" for which we may well say in this passage "hum". The explanation *اقال قصید* as given by our informant is perhaps his own interpretation of a word which he did not understand.
- V. 10 *منوی للیزد + ب + انی ای للیزدنی* cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, *اب البوی* "hospitalier".
- V. 11 *وسع ای* cf. Spoer and Haddad, *op. cit.*, § 89, 2. *باریشی* cf. Socin-Stumme, *op. cit.*, sub *رهراة* "menschenleere Wüste." *متون* plur. of *متن*.
- V. 12 *يخلق ثابته ای ينسى* orig. gloss; cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, "donner aux terres le deuxième labour." cf. *منحوب ای کبد* cf. Lane, Arabic Lex. *کبد* "distress, trouble" — *عیته ای معاشه*.

#### Poem B. Nimr and Muṭlaq.

- Introduction: *توبه* cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, "temps, époque." — *ربع* Socin-Stumme, *op. cit.*, "a certain number of men," while according to Wetzstein, ZDMG 22. 119, it designates the people belonging to the same tribe, "Stammgenossen". — *شیخ ای محافظه* — *قره ای لمونه* cf. J. Catalago, *Arabic-English Lex.*, London 1858; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to Mekka and Medina*, I 19; II. 20. — *نطی قسم* take an oath. The phrase was pronounced *wansa gisamin*. — *لئے ای لئے* cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, "accumulation, multitude of people".
- V. 1 *طروث ای مراہیل* cf. v. 6; sgl. *طارث* cf. Soc.-Stumme, *op. cit.*; cf. also v. 6. — *یتى ای یا + الی = النین* — also v. 6.



- V. 2 . . . عطلى اى على + عطلى *cf.* Spoer and Haddad, *op. cit.*, § 62, also v. 3 عالوصف — الغزو — orig. gloss.
- V. 3 كمالات اى مكملات orig. gloss. *cf.* كمال pl. "perfection".
- V. 4 طريفه اى صريخه orig. gloss. We should perhaps read نبوة اى نباء — orig. gloss. — perhaps "noble".
- V. 5 الدين اى هلى.
- V. 6 هويه اى هوة *cf.* Dozy, *op. cit.*, هويه.
- V. 8 اذبحك اى يهوشك for the ب prefix *cf.* Spoer and Haddad, *op. cit.* § 102. — الحيل اى الرمح — orig. gloss.
- V. 9 غظه اى غطاء.
- V. 10 عقدرك *cf.* notes to v. 2. — يوانى from انا.

#### Poem C. Nimr admonishes his Children.

Introduction: بسم اى بسم or قصد orig. gloss.

- V. 2 زلال اى صاغ — اثنان اى اثنين Turkish: unmixed, pure money of full weight — اية اى محبلة orig. gloss. حفل = زين "to ornament." — ذبح اى جز — *cf.* Poem A, v. 5. — المنطرق من العدو — orig. gloss. According to Wetzstein, ZDMG 22. 131, مثال has the meaning of (1) merchandise loaded for transportation; (2) time of transportation; (3) means of transportation, i. e. animals, carriages, porters, ships, etc.
- V. 3 التى *cf.* Poem B, v. 1.
- V. 4 افغضى *cf.* the Palestinian فاضى على بالك *faddi 'ala bālak*, cheer up!
- V. 5 نضج لي اى شملت *cf.* نضج — ظفر — a growth in the nose, *cf.* Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III. 277.
- V. 6 واحد was pronounced in this instance *wihdatin*. — الدبل اى صرغ الختان اللتان — طويل الدبل *cf.* the Palestinian متوال *cf.* the Palestinian — يربط بهما سير اللجام orig. gloss. — وقت اى توائى — orig. gloss.

#### Poem D. The Lost Mare.

Introduction مروه اى منطوله — حبوا اى عذون orig. gloss. — الوجد اى اندكر — غدى *cf.* Socin-Stumme, *op.*

*cit.*, Poem 68. 8 "sterben".—مرءة ای مری orig. gloss.—عنده ای orig. gloss.—ولد صغير ای عجبی orig. gloss; probably orphan; cf. Wetzstein, *ZDMG* 22. 128, "little child", plur. عجیان ولنه.—عندما ای ولنه orig. gloss.—دز cf. Socin-Stumme, *op. cit.*, Poem 80. 20, note a.

- V. 1 جمل حنر واحمر ای معینی orig. gloss. Probably a camel of noble breed, raised by the *mo'dān* tribe of Mesopotamia, is referred to. There is also a clan of that name belonging to the Beni Šahr, cf. Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 118.—مرفع cf. Socin-Stumme, *op. cit.*, glossary.—طویل الیدین والرجلین ای—وهد orig. gloss.
- V. 2 اصل جمال ای سامیب.
- V. 3 هاذا = به ای بو.—رجل a plural of راجیل.
- V. 4 cf. *ZDMG* 6. 373: من شاور النوان ما لی بهم عوز  
"Wer aber mit Weibern zu Rat geht, mit dem will ich nichts zu tun haben."

#### Poem E. The Leopard and the Gun.

- Introduction: ارفع ای ارتفع cf. Dozy ارفع "mettre en fuite."—وهی ای لنه orig. gloss.—يقول بنفه ای بهصحن—gloss.—صدق ای صبح orig. gloss.—توقه ای ترکده—gloss.—"lift up the head, be courageous."
- V. 1 الدخيرة ای—cf. Spoer and Haddad, *op. cit.*, § 116. طلبت الکلایف orig. gloss.
- V. 2 یشرق ای خایف—orig. gloss.—فاذا انا ای ونی cf. Poem B, v. 1. یاکل ای یعدی—orig. gloss.
- V. 3 یا الی ای بالی—orig. gloss.—بندقی ای بندقی cf. Spoer and Haddad, *op. cit.*, § 88. وصابی plur. of صاب orig. gloss.—اکوف plur. of کوفه orig. gloss.
- V. 4 قضایب plur. of قضیب orig. gloss.
- V. 5 تعاین من تحت افرق شذایع—orig. gloss. تعاین حیدا ای حق النظر
- V. 6 جماعه ای ربوع cf. Socin-Stumme, *op. cit.*, glossary. ربع and *ZDMG* 22. 119.

*Notes to the Translation*

## Poem A.

We may infer from the introduction that this poem dates after or about the year 1812. See page 178 above.

Verse 2. *kāf* and *nūn* are the two letters which form the word *kun*, be!

V. 3. The evil eye is blue.

V. 4. *Ḥamūd eṣ-ṣānī* i. e. *Ḥamūd* the farrier, *Nimr's* friend. *Ḥamūd eṣ-ṣālib*, the other *Ḥamūd* mentioned here, is *Nimr's* cousin and enemy. He was Chief of the 'Adwān in Burckhardt's time (*op. cit.*, p. 368f.); cf. p. 178.

V. 5. *Qaridī*, name of *Nimr's* family.

V. 6. A clan, i. e. the Beni Ṣaḥr.—"Salt", i. e. powder.

## Poem B.

V. 7. "Whom his soul sees," i. e. he who is proud; cf. the Palestinian: *min shāf nafso*, he who sees his soul, or *hāda shāyif nafso*, this one sees his soul, i. e. he is proud.

V. 8. "The horse standing quiet", i. e. horses standing on three legs and the fourth just touching the ground.

V. 11b. i. e. until I shall kill you.

## Poem C.

Verse 1. *Fāris* was a son of *Nimr*. *Nimr* had at least three sons besides *Agāb*, the son of *Waḍḥa*, and one daughter called *Sāra*. The son called *Fāḍil* was regarded by some of our informants as being the same as *Fāris*. With the exception of *Muslat*, all his children are referred to by name in his poems.—"The white ones," i. e. women.

V. 6. "Her tail is raised", a sign of stubbornness in a camel, here applied to a stubborn woman. V. 6b. A thoroughbred horse or camel would stop at once.

## Poem D.

This poem is significant because of the light which it throws upon the position that a *Bedawiye* may hold in her tribe.

Verse 1b. These are good points in a camel.

V. 2. A thoroughbred race of camels is meant. For races of camels cf. Burckhardt, *Wahabys*, I 194; II 61 ff.

V. 4b. Said of a house not built upon rock; cf. Mat. 7. 26f.



## Poem E.

Nimr's gun was called *maṣīda*, it is mentioned by name in one of his poems, cf. page 180.—Here is a play on the word *nimr*, the name of the *ṣēḥ* and of the animal that was confronting him.

V. 4. "Salt", i. e. saltpeter for making powder.—"Seed," i. e. bullets, v. 7.

V. 7b. i. e. for the sake of the maidens.

## YERMAK TIMOFEYEVICH IN RUSSIAN FOLK POETRY

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FOLK POETRY of every age and country has tended constantly to confuse historical and mythical heroes by ascribing to the former all the qualities of the latter, until it is impossible to know the historical basis for many of the exploits which are recounted. Russia is no exception to this rule. Yermak Timofeyevich, the first conqueror of Siberia in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (the latter part of the sixteenth century), so fascinated the minds of the folk poets that he became a national hero. We have the original songs which describe his invasion of Siberia and his earlier life along the Volga River, but in a short time Yermak appears in songs where he clearly does not belong, and he ultimately makes his way into the *byliny* or national epics, so that we can see clearly in his case the path which he took in becoming a legendary figure.

The personality of Yermak Timofeyevich is very obscure. We know nothing definite about his life until he suddenly appears at Perm with a band of Cossacks and, in some connection with the trading family of the Strogonovy, invades Siberia. We are not even sure of his name; for Yermak is not a Christian name, and though the New Chronicle calls him Yermolay, Yermak is the name by which his associates knew him and it is under that name that he has become famous. M. Putsillo ("K voprosu, kto byl Yermak Timofeyevich, pokoritel' Sibiri," *Russky Vvestnik*, Vol. 156, p. 275ff.) considers many of the difficulties in the common narrative and cites other authors as V. Bronevsky, who wrote a history of the Don Cossacks in which Yermak figures, but there seems to be no other evidence than that of the historical songs.

These songs have been collected in a volume by V. Th. Miller entitled "Historical Songs of the Russian People of the XVI-XVII Centuries" (*Istoricheskaya Pyesni russkago naroda XVI-*

XVII vv.) and published as Vol. XCIII of the Collections of the Section of Russian Language and Literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1915. This contains some 35 songs and fragments which contribute to our knowledge of Yermak and which come from eastern Russia, from the province of Olonets to Astrakhan, the Don and the Terek. Of this group the most complete versions are those from Olonets and Siberia which carry through Yermak's career with some degree of fulness, especially No. 159 of the collection. Those from the south contain in general material which is foreign to the Yermak tradition and know little of the hero after he starts for Siberia.

It may be of interest to summarize briefly the most complete of these tales, No. 159. Yermak had been in some sort of a fight on the Caspian Sea, where he killed the Persian envoy Koramyshev Semen Konstyantynovich. He thought over the situation of his band in these words: "In Astrakhan we cannot live; to live on the Volga is to count as thieves; to go to the Yaik is a great journey; to go to Kazan—there is the Terrible Tsar, the Terrible Tsar our Lord Ivan Vasilyevich;—to go to Moscow is to be arrested, scattered throughout different cities and placed in dark prisons. Let us go to Usolya, to the Strogonov, to Grigory Grigoryevich, to the Voronov; let us take a supply of lead, powder and grain" (ll. 20-31). They spent the winter in a cave on the Chusovaya River, and then went further up the Serebryanaya River to Zharavl' where they left their boats and marched across country to the Tagil' River, where they built others. They sailed along the Tagil' and other rivers until St. Peter's Day (June 29). Yermak with three hundred men as one of three columns descended the Tobol' River to the Irtysh. Then in a great battle they defeated the Tatars under Kuchum. "The Cossacks killed a large number of the Tatars and the Tatars were astonished at the strength of the Russians, because they could not kill one of them. Heated arrows were hurled against them as in sheaves but the Cossacks stood unharmed" (ll. 97ff). Kuchum was captured and Yermak thought of peace. He took an embassy back to Moscow with rich presents. They induced the boyar Nikita Romanovich to plead their case and finally the Tsar pardoned Yermak for the affair with the Persian envoy. "The next year the Tatars



rose against Yermak Timofeyevich on the great Yenisey River. Yermak's Cossacks had been sent in different directions and he had with him only the Cossacks on two boats. And they fought with the Tatars for a long time. And to help his companions Yermak tried to leap to the other boat and he stepped on a treacherous passage. His right foot slipped and the board rose from the upper end and struck him. It shattered his stormy head and threw him into the swift Yenisey River; there death met Yermak" (ll. 198ff).

This version of the story is probably correct. Yermak shows himself throughout as he was in real life, the leader of an unruly and undisciplined band of followers, half bandits, half soldiers. This is in accord with the spirit of the times; for in this century the term Cossack was applied to any outlaw or man who was fond of an unrestrained and independent life, and was not, as later, the name of a special body of soldiers. (Cf. Putsillo, *op. cit.* p. 282.) The victory over Kuchum was fought on October 23, 1581, and the capital of the Siberians, Irtysh, was taken three days later, on October 26.

The details of the song vary in the different versions, but these variations are to be found far more in the earlier relations between the Tsar and Yermak than in the exploits of the hero insofar as they are mentioned. In most of them, as in Nos. 170 and 186, Yermak simply announces his intention to leave for Siberia and indulges in a certain amount of prophecy. Another variation is in regard to the Persian envoy; for in No. 157 the envoy seems to be Russian instead of Persian, but he is of the same name and the circumstances of his death are quite similar.

We can regard these narratives as the first step in the development of Yermak. But he was not destined to stay a long time in this stage. The south of Russia and in particular the district along the Terek wanted to take the hero with them on their raids against the Turks, and so in No. 176 we find him in prison in Turkey for 33 years. His beard has grown until it is below his silken belt and his red curls rest on his shoulders, but his energy is not diminished and he challenges the Sultan: "Thou, sultan, son of a sultan, thou the great sultan! Set me at liberty; I will cut down all Turkey and thee, O sultan, will I take captive" (ll. 23ff).

The most important event of the reign of Ivan the Terrible was the capture of Kazan, the capital of the Golden Horde, in 1552. This was a very long and severe struggle, since the Tatar capital was well fortified and Ivan was compelled to make use of engineers in order to force an entrance into the city (cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Vol 2, p. 421). There is a separate historical song which tells how the engineers of the Tsar arranged a mine under the Tatar powder magazine and also put an extra fuse in place, so that at the very moment that the mine was exploded this other fuse would light a light in the presence of the Tsar and his army. The accomplishment of such an engineering feat was of course quite outside the sphere of Yermak Timofeyevich and his Cossacks, but popular interest in him could not permit him to be absent from the capture of Kazan. The Yermak legend was therefore extended so as to allow him to be the hero of the siege.

In No. 162 we have a full account of this. The Tsar threatened Yermak for sacking some of the imperial boats but the Cossack defended himself by saying that the boats which he had seized did not bear the royal seals and consequently they did not deserve immunity from robbery. The Tsar consented to pardon him and his men, provided they would capture for him the city of Kazan. Yermak promised to take the city in three hours. He entered the city as a beggar and noticed where all the powder of the city was concentrated. "Dig a trench, brothers, under the powder store. When Yermak put a light to the wax fuse, he put it in a keg full of powder, and he placed the other where he sat with the tsar. Then Yermak said to the Terrible Tsar: When the light burns up hither, I will take Kazan. The light burned up and a black cloud rose over Kazan" (ll. 46ff.). Then to the Cossacks he said: "Run to Kazan city quickly, drive all the Basurmans from the city; do not take a single soul prisoner, since prison does not suit the Cossacks of the Don" (ll. 58ff.). In return for this Ivan named Yermak prince of the glorious, quiet Don.

We have here a distinct step in the process of turning Yermak into a culture hero. We will pass over the difficulties which this episode introduces into the character of Yermak, because the leader of a band of outlaws hardly stands in any such attitude toward the sovereign and toward technical military science

as this implies. There are also chronological inconsistencies. Yermak was hardly an old man at his death in 1582, and yet it is presumed that he was an experienced chieftain as early as 1552; and still other songs do not assume any great difference in time between this capture of Kazan and the Siberian expedition. Of course there is yet no absolute chronological impossibility, but the presumption for it is very strong.

Still more fantastic is the story of Yermak killing a boyar in the presence of the Tsar. According to No. 169, collected in the Ural District, Yermak went to the tsar to ask pardon for his offences, and one of the boyars interfered and recommended that he be hanged. Then "his heroic strength, i. e. his strength as a bogatyr, rose, and his heroic blood, i. e. his blood as a bogatyr, flamed up" (ll. 65-66), and he drew his sword and killed the boyar. "Yermak sits in misfortune and is wrung by misfortune and the other boyars became frightened. They ran from the imperial rooms and the tsar's appearance changed" (ll. 70ff). Ivan the Terrible was a rough and fickle ruler but no man could act in this way before him and be saved, much less an outlaw leader who was already under heavy charges. On the other hand there are not lacking instances where the bogatyrs at the court of St. Vladimir act toward their sovereign in this disrespectful manner. Thus Ilya of Murom, the old Cossack, appeared in disguise at court and, when he did not meet with sufficient honor, became unruly, killed many of Vladimir's servants, and was only reconciled when Vladimir sent him Dobrynya Nikitch to make peace on these terms: "Let strict ukazes be promulgated thruout all the towns of Kiev and Chernigov that all the pot-houses and drinking places of whatever sort be opened freely for the space of three days, that all the people may drink green wine without price. And whoso drinketh no green wine, let him quaff the beer of drunkenness; and he who drinketh that not, sweet mead; that all may know that the Old Kazak Ilya of Murom is come to famous Kiev town" (Hapgood, *Epic Songs of Russia*, p. 79).

Another song in which Yermak acts to satisfy his wounded honor is No. 164 from the Don. In this the captured murza Itslanber enters a tent and greets all the Russians except Yermak. The Cossack in anger then cuts off his turbulent head, very much as Ilya would have done in the same conditions.



We can then sum up this part of our paper as follows: Yermak, the conqueror of Siberia, has a tendency to enter various other spheres of action. At the same time as soon as we leave that field in which his real life was spent, the episodes in which he figures have a tendency to become more and more miraculous and to approximate those of a Russian bogatyr. The Kazan legends often suggest that Yermak became the head of the Don Cossacks and lived a while a life of peace as in No. 167, "Let us go, brothers, to the quiet Don, let us repent. Ye brothers who are unmarried, all marry" (l. 59f.). There does not seem to be any historical basis for this placid life; and Yermak, once a hero, must remain such and meet with ever more adventures.

Accordingly Yermak makes his appearance in the byliny, the epic songs which cluster around the name of St. Vladimir, Fair Sun Vladimir, the ruler of Russia at the time of her conversion to Christianity (980-1015). The two byliny in which he appears are that of Tsar Kalin and that of the Tsar Mamay and Babishcha Mamaishina.

There is little need here to summarize all the forms of these byliny. This has been done by A. V. Oksenov in his article, "Yermak v bylinakh russkago naroda," published in the *Istoricheskyy Vvestnik*, Vol. 49, p. 424ff. In this article Oksenov has endeavored to trace all the existent forms of the bylina legend, without however touching any of the historic material.

In the first legend, Yermak is the nephew of Vladimir. On the advice of Ilya of Murom Vladimir has begged and secured from the Tatars a respite of three months before surrendering Kiev. Ilya has gone to collect the bogatyrs to defend Russia but has not returned. Under these conditions Yermak begs permission to take the field. Vladimir at first refuses but later consents after the boy shows his valor by emptying a pail of sixty puds. He goes to battle and fights alone against the leaders of the Tatars for three days and nights without stopping. Then Ilya arrives and the bogatyrs falling upon the Tatar hosts cut their way to the centre and Yermak kills the Tatar tsar Kalin. According to other versions it is not Yermak but Ilya who kills the chieftain of the enemy. This legend, however, sometimes does not end successfully for the Russians, and it is one of these forms which Miss Hapgood gives in her volume (*op. cit.*, p. 210ff.). In this version two Tatars appear wherever one is killed and in

the end the bogatyr is either killed or carried off to a subterranean cave. Yermak alone is left and he returns to Kiev and receives the congratulations of Vladimir, who offers to reward him. Yermak rejects all offers of land or wealth and requests the privilege of drinking beer and wine without price in all the pothouses of the kingdom. In still other forms Yermak is worn out by his exertions and dies with the others.

The other legend, that of Tsar Mamay and the Babishcha Mamaishina, is somewhat similar. Tsar Mamay was the actual head of the Tatars in 1380 when they were decisively defeated at Kulikovo by Dimitry Donskoy. Here again Yermak is the champion of Kiev and fights without support until he is forced to flee. Fortunately at this moment Ilya rouses himself from a drunken stupor and indifference and takes part in the battle. No sooner is this fight won than Yermak takes the field against a female foe, the Babishcha Mamaishina, one of those female monsters who occur so often in Russian song. She fights with Yermak for twelve days and nights without either securing an advantage, until Ilya interferes and tells Yermak that he is still young and does not know how to fight with women. Following the advice of the older man, Yermak seizes her by her white breast and soon overthrows her.

It will be noticed in all this that Yermak is the chief bogatyr of the third generation. The first generation is that of the elder heroes, Svyatogor and his fellows, who are far more powerful physically than Ilya or any of his (the second) generation. Now it is Yermak who forms the third generation, powerful and young but not the equal in experience or strength of Ilya. Furthermore in some of the versions Ilya is the uncle of Yermak who is related to him and not to Vladimir. Orest Miller (*Sravnitel'no-kriticheskiya nablyudeniya nad slozovym soslovom narodnago russkago epasa, Ilya Muromets i bogatyrstvo Kievskoye*, p. 699) queries whether Yermak may not be an alternative form of Falcon the Hunter, the son whom Ilya kills. This motif which appears in the Persian legend of Sohrab and Rustem is the subject again of the Hildebrand Fragment of the old pagan German poetry (cf. Thomas, *An Anthology of German Literature*, p. 3). It is perfectly true that in later forms of these stories the father discovers his son's identity before it is

too late and there is a reconciliation. This happens also in some of the later forms of the Hildebrand-saga and in some versions of the Falcon story. There does not however seem to be any necessity for supposing that Yermak has taken the place of a son of Ilya, that reconciliation has taken place, or that in one version father and son were always together.

On the other hand, in the Yermak byliny Ilya does not appear in a very enviable rôle. He is indifferent or drunken. Perhaps it may be that he has been with the elder heroes and has been drinking their wine, which is not suitable even for his generation. Yermak has for his part declined to taste this supernatural drink (cf. Oksenov, *op. cit.* p. 440). Perhaps he may be regarded as passing beyond the natural age of fighting and as already declining in strength and vigor. However that may be, we have here frankly the appearance of the next younger generation as the chief champion of Holy Russia. This probably means little more than that Yermak was of a far younger stratum of legend, and this we know from our acquaintance with history.

The German saga of the Nibelungen shows us the same confusion of times. When Kriemhild is on her way to the court of King Etzel or Attila (who lived in the fifth century A. D.) she stops on the way with her uncle Bishop Pilgerin of Passau, who was actually bishop there in 971-991. Thus we have a mythical heroine, married to Attila and the niece of a man who actually lived in the tenth century. The byliny which started in much the same atmosphere in Russia rapidly came to reflect the prehistoric and pre-Christian heroes of their country. At the same time they included the heroes who fell at the battle of the Kalka in 1224 when the forces of the Russians were overthrown. We find here the very names which tradition places around Vladimir. Next the Russian victory at Kulikovo in 1380 gave us the memory of Mamay. Why Dimitry Donskoy, the leader of the Russians and himself a popular hero, did not enter the charmed circle, we cannot tell. He remained outside but his opponent was included among the foes of Russia. Then two centuries later, when Yermak appeared in Siberia, he touched the popular fancy and for his exploits was included in the list of bogatyrs.

We can well understand why Yermak did the conventional things in the byliny. His exploits had been remote and dif-



ferent; even his death was extraordinary. The byliny authors did not recognize this peculiarity. For them the bogatyr were the great heroes who fought at Kiev against the Tatars. For them the bogatyr drank from huge cups, handled huge weapons and fought for long periods of time. Everything about them was on a grand scale. So they applied to Yermak the conventional characteristics of their favorite heroes. He was young, younger than any of the others, and he could not pass from history in the way in which they did. All Russia knew that Yermak Timofeyevich had to reach Siberia. They knew that he had to annex the land to Russia and be pardoned by the Tsar but at the same time they placed him in the latest possible strata of their work. The disappearance of the bogatyr in the struggle with Tsar Kalin probably looks to 1224. The conflict with Mamay certainly places Yermak in connection with the heroes of the fourteenth century. Outside of the mythical apparatus there is nothing that can connect Yermak with Vladimir. He remains throughout a straight hero, young and late in coming, who rises as the old Kiev heroes begin to pass away. This is a tribute to history and the historical sense and there is little or no need to find for Yermak a place in the highly organized pantheon of the past. There is no need to speculate whether the name of Yermak has been attached to some old hero who has lost his name before the increasing fame of the young man. He is simply a later hero enrolled among the earlier immortals.

We shall probably never know what were the personal characteristics of Yermak Timofeyevich which so endeared him to the heart of the Russian people. His Cossacks were practically wiped out but he had opened a way to Siberia. He was a pathfinder whose exploits fired the hearts of his people and made him an object of song. More and more was the simple story of his life magnified in popular tradition and made like the tales of the heroes of the past. And therein lies its value. We can see how one incident after another became connected with his name and we can trace his career from a Cossack leader to a Russian bogatyr. If we could analyze this story more carefully, we should probably have a key to the strange mixture of myth and heroism, of history and romance, which in the folk poetry of Russia developed into the byliny. Perhaps others

of the bogatyr developed in the same way; but we are fortunate in the case of Yermak for he lived late enough to give us some historical information about his career and to figure to some extent in written history. Through the historical songs and the byliny we can trace his rise in popular thought and song; and his great value is that he illustrates the change of a human hero into a culture-hero endowed with all the befitting mythical and super-human qualities.

## NARD

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THOSE who have enjoyed a Madonna of Murillo will remember how she rests her foot on the crescent moon, that golden boat of Astarte, at sundry times and in divers places otherwise called Aphrodite, Anaitis and Ishtar. Frazer tells of a village of Cyprus where the Virgin Mary is worshipped under the name of Panaghia Aphroditessa, the Most Holy little Goddess of Love<sup>1</sup>; and it is not entirely unreasonable that, as the Mother of the most precious Child, she should be thought to retain some, at least, of the attributes of the ancient Mother Goddess. Let us now see how some of the offerings to that great Mother have likewise been handed on.

St. Paul's saying "that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die" strikes at the heart of primitive religion. The re-awakening of life in the spring, the sprouting of trees, flowers and grass were mysterious evidence of divine life and had a direct relation to the lives of men depending upon their flocks. As they changed their manner of living and became agricultural rather than pastoral, the ear of corn took its place along with leaf and bud; and where this was a winter crop, the spring festival was applicable to both. "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear," is thus also an expression of early ideas. The same Semitic root which means 'to put forth'<sup>2</sup> covers both the ear of corn and the hyacinth,<sup>3</sup> and we remember how Hyacinth, Anemone and Narcissus alternate with Adonis and Tammuz in the worship of the Mother Goddess<sup>4</sup>. This

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<sup>1</sup> *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, 32.

<sup>2</sup> *zanbal*.

<sup>3</sup> *zanbal*.

<sup>4</sup> Anemone is Naamani 'my darling' as Adoni is 'my lord' and Dodi 'my beloved'.



same root covers the sign of the Zodiac, of the sixth month<sup>2</sup>, during which the descent of Ishtar to Hades in search of her lost husband was celebrated; and the same root, again, covers the *nardostachys*<sup>3</sup>, *spica nardi*, or spikenard of India.

Nard, or more specifically spikenard, is the fibre-covered root-stock of a tall-growing valerian,<sup>4</sup> having as its habitat the Himalaya and Hindu Kush Mountains. The characteristic hairy covering is the remains of the radical leaves. Nard first appears in literature in the Atharva-Veda<sup>5</sup> where, mixed with honey and costus and made into an ointment, it becomes a sovereign charm to win a woman. "Of ointment, of *madugha* (licorice?), of costus, and of nard, by the hands of Bhaga, I bring up quick a means of subjection". This association with costus is of interest, for that, also a herbaceous plant of the Himalayas, appears elsewhere in the Atharva-Veda<sup>6</sup> as the sign and symbol of immortal life. Won by the gods in the third heaven from earth as they moved about in the sky in their golden boat, the costus was set as companion to the soma—that sacred drink which according to a recent writer was nothing more romantic than millet beer.<sup>7</sup> Costus appears several times in the Atharva-Veda as a remedy against disease, especially fever.

Whether nard is a word of Sanskrit or Iranian origin seems doubtful. It may be an indigenous name borrowed of some earlier race by the conquering Iranians. Some lexicons refer it to a Sanskrit root *nal*, to smell, but Dr. Edgerton tells me that there is no such root in Sanskrit. Uhlenbeck's etymological dictionary doubtfully suggests a word, *nada*, *naḥa* or *nala*, reed, which from the botanical standpoint would answer well enough. Persian dictionaries also connect the word with *nai*, reed, and Dr. Jackson writes me that we may perhaps tentatively assume the word 'nard' to be Iranian. Watt quotes various vernaculars of the Punjab, *dala*, *bala*, *mala*, 'root', and Sanskrit

<sup>2</sup> *ar-Sunbula* (t).

<sup>3</sup> *sunbul-aj-fib*.

<sup>4</sup> *Nardostachys jatamansi*, order Valerianaceae.

<sup>5</sup> VI.102.3.

<sup>6</sup> V.4.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Havell, *JRAS* 1920, pp. 349-351: "it is probable that the soma plant was *Eleusine coracana*, or *ragi*, the common millet still used in the Eastern Himalayas for making the intoxicating drink known as *marua*."

*jaṭā-māṇsī* (which latter has been adopted in the modern botanical name of the plant), referring to its resemblance to a tufted stock. In modern India fragrant and cooling ointments are still prepared from the drug, which are believed to have the power of promoting the growth and blackness of the hair. Although from quite a different part of the plant, the spikenard of commerce bears some vague resemblance to an ear of corn, or to bulbous flowers like the hyacinth, gladiolus or garlic; and it is of interest that another Semitic word used for nard<sup>11</sup> means alike 'loose' or 'hanging' as of hair, 'heating', as of an oven, 'swelling' or 'filling', as of a river, 'bloodshot', as of an eye, and that various forms of the word covered alike the hyacinth and the red or bloody waters of the river Adonis rising in the spring floods and thus suggesting the revival of human life; for was not man himself, as Adam, the Ruddy One? This association of waters and human life is familiar enough. It may be worth while to recall another passage in the Atharva-Veda:<sup>12</sup> "As Indra is possessed of glory in heaven-and-earth, as the waters are possessed of glory in the herbs, so among all the gods may we, among all, be glorious." Something of the same association continues through the Vedic writings; *nalada* or nard is found not only in the Atharva-Veda, but also in the Aitareya<sup>13</sup> and the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyakas,<sup>14</sup> where it is mentioned as found in a garland, as well as in the Sūtras. In the Atharva-Veda<sup>15</sup> the feminine form of the word *naladī* occurs as the name of an Apsaras or celestial nymph. In this latter passage there are five Apsarases who are driven out by some herb, and their names, as Whitney suggests,<sup>16</sup> are all formed upon odor names, of which *guggulu* or bdellium is one. We may thus trace the fact that a special portion of a special reed or herbaceous plant was in various ways connected with ideas of manly vigor and love, and that the uses of the drug had special reference to those ideas in their relation to a Mother Goddess.

<sup>11</sup> *sajara; muntajjar, sajjar, sajar, safrat.*

<sup>12</sup> VI.58.2.

<sup>13</sup> III.2.4.7.

<sup>14</sup> XI.4.

<sup>15</sup> IV.37.3.

<sup>16</sup> *Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. VII, p. 211.

So it appears in the earlier writings; but Caland,<sup>17</sup> while he gives us as a charm to assure the safety of the herd, that nard pounded in water should be given the calves to drink while the priest performed a specified ceremony, observes that nard was subsequently reserved for the ritual of the dead and forbidden to the living. Still later, however, in India the word 'nard' referred to several varieties of aromatic grass which, in odor and appearance, resembled the Himalayan drug;<sup>18</sup> and while familiar in ointments and perfumes, these were used also in ceremonial ointments in Mohammedan times, especially in anointing the Ka'ba and the Sacred Rock under the Temple in Jerusalem, which must have been survivals of extremely early practice,—the anointing of stock and stone for the Mother Goddess.

Laufer<sup>19</sup> traces nard through early Chinese Annals and finds the word to be correctly transcribed, (*na-lo-t'o* = Sansk. *nalada*) and a fanciful analysis given as to *nara-dhara* ("held or carried by man"), because, it was said, men carried the fragrant flower with them in their girdles.<sup>20</sup> He refers to another word in the Chinese Annals (*naï-k'i*) mentioned as a product of Fu-lin or Syria, and thought by Hirth to be the nard. It was said to be somewhat similar to garlic, shepherd's purse and wheat; and while he identifies this with Persian *nargis*, narcissus, it is still a fact that there is an underlying association, if not in language, yet in conception between the two products.

To English-speaking people nard is best known through the mention of it in the Song of Songs and in the Gospels, and to Jews through its appearance in the Prayer Book (carried down from the Babylonian Talmud) as an ingredient in the ceremonial incense. It is an interesting historical question how a Himalayan love charm came to find its way into those books. We may perhaps adopt the hypothesis that its ceremonial use was due to Persian influence, through association of ideas, similarity of

<sup>17</sup> *Altindisches Zauberritual*: Verhand. der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, III. 2, pp. 176-7. The reference is to *Kautilka Sūtra* 51. 1-13.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Edgerton cites the *Naishadha-Carita*.

<sup>19</sup> *Sino-Iranica*, 428, 455.

<sup>20</sup> This may, however, be a veiled allusion to the phallic symbolism which was usually attached to nard.



appearance, superiority of fragrance and extension of trade routes under the Achaemenid kingdom of Persia, and its successors, the Empires of Alexander and Seleucus.<sup>21</sup>

Let us approach the problem by recalling the substances specified for the ceremonial incense. In Exodus 30 the incense and anointing oil are separately listed; the one contains stacte, onycha, galbanum and frankincense, each of a like weight, the whole seasoned with salt; the other, flowing myrrh and cassia each 500 shekels, sweet cinnamon and sweet calamus each 250 shekels, and olive oil one hin; but the Babylonian Talmud apparently combines the two lists and adds a number of things that must have been unknown to pre-exilic ceremonial. The following is the list: balm, onycha, galbanum, frankincense, each 70 maneh, myrrh, cassia, spikenard and saffron, each 16 maneh, costus 12, aromatic bark 3, cinnamon 9, and the lye from the ashes of the leek 9 kab, Cyprus wine 3 seah 3 kab, salt of Sodom  $\frac{3}{4}$  kab, and a dash each of the herb *maaleh ashan* and *kipph* of the Jordan, which may possibly be *kopher* or henna.<sup>22</sup> It is here specified, as in Ezekiel and Leviticus, that no honey shall be used; but how this offering of the Ishtar cult should be prohibited and such exotic and idolatrous substances as spikenard, saffron and costus admitted is not so easily understood. Surely they, too, are associated with nature cults, whether of Syrian Astarte, Iranian Anaitis, or Indian Durgā.

In the Song of Songs spikenard (Hebrew *nērd*) appears twice—adorning first the bridegroom and next the bride.<sup>23</sup> This might be taken as chance illustrations in a love song at the wedding ceremonial, were it not that all the substances mentioned in the Song fall so naturally into separate offering lists—first, of the nature cult; second, of the pre-exilic sanctuaries; and finally, of the post-exilic temple. In the wedding ceremonial spikenard was associated more especially with marriages of royalty, for it was always a rare and costly substance, with production and export limited then as now, by the princelings of

<sup>21</sup> As to the superposition of the patriarchal Semitic cult of the God of Heaven over the matriarchal autochthonous cult of the Mother Goddess, cf. Rostovtseff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 72-3, 106-7.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. association of henna with *nard*, Cant. 4, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Cant. 1, 12; 4, 13-14; cf. Rev. 3, 20.

the Himalayan states. In this connection Phyllarchus has a curious anecdote<sup>24</sup> about the gift of a love charm, not named but probably nard, sent by Chandragupta to Seleucus at Antioch when he decided to abandon Greek customs for Oriental, and like Solomon of old, to take unto himself wives from all the peoples within his dominions. Philostratus<sup>25</sup> also mentions a marriage balm prepared by the Indians of the Punjab, and says that unless the young couple have been besprinkled with it, their union is not considered complete or compatible with Aphrodite's bestowing her grace upon it. In the Song of Songs it is difficult to escape the conclusion that nard appears not as a popular love charm, but as a ceremonial offering to the Goddess of Love.

The earliest mention of nard in Greek literature is in Theophrastus<sup>26</sup> who, writing in the 3rd century B. C., says that "aromatics come from Arabia, Media and India, but the choicest from India" and under these makes separate mention of spike-nard. "The most fragrant of all aromatics come from Asia and sunny regions, while from Europe itself comes none except the iris." Arrian<sup>27</sup> in his account of Alexander's return from India, quoting Aristobulus, says of the Desert of Gedrosia that it produces "many odoriferous roots of nard, which the Phoenicians likewise gathered; but much of it was trampled down by the army, and a sweet perfume was diffused far and wide over the land by the trampling; so great was the abundance of it." Strabo<sup>28</sup> gives a slightly different account to the effect that the desert produced "aromatics, particularly nard and myrrh, in such quantity that the army of Alexander used them on the march for tent coverings and beds; they thus breathed an air full of odors, and at the same time more salubrious." And Pliny has more to the same effect.<sup>29</sup> In these passages, however, it may be inferred that the substance was not the Himalayan spikenard which required abundant moisture and rich soil, but

<sup>24</sup> Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* I. 344.

<sup>25</sup> Life of Apollonius of Tyana, III. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Hist. Plant.* 9. 7. 2-4.

<sup>27</sup> *Anab. Alex.* 6. 22. 5.

<sup>28</sup> 15. 2. 3.

<sup>29</sup> H. N. 12. 26; Pliny says that in his time nard held first place among ointments in Rome.

rather some variety of andropogon grass so generally used as a substitute.<sup>20</sup>

The poet Horace mentions nard in several passages<sup>21</sup>, of which the most interesting is in the Ode addressed to Vergil, who is bidden to the Sabine farm and told to bring with him in return for a share in a cask of wine "of bounteous power to grant fresh hopes", "a tiny alabaster box of nard", with reference perhaps to Lydia or some other charmer.<sup>22</sup>

The incident in the Gospels in which nard appears is of interest from more than one aspect. While every Gospel refers to it, the accounts differ somewhat in detail, and there are possibly two separate incidents assimilated into one account.<sup>23</sup> However that may be, the "alabaster box of ointment of spikenard very precious" was produced under such circumstances that those present thought it to be a love offering appropriate to the calling of the woman who made it, and were reproved with the explanation that the woman had "come beforehand," and that the anointing was against the day of the burying. So far as I am aware, this is the only Western reference to the funeral use of nard, which according to Caland had by that time become general in India. The Gospel account confirms the distinctive nature of the offering in its mention of the price, 300 denarii; and the denarius, as we know otherwise, was the unit price of a day's labor.

Nard appears in the Periplus<sup>24</sup> as an item of export at two Indian ports—that of Poclais (Pushkalavati) through the port of Barygaza, and that of the Ganges, through the ports of South India, whither it was brought by Bengal shipping. It appears in the Digest of the Roman Law<sup>25</sup> in an Imperial rescript of

<sup>20</sup> So Joret, *Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, 2, 647-8. These grasses are *andropogon*, var. *citratus*, *tesorancusa*, *nardus*, *schoenanthus*: order *Gramineae*. *Andropogon* is from *andr*, stamen (or man) and *pogon*, beard. These grasses, like spikenard, suggest the idea of masculinity.

<sup>21</sup> Odes, IV, 12, II, 11; Epode XIII.

<sup>22</sup> In another passage it is curious to note that the Loeb Library version renders as 'Persian nard', *Achaemenium costum* (Odes III, 1)—quite a different thing.

<sup>23</sup> Mark 14, 3-4; Matt. 26, 6-9; Luke 7, 36-38; John 12, 1-8.

<sup>24</sup> Periplus 48, 56.

<sup>25</sup> 39, 15, 5-7.



the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus relating to articles imported into Egypt from the East and subject to import duties. Here nard and the spike of nard are separately classified, and nard, specified as *folium*, has three subdivisions: 1, *pentasphaerum*, 2, *barbaricum*, 3, *caryophyllum*. *Pentasphaerum* seems to refer to the balls of leaf and fibre of the cinnamon laurel (some, however, would identify it with betel pepper) referred to in the Periplus as *malabathrum*; *barbaricum* refers probably to the port of that name at the mouth of the Indus, while *caryophyllum*, meaning literally 'nut-leaf', and later applied to the clove, has been identified by some with the aril or sheath of the nutmeg, which we know as mace. The identification is doubtful, for both clove and mace are supposed to have been brought to India from the Archipelago. Ptolemy mentions nard and fixes its habitat in the Himalayas.

Thus far we have considered nard as a charm for wedding or funeral. The association of these two rites, apparently at the opposite poles of human emotion, is not unreasonable from a primitive viewpoint. Whether like the waning and waxing moon, the descent and return of Ishtar, or the falling and budding of the leaves, death and revival were regarded as parts of the same cycle of life.

"I sometimes think that never blows so red  
The Rose as where some buried Caesar bled;  
That every Hyacinth the Garden wears  
Dropt in her lap from some once lovely Head."

The use of the product in early medicine was somewhat different from its ceremonial uses. The Syriac Book of Medicines edited by Budge<sup>14</sup> gives us presumably the practice of the school which flourished at Edessa during the late Graeco-Roman and Sassanian periods. In this compendium of practice nard appears in many prescriptions: as a remedy for colds and congestive conditions of the head and body generally; as a sedative in nervous diseases; in the treatment of paralysis; as a remedy for consumption, abdominal congestion or ulceration, dropsy, inflammation of the liver and spleen, and as an ingredient in external plasters for reduction of inflammation. In this book it does not appear as a nerve stimulant, which, aside from its physical

<sup>14</sup> Oxford ed. *passim*.

appearance, was the property that perhaps first commended its use as a charm. In present-day medicine it is practically unused, but on consulting physicians of different schools, the same diversity of practice is shown (depending, possibly, on the volume of the dose); a homeopath dislikes the valerians as "rough" stimulants; an allopath prefers better sedatives.<sup>17</sup> The Syriac distinguishes two varieties—*nardōn*, which Budge equates with Arabic *sujra(t)*, and *nārdīn*, equated with Arabic *sumbul*. Watt quotes from a Persian work on *Materia Medica*, which has *narden* in the index and *sumbul* in the body of the work, and distinguishes between *sumbul hindī*, *sumbul-rūmī* or *uklefi*, and *nardēn uklefi*, remarking that *sumbul hindī* is also *sumbul-af-fīb*<sup>18</sup> or fragrant nard.

In the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes,<sup>19</sup> in its description of Ceylon, mention is made of the shipping that frequented its ports coming from India, Persia and Ethiopia, from Malabar and the Gulf of Cambay and from Sindu "where musk and castor are procured, and *androstachys*", which seems to be a corruption of *nardostachys*, spikenard. "Sindu," he says, "is on the frontier of India, for the Indus, that is, the Phison, which discharges into the Persian Gulf forms the boundary between Persia and India", an interesting sidelight alike on political geography and Biblical exegesis of that date.

The Arabic writers frequently mention nard and distinguish between *sumbul af-fīb*, which was probably spikenard, and *sumbul al'aṣāfir*, sparrow's nard, which probably included one or more varieties of the andropogon grasses, chief of which is the citronella. Especially is this the case in the nard which was so liberally received in the golden age of the Caliphate from the islands of the Archipelago, where the true spikenard is not found. The vagueness of the information appears, for example, in Ibn Khordādhbeh writing in the 9th century. He mentions Indian nard as one of the products of Jawa, that is, Sumatra. Edrisī, in the 12th century, mentions nard as a product of the Island of

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Arny, *Principles of Pharmacy*, p. 743, *sub verbo* Valeriana.

<sup>18</sup> *fīb* is from root *fāb* to be good, or delightful, or sweet, *layyāb* is to perfume or embalm. The plural *afyāb* may underlie the race-name Aethiopian—people of the Incense Land.

<sup>19</sup> XI. 337.

Salahat. Abū'l Faḍl Ja'far, in the 12th century, quotes nard as *idhkhir*, which was certainly andropogon grass, and says that the "best sort is *sunbul al'aṣāfir*, also called '*aṣāfir al-idhkhir*', which doubtless should be transposed and written *idhkhir al'aṣāfir*. This is in all probability the *zigeir* of the Periplus. Yāqūt, writing in the 13th century, mentions as exports from Sumatra, aloes, camphor, nard, cloves, mace, and drugs and vases from China. Ibn al-Baiṭār, writing in the 13th century, and who was familiar with this trade, distinguishes three sorts of nard—that is, of *sunbul*: one called Indian, another Greek and the third mountain nard. He also distinguishes two varieties of Indian nard, as already mentioned, *sunbul al-fih* and *sunbul al'aṣāfir*, and Ferrand in this connection quotes from Dioscorides who mentions two species, Indian and Syrian, the latter "not because it comes from Syria, but because the mountain on which it grows reaches from Syria to India". Of the Syrian nard Dioscorides says that it has an "odor which recalls that of galangal. It is spicy and dries the tongue, and leaves an agreeable odor in the mouth if chewed for some time". As to India nard he says there is one which comes from the Ganges of "inferior efficacy because of the humidity of the region of its origin. It is longer and has a larger spike and the fibres are more intermingled. Its odor is noxious. The nard which comes from the interior of the mountain is superior to the other—more fragrant, with a shorter spike, having the odor of galangal and otherwise resembling the Syrian."

Nard as a product of Ceylon, Sumatra and other islands of the East is mentioned also by Kazwīnī in the 13th century, Ibn al-Wardī in the 14th, and Bākuwī in the 15th. Most of these passages read like references copied from earlier writers.

Other writers tell of the transfer of the word to an ointment from which the true nard was finally omitted altogether. Jaubari, writing in the 13th century, says that musk is made by feeding young pigeons with cloves and rose water infused with wild pear and nard. Just how this produces the result is not apparent. Nuwayrī, in the 14th century, gives directions for making two standard ointments, the *ghāliya* and the *nadd*.

Nuwayrī was a celebrated historian and lawyer, who wrote an encyclopedia of human knowledge in five great divisions—



heaven and earth, man, animals, plants and history. Wiedemann has reprinted portions of an Arabic manuscript of Nuwayrî in the Royal Library at Leyden, from which Ferrand<sup>1</sup> takes a number of recipes for preparation of *nadd*, of which the following are typical:

"Tamîmî mentions different sorts, such as the *nadd al-musta'inî* which was prepared for the Abbasside caliph Musta'in billah al-'abbâsî, consisting of 50 parts Indian aloe, same quantity Tibetan musk, 150 parts blue Shîhr ambergris, 3 parts *riyâkî* camphor. Aloe, musk and camphor are ground separately with mortar and pestle and the musk pressed through silk cloth. Ambergris is dissolved in a jar or vase and the ground ingredients stirred in. It is then poured out on a marble plate to cool and cut into bars. For the preparation of the *nadd* generally used by ordinary people, take 50 parts superior aloe, same quantity Tibetan musk, 100 parts Shîhr ambergris, 3 parts camphor. Grind all together. Make into bars.

"Preparations of a *nadd* made for the Abbasside caliph Dja'far al-Mustawakkil'allâ Allah. Grind separately 20 parts *kamarânî* Indian aloe, 25 parts *rukâ*, 6 parts Tibetan musk, one part *rukâ* with yellow leaves, one part saffron. Then grind together. Then take 50 parts blue Indian ambergris, cut into pieces and melt in a Mecca vase. Mix in the above ingredients, then cut into bars."

"*Nadd* prepared by the mother of the Abbasside caliph Muqtadir billah, with which every Friday they perfumed the Ka'ba at Mecca and the sacred rock of the Temple at Jerusalem. 100 parts purified Tibetan musk, grind and pass through a cloth. Melt Shîhr ambergris, take from fire. When cool, pour in only the musk, but not the aloe. Work thoroughly, spread on marble, cut into rods and do the perfuming with them. Tamîmî says the chief of the servitors of the Temple at Jerusalem gave some of this *nadd* to my father. My father dissolved it with *haw* and obtained a *ghaliya* extremely fragrant."

The foregoing was quoted by Nuwayrî from previous writers. He then goes on to say that in his time the *nadd* was prepared in the proportions above given, but was called '*anbar*' (this being the word for ambergris). Crude ambergris was technically called *al-'anbar al-aşl*, that is, original ambergris.

It is, of course, a question whether Arabic *nadd* had anything to do with Iranian or Indic *nard*. The word could readily have found its way into Arabic through Persian or Prakrit channels;

<sup>1</sup> *Textes Arabes relatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, 620-625.

<sup>2</sup> The *rukâ* mentioned in these recipes was apparently a concoction of musk with other things, rated according to its content of musk—that is, one-third or one-half *rukâ*.

but there is an Arabic word *nadd* meaning hill, mound or pile. According to Hava's dictionary *nadd* or *nidd* means merely a compound perfume. It is also the name of a game of chance, similar to backgammon. Freytag is more positive. *Nadd*, he says, is from the Persian and means "a perfume composed of ambergris, musk and aloes-wood, by others called ambergris."

Marco Polo gives one of the earliest accounts of India by a European, and says of the kingdom of 'Melibar',<sup>42</sup> "There is in this Kingdom a great quantity of pepper, and ginger, and cinnamon, and turbit, and of nuts of India. They also manufacture very delicate and beautiful buckrams. The ships that come from the east bring copper in ballast. They also bring hither cloths of silk and gold, and sendels; also gold and silver, cloves and spikenard, and other fine spices for which there is a demand here, and exchange them for the products of these countries." It may be questioned whether the rendering, 'spikenard', is correct. Its association with cloves rather suggests the *nārācāstu*, which, as Yule observes, is a grass with fragrant roots much used as a perfume in the Archipelago. Yule<sup>43</sup> also gives interesting details of three cargoes from Malabar that arrived at Lisbon in September, 1504, the items of their manifests totalling as follows:

Pepper	10,000 cantars
Cinnamon	500 "
Cloves	450 "
Ginger	130 "
Lac and brasil	750 "
Camphor	7 "
Cubeba	191 "
Mace	2½ "
Spikenard	3 "
Lign-Alces	1½ "

From this it now appears how small, and presumably how precious an item of cargo nard always was. Just as Sir William Jones was sent the wrong plant by the Bhutan authorities who prohibited the export of living plants,<sup>44</sup> so even today the supply is limited, only a small quantity coming down in any season from

<sup>42</sup> III. XXV.

<sup>43</sup> Marco Polo, ed. Cordier, II, 389-390.

<sup>44</sup> Watt, *Dict. of the Economic Products of India*, sub verbo *nardostachys*.

the mountains. But an unromantic world no longer demands the product, and the mountain princelings are deprived of the revenues which it formerly yielded them.

According to the Book of Enoch,<sup>42</sup> it was the fallen angels who taught the female of the species "charms and enchantments and the cutting of roots"; and it is to the prodigal impulse of one of them that we chiefly owe this fragrant memory of other days, from

"that broken box that gave  
Its treasure to the Lord  
And filled the unclean leper's house  
With the scent of costliest nard",

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<sup>42</sup> I Enoch 8, 3.



## STRAY NOTES ON THE ARAMAIC OF DANIEL AND EZRA

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THE FOLLOWING BRIEF NOTES may be considered as supplementary to my *Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel* (1909) and to the textual annotations in my *Ezra Studies* (1910). They are chiefly the fruit of further observation of the Massoretic practice of combining alternative readings, a very important subject to which I have called attention in several places,<sup>1</sup> and on which I have a more extended essay in preparation. I have included here only a few of the most striking examples. Among the other miscellaneous observations, a few are based on new material which has come to light. Several of the words discussed are found in the *Hebrew* text (Dan. 1,4; 2,1; 11,2; Ezr. 1,8,9; 4,7; 6,22; 8,17f.).

### *Daniel*

1,4. 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤁 combines the two readings 𐤀𐤏𐤍 and 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤁 (cf. Gen. 39,23). The same combination in Job 31,7; see the variant in the Massoretic tradition.

2,1. "In the *second* year" could not possibly have been written by the narrator. It is perfectly evident from the narrative in the first chapter that according to his view half a dozen years (at least) must have elapsed between the accession of Nebuchadnezzar and the events of the second chapter. In my *Notes* pp. 9ff., I showed reasons for believing that chap. 1 was originally written in Aramaic, and that it was translated into Hebrew

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<sup>1</sup> See for example the introduction to my *Notes on Daniel*, p. 12, and the following pages *passim*; my remarks in the *AJSL* 32 (1916), p. 67; and the instructive essay by my pupil, Dr. Otto H. Boström, entitled *Alternative Readings in the Books of Samuel*, issued in 1918 as one of the Publications of Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill.

by the author of chaps. 7-12. In the footnote on p. 10 I expressed the opinion "that slight traces of the process [of translation] can really be seen," and I gave some illustrations. In the troublesome date in 2,1 I think we have the best illustration of all. The original author wrote *וּבִשְׁנָה שֵׁשִׁית*, "And in the sixth year." By a very natural slip, of a common type, following the eye rather than the meaning of the word, the translator into Hebrew wrote *וּבִשְׁנָה שְׁתִּית*.

2,7. *וַיִּפְתָּח* is intended by the punctuators to leave open the choice between *וַיִּפְתָּח* and *וַיִּפְתַּח* (Theod., Vulg.). So very often in Daniel; see also 4,15,16, where the same thing is done on the basis of the *other* consonant reading—the reading being in each case presumably that of the principal manuscript.

2,9. We have here the combination of the two equivalent forms, *וַיִּפְתָּח* and *וַיִּפְתַּח* (with assimilation of the dental, as often elsewhere; cf. also the many similar forms in the Arabic of the Koran, for example). A typical and interesting manner of preserving two readings.

2,22. The combination of *וַיִּפְתָּח* and *וַיִּפְתַּח* (cf. 5,11,14). The Syriac *nāhhira*, which some scholars have thought to be intended by the consonant text here, is, I think, merely an artificial form created for the sake of assonance with *heššōka*. There is no trace of it in the older Aramaic.

2,23. The pointing *וַיִּפְתָּח*, which undoubtedly rests on ancient tradition, was probably intended to indicate a double reading, namely the combination of *פָּתַח*—, suffix of 1st pers. sing. (supported by the context, as well as by LXX, Theod., and Syr.), and *פָּתַח*—, suffix of 1st pers. plur. (derived from the preceding *בְּעִינָא*). The text rendered by Theod. is doubtless what the author wrote. I have noted many cases in the O. T. text in which an *unusual vowel* calls attention to alternative readings.

2,24. As I showed in my *Notes*, two variant readings are combined here.

2,43. first word. Of the two ms. readings preserved here, the one is intrinsically as good as the other, but the consonant text deserves a slight preference in such cases.

2,48. As I have shown in my article "Medina and πόλις," in the *Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1923, the evi-

dence thus far available leads to the conclusion that the meaning "province" for מדינת is only Palestinian, confined to Hebrew-Jewish writings, the meaning in *gentile* Aramaic documents being always and everywhere "city."

3,13. One of the most interesting and important of all the examples of "alternative" pointing, קיסי combines the two (equally good) readings קיסי and קיסי. The same thing is done in 6,18, see the note there. The Aramaic *hof al* was still frequently used in the period represented by the Biblical Aramaic, as also in the earlier stages of the language; it soon after disappeared from use, however, being displaced by other forms of expression, among them the very common indefinite third person plural. See also the note on 7,5, for a similar example.

3,14. The problematic word הצדא, used in the same way as in Daniel, has now turned up in an Aramaic letter written in Mesopotamia in about the year 660 B. C.; see Lidzbarski, *Allaramäische Urkunden aus Assur* (1921). In line 12 occurs the phrase: [ישאל הצדא הני מליא אלה], "He will ask whether these words are true"; and then, immediately after, the same phrase seems to occur again: "Summon them, ask them whether [these words] are true." The characters here are partly obliterated, but the reading of this word is certain, and the restoration of the whole sentence hardly to be doubted. The supposed Persian origin of the word in Daniel is thus disposed of once for all. Lidzbarski, *ibid.*, queries whether there may not be some connection with צדק—a desperate conjecture. The explanation which I gave in my *Notes* seems to me to be not only satisfactory but certain: the root is Old Aramaic יצר, the familiar Arabic *وعد* (according to the native lexicographers a synonym of *وعد*, which is exactly what the context requires in these passages). The word surviving in this fixed use is the infinitive of the *pe'al* stem, in the adverbial accusative (see my *Notes*, for some of the numerous parallels). It is thus employed in the same way, and with the same meaning, as באסה or בצדק in Biblical Hebrew, where one might write the question: הבאסה הדברים האלה, "Are these words true?" Cf. also Prov. 8,8: באדק כל אסרי פי, "All the words of my mouth are trustworthy." In Daniel: "It is true, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego,



that you will not serve my gods?" The Massoretic punctuation is correct, and Theodotion's  $\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  is an exact rendering.

4,14. Two readings are preserved here, namely  $\text{וְיָדְעוּ ד' אֱמֻנָה}$ , "until they shall know," and  $\text{וְיָדְעוּ ד' בְּכֹחַ הַיָּד}$ , "in order that they may know."

4,32.  $\text{כָּל־הָאָרֶץ}$  combines  $\text{כָּל־הָאָרֶץ}$  with  $\text{כָּל־הָאָרֶץ}$ . According to the latter (inferior) reading the sense would be: "And all the inhabitants of the whole earth are taken into account (by Him)." The negative would never have been written with final  $\text{ה}$ . Deut. 3,11 is not to be cited as an example, for the  $\text{הַיָּד}$  of that passage is simply the combination of the readings  $\text{כָּל־הָאָרֶץ}$  and  $\text{כָּל־הָאָרֶץ}$ , as the LXX shows.

5,5. I explained the word  $\text{נִבְרַשְׁתָּא}$  (=  $\text{נִבְרַשְׁתָּא} + \text{אִשְׁתָּא}$ ) in my *Notes*, but gave the meaning of the root  $\text{נִבְרַשְׁתָּא}$  incorrectly. It is a synonym of  $\text{עָמַד}$ , *stand*. The root has all but disappeared from use in North Semitic, but is preserved in South Semitic; in Ethiopic it is the most common of all the verbs with this meaning. "Fire-stand" was the original signification of the compound noun.

5,7.16.29. What the author wrote, in all three passages, was  $\text{שְׁלִישִׁי}$ , "third", that is, "he shall govern the kingdom as third ruler." With this was later combined the reading  $\text{שְׁלִישִׁי}$  "third part" (Dalman, *Gramm.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 133), that is, "he shall govern the third part of the kingdom"  $\text{שְׁלִישִׁי דְּמַלְכוּתָא}$ . In combining the two readings it is obvious that the preference was given to the one which I have regarded as the original. The care and ingenuity with which the combination was effected are manifest, as usual.

5, 10.  $\text{עָלִיתָ}$  apparently combines  $\text{עָלִיתָ}$  and the participle  $\text{עָלִיתָ}$ .

5, 12. The only possible explanation of the forms  $\text{פָּעַל}$  and  $\text{פָּעַל}$  is that they embody alternative readings. The *pa'el* stem of these verbs is as common as the *pe'el* in the meaning required, and thus the double tradition originated. In the one case,  $\text{פָּעַל}$  and  $\text{פָּעַל}$  are combined; in the other,  $\text{פָּעַל}$  and  $\text{פָּעַל}$ . These are typical and very important examples. In the verse 16 there was only the single tradition.

5, 13 (end). The anomalous אַבִּי is probably due to the combination of the two readings אַבִּי and אֲבָא.

5, 21. As far as the sense is concerned, there is nothing to choose between the parallel readings שָׁר and שָׁרָא. If one must choose as editor, the consonant text deserves the preference here.

5, 25-28. As I showed in my *Notes*, pp. 36-40, this is an especially interesting and important example of the preservation of *variant readings*.

6, 1-3. דַּרְיוֹשׁ מֵדֵיָא, "Darius the Mede" (i.e. Darius Hystaspis, whose reign was transposed with that of Cyrus in Jewish tradition, as is shown conclusively by the joint testimony of the books of Daniel and Ezra), is the Darius intended in 1 Esdras, chaps. 3 and 4. In my *Ezra Studies*, the chapter treating of the "Story of the Three Youths," I held that the king in that popular narrative was Darius III Codomannus, but I am now convinced that I was mistaken.

6, 18. The reading הִתֵּחַ combines הִתֵּחַ (hof ʾl) and הִתֵּחַ, see the note on 3, 13. Similarly, סֶחַ in this verse contains the two readings סֶחַ and סֶחַ. Cf. also the note on 7, 5.

6, 20. We have here, in an ingenious combination, the alternative readings סֶחַרְסָא and סֶחַרָא. Could any better way of including both be found?

7, 5. The meaning of the pointing הִתֵּחַ (l) is that one MS.—or group of mss.—read הִתֵּחַ (as in vs. 4), while another gave the reading הִתֵּחַ (cf. the אֲמֵרִין just below). On the employment of the anomalous vowel to call attention to the alternative tradition, see especially the notes on 2, 23; 3, 13; and 6, 18.

7, 8. The final vowel in סֶלֶחַ probably indicated that there was a variant סֶלֶחַ. It is hardly an instance of the confusion of the long and short vowels, for the case would be without parallel.

11, 2. I repeat here a conjectural emendation made by me some time ago, which subsequent study has seemed to me to confirm. In an article entitled "'Yāwān' and 'Hellas' as designations of the Seleucid Empire," published in this JOURNAL vol. 25 (1904), pp. 310 f., I maintained that the word שָׁ had accidentally fallen out of the text of Dan. 11, 2 after the word

יָדָה, the cause of the accident being the resemblance of the characters. I rendered accordingly: "And when he has become mighty in his riches, *The Lord of All* will raise up the kingdom of Yāwān" [in the place of the kingdom of Persia]. This title of the God of Israel is just such as we should expect here. He was entitled שֵׁר הַצֶּבֶא in 8, 11, and שֵׁר שָׂרִים in 8, 25; and it is especially natural that the term should be introduced again here, because of the way in which it has just been used as the designation of the *angels* in charge of the Persian and Seleucid kingdoms. There is a שֵׁר פָּרַס and a שֵׁר יוֹן, but the God of Israel is the שֵׁר שָׂרִים and the שֵׁר הַכֹּל.

The fact that the editors of our Hebrew-Aramaic text of Daniel had before them so many variants, and therefore concocted so large a number of the characteristic *doublets* (of which only a few receive mention here), can occasion no surprise. These were popular narratives, copied very often, not always with minute care, and still oftener retold or rewritten *from memory*. In the latter case, where the resulting form of text differed widely from the standard form,\* as for instance in the original of our "LXX" version of chaps. 4-6 (see my *Notes*, p. 30, footnote), we may take it for granted that the editors (wisely) left the eccentric recension entirely out of account. Only from the text or texts which kept close to the standard form were variants incorporated; either in the form of *qerā* and *kethiv*, or, where this did not seem practicable or desirable, in other ways.

### Ezra

1. 8. תִּשְׁבַּזָּר לְיִדְיָא is to be rendered "the governor of Judea," as in 1 Esdras, τῷ προστάρτῃ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Sheshbazzar was not a Jew, but the *Persian* governor, as the circumstances of such a returning company would naturally seem to require. See my article, "The Chronicler's History of the Return under Cyrus," in *AJSL* 37 (1921), p. 93. The youthful prince Zerubbabel was at this time (in the view of the Chronicler) the Jewish leader, but holding no official position. It was only "somewhat" later, under Darius *Nothus* (according to the Chronicler and his

\* It would not always differ widely, nor even considerably. It would require no unusual feat of memory to reproduce the whole *verbatim*.



Aramaic source), that he was made governor of the province. In criticising the chronology of this representation we have to remember that Darius Hystaspis (who, as "Darius the Mede," was believed to have preceded Cyrus) falls out of the list of Persian kings, and that the length of the reigns of Xerxes (Ezr. 4, 6), who was believed to have had nothing to do with the Jews, and Artaxerxes I (Ezr. 4, 7-24) must have been totally unknown. The Chronicler wrote nearly three hundred years later than the accession of Cyrus, and it is abundantly evident from our O. T. writings that very little exact knowledge of Persian history was preserved in Jerusalem.

1, 9. I maintained in my *Ezra Studies* that the original of the loanword ܠܦܢܐ is the Greek *κρατήρ*. Bewer, *Der Text des Buches Ezra* (1922), p. 15, objects to this, as others have done, "wegen der lautlichen Verschiedenheit." In general, phonetic variation from the original is to be expected in words passing over from one language-family to another; it is therefore only the question, in this case, whether the supposed changes are supported by the analogy of other examples. The answer must be, as can easily be shown, that the changes are quite usual. For the beginning of the word, cf. ܡܬܢܐ for *ἀκράτον*, ܡܬܢܐܢܐ for *καταρράκτης*, ܡܬܢܐܢܐ for *καλυπτήριον*, and many other words in which a Semitic *g* replaces the Greek *κ*; also the following examples. The dissimilation of one *r* to *l* is common in all such borrowings. Cf. for example the Syriac *galbattāra* for *κραββατάριον*, "barrow," a good parallel to the word before us. Another, equally good, is the Arabic *ghirbāl*, Syr. 'arbāl, from the Latin *cribrum*, "sieve."<sup>1</sup> The same phonetic improvement in borrowing this Latin word is to be seen in the Old French *crible*, English *cribble*. The most familiar Semitic example is perhaps ܡܬܢܐܢܐ for *μαργαρίτης*. Without any help from the principle of dissimilation, moreover, the exchange of *l* and *r* is very common in Semitic words taken over from the Greek. There need therefore be no hesitation in deriving ܠܦܢܐ from *κρατήρ*, since the meaning, "bowl," perfectly suits the context. Whether

<sup>1</sup> This has been questioned because of the existence of a Syriac verb 'arab meaning "sift," see Fränkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 91, but this verb is certainly denominative.

καρταλλος, "basket," is in turn derived from אֲנַחַל (as seems to me probable), need not be discussed here.

4, 7. In the *twofold* vowel-pointing of אָנְשֵׁי־חָרָא in this verse we have another way of preserving two traditions.

4, 10. I have no doubt that אָנְשֵׁי is collective-plural, "cities" (*Ezra Studies*, p. 186, and see Bewer, *op. cit.*, p. 52), but I do not think that it is necessary to alter the vowel-pointing of the Massoretes, seeing that the short vowels *i* and *u* are so frequently interchanged.

4, 12. We have here one of the most interesting examples of a "doublet." The final א of אָנְשֵׁי was pushed over to the beginning of the following word merely *in order to hold secure the place of the preformative of the imperfect tense*. One ms. reading was אָנְשֵׁי, *perf.*, and the other (decidedly preferable) was אָנְשֵׁי. The verb at the end of the verse similarly combines אָנְשֵׁי (*hif'il* of אָנְשֵׁי) and אָנְשֵׁי, the better reading. The explanation which I gave in my *Ezra Studies*, 186 f., is incorrect.

4, 16. אָנְשֵׁי (contrast the pointing in vs. 12 and 13) combined the form of the simple determined plural with the suffixed form אָנְשֵׁי, the better reading here.

5, 1. The doublet here is evident from the sense and attested by the ancient versions. אָנְשֵׁי combines אָנְשֵׁי (the better reading, as in Theodotion's translation, cf. also 6, 14) and אָנְשֵׁי, as in the "LXX" (1 Esdras), which reading of course requires the omission of the preceding אָנְשֵׁי.

6, 8. If I am not mistaken, this אָנְשֵׁי is the prototype of the common Syriac *lam*, "namely, to wit," and should be so rendered here.

6, 15. The explanation of the curious final א in אָנְשֵׁי is simply that the editors of the text chose this way of calling attention to a doublet, the one text writing the verb in the singular number and the other in the plural.

6, 22. Bewer, *op. cit.*, in his comment on this verse, expresses

\* This was in any case Artaxerxes Longimanus, of course. As I have shown elsewhere, our Biblical texts invariably distinguish the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon by writing it with מ (so everywhere in *Ezr.*, chaps. 7 ff., and in *Neh.*)

his surprise at finding "Assyria" used in speaking of the Persian kingdom, and suspects the Hebrew text. We know, however, that from the Greek period onward "Ashur" was loosely used by the Jews to designate any and all of the Mesopotamian kingdoms, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Seleucid. Beyer himself refers (*ibid.*) to the Book of Judith. Another excellent example is 4 Macc. 13, 9, where the scene of Dan. 3, the casting of the three heroes into the furnace by the command of Nebuchadnezzar, is said to have been "Assyria." It was from this well-established use that the early Greek geographers derived their term *Συρία*, creating a new name in order to differentiate between the western part (the 'Abar Naharā) of the Seleucid kingdom and the eastern part, for which the name 'Assyria was retained. There are other traces of this use, moreover, in the Hebrew O. T.; see the Lexicon of Gesenius-Buhl. In view of these facts, and since the Chronicler wrote in the Greek period, as is shown by many converging lines of evidence, and as scholars generally hold,<sup>1</sup> why should there be hesitation to accept the text of Ezr. 6, 22 as it stands? The Chronicler is just the man to use terms in this loose way.

7, 14. With אָנֹכִי is to be understood, as its subject, the pronoun of the second person singular: "thou art sent," see Beyer on the passage. Similarly, in the "Passover Letter" in the documents from Elephantine, there is to be understood with the (*pe'il perf.*) אָנֹכִי the pronoun of the first person: "I was sent," as was first pointed out by W. R. Arnold, in his important article in the *JBL* 31, p. 17. A consideration of weight here, not emphasized by Arnold, is the modesty of the epistolary style, causing the writer to omit the (unnecessary) pronoun referring to himself. The matter is one of considerable importance, inasmuch as on the misinterpretation of this אָנֹכִי in the papyrus document is based the view—from every consideration most improbable—that the Persian king himself had undertaken to prescribe to the Jews the details of the Passover celebration. I myself have no doubt that the details

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Albright's article, "The Personality and Date of the Chronicler" in the *JBL* 42 (1921), throws no new light on this branch of the subject, and, though useful in other respects, is not likely to affect the present verdict as to the date.



were already perfectly familiar to the Jews of Elephantine, as to those everywhere else. The letter was simply the customary reminder, like the annual "festal letters" issued at Easter by the high officials of the Christian church. Cf. further the letters (also mere reminders, as far as the injunction to keep the feast is concerned) prefixed to 2 Macc. In our own day, in this country, the governor of the State sends out an annual proclamation in November, telling the citizens how to observe the Day of Thanksgiving, "assembling in the houses of worship," etc., etc., as though the manner of the celebration were something new.

7, 19. I now agree with Guthe, contrary to my former view, that the original reading at the end of this verse was יְרֵאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל (as in vs. 15), and suppose the accidental loss of the two words to have been due to the close resemblance of "Israel" and "Jerusalem" in the Semitic alphabet.

8, 17. This and the following verse contain such characteristic examples of duplex readings that I have included them here. לְמַעַן יִשְׂרָאֵל combines the reading לְמַעַן, attested for the second century A. C. by the "LXX" (1 Esdr.), and undoubtedly the original, and יִשְׂרָאֵל, which later became current, and is rendered in our standard Greek (Theodotion) and the Vulgate.

In the second half of the verse it is plain that we have a doublet, of which notice is given by the anomalous וְהַנֶּתִּינִים. The one text had: אֶל אִדּוֹ וְאֶל הַנֶּתִּינִים, "To Iddo, my brother, and the Nethinim"; the other ms. reading was: אֶל אִדּוֹ וְאֶת הַנֶּתִּינִים, "To Iddo and his brethren the Nethinim." Either reading is suitable, but the former seems to me more likely to be the original.

8, 18. The first word in the verse is a duplex, and there are two corresponding renderings: "They brought to us," as in 1 Esdr. and Vulg., the original reading, and "there came to us," as in Theod. The thing of chief interest, however, is the "א" with *dagesh* (!) in the word. If I am not mistaken, the reason for employing this sign of a doublet here was that the Massoretes regarded the *hiʿ* ʾl of the verb as so superior a reading that they preferred not to include the *qal* either as *qerē* or as *kethiv*, and yet were unwilling to leave the well attested form without any record; ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ποείτω.

## ANOTHER OLD SYRIAC REFERENCE TO ZOROASTER

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THE PRINCIPAL ALLUSIONS to Zoroaster in older Oriental literatures have been collected by Professor Jackson in Appendix VI of his *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, pp. 274-286. Some supplementary references were gathered by him and myself in *JAOS* 28 (1907), pp. 183-188; cf. also Jackson, "Some additional Data on Zoroaster", in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, pp. 1031-1038 (Giessen, 1906); likewise L. H. Gray (review of *Zoroaster*), *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 4.362, 364. As a more recent addendum, I wish to call attention to another old-time allusion to the Iranian Prophet in a Syriac treatise by Theodore bar Khoni, who lived about the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century of our era.

The text of the passage under consideration is available in H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris, 1898, pp. 111-113; cf. French translation pp. 161-165 (cf. Theodorus Bar Khoni, ed. A. Scher, in *Corpus Script. Christ. Orientalium*, 2d series, vol. 66, pp. 295-298, Paris, 1912).

### ON ZARADUSHT THE MAGIAN

'Concerning this impure (person) men have various opinions. There are those who say that he was of Persian race, and that he and his companions, Turkish Magians, used to practice Magism in a deserted place which is (situated) in the forest of Mabûgh, and that there was an impure spirit in the desert which injured wayfarers. Others, however, have said that he was a Jew, of priestly descent, and lived in Samaria, and was formerly called Azazel. When Samaria was captured by the Assyrians, he also was carried into captivity. And because he was much inflamed with love for women, he fled from Nineveh and came

to Sejistān,<sup>1</sup> into the city of Zareg, to Khudōs (Hutaosā),<sup>2</sup> wife of King Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa), and there he indulged in his desires, and because he was a magician, he drew many to himself. It is true that he was by race a Jew. He composed his teachings in seven languages—Greek, Hebrew, Gurmānīan, Marvian, in that of Zarang, Persian, and in that of Sejistān. But this perverted and erring person departed in many ways from the fear of God (i. e. from the true religion).

In the beginning he set up four principles as the four elements—Ashuqar, Prashuqar, Zaruqar and Zarwān.<sup>3</sup> Of Zarwān he (Zaradusht) says that he is the father of Ormazd.<sup>4</sup> Concerning the conception of Ormazd and Ahraman he says thus: When there was nothing (in existence) but darkness, Zarwān was offering libations for a thousand years, and because he became doubtful lest he should not have a son, Satan was conceived along with Ormazd. When he (i. e. Zarwān) felt the conception of Ahraman, he said, 'Whoever comes first to me, him I shall make king.' Ormazd knew the thought of his father and told it to Satan. When Satan learned (this) he clove the womb of his mother and dropped from her navel. He went to Zarwān, and Zarwān asked him, 'Who art thou?' He answered, 'I am thy son.' Whereupon Zarwān said to him, 'Thou art not my son, for thou art dark and hateful.' When he had said this, Ormazd was born, fragrant and light, and Zarwān said, 'This is my son Ormazd', and gave him the twigs which he held in his hand. And he said to him 'Until now I was offering oblations for thee, henceforth do thou make oblations for me.' When these (things) had thus come to pass, Satan said to Zarwān,

<sup>1</sup> Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 44-45, Seistān or Sagastān.

<sup>2</sup> Avesta and later tradition refer to Hutaosā's interest in Zoroaster's religion, cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 68, 70, 193 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> These four are mentioned elsewhere in the Syriac *Vies des Saints*, Bedjan, p. 487; Paris, 1912. See also Nöldeke, *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 35, Stuttgart, 1893; cf. also the remark by Cumont, *La Cosmogonie Manichéenne*, p. 8 n. 2, Brussels, 1908. Professor Jackson suggests further connection of the attributes with the Manichaean tetrad, Zarwān, Rōšān, Zōr, Vēhī, in the Turfan Fragments.

<sup>4</sup> The prevalence of the doctrine of Zarwanism in Sasanian times is well known; see for example Gray, 'Zoroastrian Material in the Acta Sanctorum,' in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913-1914, p. 39.



'See, didst thou not promise, "The first one who comes to me, to him shall I give the kingdom"?' Whereupon Zarwān said to him, 'Go thou, Satan, I have made thee king nine thousand years, and I have made Ormazd ruler over thee; and after that limit of time Ormazd shall be king and govern everything according to his will.' And Satan went and did whatever he pleased. When Ormazd created righteous (men), Satan created demons. The one made riches, and the other made poverty. When he gave women to the righteous (men), they (the women) fled and went to Satan. While Ormazd had held the righteous in ease and enjoyment, Satan also had the women held in enjoyment. When Satan permitted the women to ask for what they wished, Ormazd feared lest they should desire to cohabit with the righteous, and that punishment would thus come upon them (the men). He perceived a remedy, and made God Narsa,<sup>1</sup> a person about five hundred years old, and placed him naked behind Satan, that the women should see him and covet him and ask for him from Satan. They raised their hands and said, 'Our father Satan! give us the God Narsa (as) a gift.'<sup>2</sup>

In another place he says that the earth (was) a young virgin,<sup>3</sup> and betrothed itself to Parisag. And the fire, he says, was endowed with the power of speech (rational), and used to march with Gunrap,<sup>4</sup> the humidity of the trees; and about Parisag he says that sometimes he was a dove, and an ant, and an old dog. And that Kum was a dolphin, or a cock, pecking at the Parisag. Kaikāvus was a mountain ram, striking the firmament with his horns.<sup>5</sup> The earth was a spider threatening to swal-

<sup>1</sup> This name, as noted by Professor Jackson, recalls the Avestan angel Nairyōsanha, and Narēsap in the Turfan Manichaean Fragments.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat parallel is the myth of the reduction of the Archons in Manichaeism.

<sup>3</sup> In the Avesta the earth is represented as feminine (Spenta Armaiti). Regarding the names cited in this paragraph, it would be hazardous to explain Parisag as 'Fairy dog'.

<sup>4</sup> Query: could one possibly suggest connecting Gunrap with the Avestan monster Gandarewa, whose head touched the mountains, although he himself 'lives in the waters' (*upāpō*, Yt. 15.28, cf. Jackson, *Grundriss d. iran. Religion*, 2.667)? In Pahlavi he is called *Gandarp*, see the legend in West, *SBE* 18, 374-376).

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the old legend of Kai Kāvus and aerial navigation, see the note by Jackson in an article by Jastrow, *JAO* 30, 128-129.

low the heaven. They count as defiling, however, the menses and leprosy,<sup>10</sup> because these were regarded as unclean in the law. He taught (men) to adore the fire. The days of the month he considered as deities.<sup>11</sup> But, according to the testimony of his disciples, this erring man (impostor) was devoured by wolves,<sup>12</sup> because when he wished to flee from them, they blinded him. There are those who say that at first he taught them the right, but when he wanted to depart, they did not let him and blinded him; then he turned and taught them the wrong.

From Zaradusht to the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ are six hundred twenty-eight years and seven months.<sup>13</sup>

In conclusion I may say that this whole selection from Theodore bar Khoni contains a number of points of interest to the student of Zoroastrianism, as indicated also in the footnotes. Among these is the repetition of the probably doubtful story that Zoroaster may have been of Jewish instead of Iranian origin. Of special importance, however, is the statement at the close of the extract, which, like numerous other traditional accounts, places the date of Zoroaster in the 7th century B. C.; this constitutes an additional item to be included with the material assembled by Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 150-178. It is for this reason that the entire chapter has been presented here in a translation from the original Syriac.

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<sup>10</sup> The Avestan *Vendidad*, together with other sources, fully bears out this statement.

<sup>11</sup> In the Zoroastrian religion, each day of the month was consecrated to an angel or to Ormazd (see Jackson, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, 2.641).

<sup>12</sup> This story seems not to occur elsewhere in the accounts of Zoroaster's death.

## BRIEF NOTES

### *The Expression of the Comparative Degree in Sumerian*

The ideas of the ancient Babylonians were of a simple character. They never taxed language to express very complex thoughts. In the texts that have come down to us, therefore, the expression of the comparative degree is rare. None of the Sumerian grammars contains a reference to it. The following instances are, therefore, of interest.

Gudea, Statue I says: (i, 1) *ud* . . . (ii, 3) *gù-de-a-pa-te-si fir-pur-la*<sup>1</sup> . . . (iii, 1) *è-sirara ki-tak kur-gè-la il-la-ni mu-na-rú*; i. e. "when Gudea, Patesi of Lagash, E-sirara from the mountain its height had built." This evidently means "he had built it higher than the mountain", which is expressed by the idiom "its height from the mountain". It is the same idiom so well known in Semitic, whereby the comparative is expressed by saying that a thing is "high" or "great" or what not "from" something else.

Again, Gudea, Cylinder A, iii, 19, 20, we have: *kur-a-la il-la ninuki-šù sukkal inim-šag-ga-zu igi-šù ga-ma-gin*: i. e. "Higher than the mountain, unto the city Nina, may the messenger of thy favorable word go before."

<sup>1</sup> The thought is that some lofty angel of the goddess Gatumdug, who is being addressed, shall precede him to the city. That the people of Lagash conceived supernatural beings as of enormous size is shown by the description of the gigantic band of the god Ningirsu in the stele of the Vultures, col. V. A much later parallel is presented in the Christian Gospel according to Peter which, after telling how two angels came from heaven and brought Jesus forth from the tomb, continues: "And the head of the two reached to heaven, but that of him who was led by them overpassed the heaven."

Thureau-Dangin seems to have missed the point of the comparative use of *la*. Making the *il* agree with *uru* (which he supplies) he translates (*Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, p. 139): "(Vers la ville) qui du monde s'élève, vers la ville Nina," etc. Similarly in *Sumerische und Akkadische Königinschriften*, p. 93, he renders: "(Zu der Stadt), welche über der Welt emporragt, zu der Stadt Nina," etc. The idioms which he employs might render the idea of the comparative degree, but do not make it really clear.



I mentioned this construction to Dr. Chiera, who afterwards came upon two parallel instances in Ni. 14061, lines 32, 33 (an unpublished tablet), and kindly supplied me with them. They are as follows: *šub uš-sa dirig ku-li-mā-šū*, i. e. "a large portion, larger than my friend"; and *maš dūg-sa-de udu dirig dūg-sa-mā-šū*, i. e. "a kid for my beloved house-mate; a sheep (for me) more than my beloved house-mate."

In these comparisons the postposition employed is *šū* instead of *la*, but the idiom is the same.

These facts naturally raise the question as to whether this idiom is native to Sumerian or is borrowed from Semitic. The employment of an analogous idiom in the Indo-European languages would lead us to think it is also native to Sumerian<sup>2</sup>.

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### *A Buddhistic Passage in Manu*

The Ten Commandments for all Aryans are given in Manu as enjoining contentment, patience, self-control, not stealing, purity, restraint of organs, devotion, knowledge (of the sacred texts), veracity, and freedom from anger. These rules have been reduced "for all men" to a group of five, "non-injury, veracity, not stealing, purity, and restraint of organs;" or, as suggested by Yājñavalkya, the latter group as universal injunctions may be filled out by "generosity, self-control, sympathy and patience"; but the later authority also has the ten commandments, though in slightly different form, "veracity, not stealing, freedom from anger, modesty, purity, devotion, contentment, self-control, restraint of organs, and knowledge".<sup>1</sup>

These rules show no attempt to arrange the various injunctions in any categories. They are mentioned haphazard, as are the injunctions which make the eight-fold path of duty.

<sup>1</sup> Since this article went to press Poebel's *Sumerische Grammatik*, 1923 has come to hand. On page 63 ff. he has noted the comparative use of *dirig*....*šū*, but has overlooked that with *-la*.

<sup>2</sup> Manu, 6. 92 and 10. 63; Yāj. 1. 122 and 3. 66. "Self-control" is mental; "restraint of organs" is physical; but the former when used alone sometimes includes the latter.

as given by Gautama and the Mahābhārata.<sup>2</sup> The Ten Commandments of the Buddhists, however, show a careful arrangement of three sinful bodily acts, followed by four vocal sins, and these by three mental sins: One must not kill, not steal, not be sensual; not lie, not speak harshly, not speak maliciously, not talk foolishly (or boast); not covet (or be avaricious), not get angry (or wish evil or hate), not be heretical. The Fan Wang Chin version substitutes "sell intoxicants" for "speak harshly," thus breaking the order, as it does in substituting "blaspheme" for "be heretical"; but the original grouping is attested by many native Buddhistic passages.<sup>3</sup> Now in 12. 5f., Manu has this complete Buddhistic arrangement, except that the mental group stands first: "Covetousness, thinking of wrong things, adherence to false doctrine are the three mental sins; abuse, lying, detraction, and idle chatter are the four vocal sins; theft, killing (injury), and adultery are the three bodily sins." As the groups can scarcely have originated independently, the unique character in Manu must point to it as a loan. I suggested thirty-nine years ago, in my notes to this passage,<sup>4</sup> that it was Buddhistic because of the *trividha-dvāra*, as had Köppen (*Religion des Buddha*, p. 445), but since then this formula of thought-word-deed has been found too generally to permit its use as an argument for a loan,<sup>5</sup> which in this instance must rest on the fact that though ten sins are recognized elsewhere in Brahmanic law they are nowhere else grouped in this way, whereas this is the regular grouping in Buddhistic works.

Further systematization in Manu appears in the statement (12.9) that mental, vocal and bodily sins cause, respectively,

<sup>2</sup> Gautama 8. 23: *dayā sarvabhūteṣu kṣāntir anasūyā saucam anāyāso maṅgal'yam akāraṇyam aspreṇ'ti*; Mbh. 5. 34. 72: *anasūyārjman saucam santosaḥ priyavādī, damah satyam anāyasaḥ* (the last is not "quietism" but earnest endeavor).

<sup>3</sup> Compare the rules given by the Mahāśudassana (Sutta 1. 16): Do not kill, do not steal, do not be sensual; do not lie, do not drink intoxicants; eat as you have eaten (*yathā bhuttaṃ bhujjatha*). Here the list begins as usual, but introduces intoxicants as above (with 'drink' for 'sell'). See also Dhammapada, 246 f.

<sup>4</sup> *The Ordinances of Manu*, Burnell and Hopkins, 1884.

<sup>5</sup> In Manu alone, 5. 165; 9. 29; 11. 232; *manooḥkāya* with *deha* or *mūrti* as synonym of *kāya*.

mental, vocal and bodily punishment,<sup>4</sup> together with the surprising statement that rebirth in human form results only from mental acts, vocal sins being productive of rebirth as a bird or beast, while bodily sins result in rebirth as a tree or vegetable. This same scheme (which contradicts other dicta of Manu) is adopted by Yājñavalkya: *antya-pakṣi-sthāvaratām mano-vāk-kāya-karmajaiḥ doṣaiḥ prayāti jīvo 'yaṁ bhavaṁ yoniśateṣu ca*. This author also admits the "reward here and in the next world" to be the lot of only some sinners: *vipākaḥ karmaṇām pretya keṣāmcid iha jāyate: iha cā 'multra vai keṣām, bhāvas tatra prayojanam*. The two passages (3. 131 and 133) may be translated thus: "Through faults arising from mental, vocal, or bodily acts the vital soul in hundreds of births comes, respectively, into the existence of a low-caste man, a bird, and a plant. In some individuals the fruit of acts is produced after death; in some, here on earth; in some, both here and in the next world; this depends on the nature" (of the acts, that is, how bad they are). This last also is Buddhistic. Compare Dhamma-paṭṭa 126: "Some people are reborn; sinners go to hell; the righteous go to heaven; those free of desire go to Nibbāna".

As a pendant to this Buddhistic passage in Manu, I may add that Yāna seems to be used in the Buddhistic sense in Mbh. 12. 279 (278) 21, *Mokṣa-yānam idaṁ kṛtsnam*, a vehicle of salvation attributed to Hārīta describing the life of a Parivrājaka (ib. 18). The section fuses certain verses of Manu (6. 41, 47, 48) and emphasizes the virtues of meekness and friendliness, but it lacks a specifically Buddhistic character. The ordinary epic figure is the Vedic "Ship of Salvation" and *mārga* rather than *yāna* is used for "way of salvation." In this passage *yāna* might be taken in either sense, as way or vehicle.

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<sup>4</sup> Compare the common epic remark that the fruit of an act ripens in the age corresponding to that in which it is performed, whether the act be good or bad, the ages being divided into childhood, youth and old age. Mbh. 12. 181. 15; 323. 14; 13. 7. 4.



*An Arabic papyrus of the 8th century*

In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1, plate 11 of the article on Arabia, there is a reproduction of an Arabic papyrus, which is described as dating from the conquest of Egypt, c. 24 A. H. The actual date appears to be more than a century later. The purport of the document, which is readily legible though not complete, is that one Yazid ibn 'Abdallâh, connected with the Kûrah of Akhmîm and Tahtâ, assembled the principal men of the town of Akhmîm and enquired of them concerning a certain 'Amr ibn El 'Abbâs and his clerks and officers, and they testified that neither 'Amr ibn El 'Abbâs nor his clerks and officers had treated them unjustly, and that they had caused the document to be written as a quittance for him, Yazid ibn 'Abdallâh, and for 'Amr ibn El 'Abbâs and his clerks. The text describes the document as a *fâmr*.

Yazid ibn 'Abdallâh ibn Bilâl, who became qâdi of Egypt in 140 A. H., had previously been wâlî or governor of Akhmîm and was summoned from there to Fustât to take up the appointment of Qâdi (Kindl p. 359). There seems to be no doubt that this Yazid ibn 'Abdallâh must be the individual named in the papyrus, which can therefore be taken to date from near 140 A. H.

One may imagine that sufferers from official oppression are not likely to have got much satisfaction from the way in which their complaints appear to have been dealt with. Besides the illustration of Arab methods of administration which the text affords, there are two or three other points about it that seem worthy of remark.

Several persons are mentioned as witnesses. One of them has the name Ibn Hurmuz, clearly indicating Persian parentage. This individual is not likely to have come to Egypt at the time of the Abbasid invasion a few years before the date of the papyrus, for his tribal nisbah connects him with Wâ'il, a branch of the tribe of Juḏām associated with Egypt from the time of the Arab conquest. The incorporation of a Persian in one of the Arab tribes of Egypt during the Umayyad reign seems to be pointed to. The fact can be added to the slender stock of signs of relations between Persia and Egypt at that period. Eight names in the document have tribal nisbahs, referring to

six different tribes, only two of the tribes being represented by more than one individual apiece. All the persons may be presumed to have been residents of Akhmim. The inference is that the Arab tribes were already considerably dispersed in that place.

The omission of alif in the spelling of several of the names is a noticeable feature. Tahtâ is spelt with an h instead of the usual ḥ.

Transcription of the text, in modern spelling.

.. صبا بن هرمز الوائلي وخالد بن ذكوان الخزاعي وموسى بن .. السى  
ومعبد بن عمران  
.. بن سالم الصدفى وحوص بن عمران السى وعطا بن ابي سلم الجولاني  
.. عد .. بن سليم الاموي يشهدون ان يزيدي بن عبد الله  
.. كورة اخميم وطهطا جمع رؤوس اهله مدينة اخميم و ..  
.. وغيرهم فسألهم عن عمرو بن عباس وكتابه وعماله ..  
.. ان عمرو بن عباس وكتابه و .. لم يظلموا لهم قلباً ولا [يداً]  
.. روا له على انفسهم كتاباً يكون له براءة ولعمرو بن عباس وكتابه  
.. هذا الطومار على انفسهم ومحمد بن عبد الله الصدفى وكتب ..

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<sup>1</sup> السى may stand for الثايتى, the tribe of تات being one of those known in Egypt.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Die Anfänge der Kulturwirtschaft: Die sumerische Tempelstadt.* Von Dr. ANNA SCHNEIDER. Essen a.d.R.: G.D. BAEDEKER VERLAGSHANDLUNG, 1920. Pp. viii + 120.

This brochure forms Heft IV of a series of "Staatswissenschaftliche Beiträge" published under the general title of "Pflenge", now spelled "Plenge". Its author is a woman who does not read the cuneiform. She has based her work on translations of texts published by H. de Genouillac, Allotte de la Fuÿe, Nikolski, Thureau-Dangin, Miss Hussey, Förtsch, Pinches, and Langdon. Her manuscript was, however, read and approved by Professor Deimal of Rome, so that the work comes with a degree of authority. Here and there her work might be improved by taking into account later translations of her sources, but it is nevertheless a very helpful and useful piece of work.

The topics treated are as follows: I. The foundations of Sumerian economy, under which the land of Sumer and the Sumerian state are described and a sketch of the history of Lagash is given. This sketch is confined to Lagash because the documents which furnish the basis of this economic study came almost exclusively from that city. II. The general economic system of the Sumerians is described—the economic organization of the temple, the economic arrangements of the Patesi, and examples of private economic arrangements. III. The greater portion of the brochure is then devoted to the economic organization of the temple. Under this head the following topics are treated: the organization of temple-economy, the canal and building administration, the temple revenues from fields and cattle-breeding, the expenses of land-management, revenues from fisheries, from land rents and land taxes, from sales of produce. Then revenues from external sources are described. The discussion of these is preceded by a section devoted to money, prices, and interest. Transportation, stores and the management of stores, and the manufacture of reed-products are next discussed.



Then comes a treatment of temple-expenses for carrying on the cult, for festivals, and for rations for the various attendants. The section concludes with a discussion of the relation of the temples to one another. A few concluding pages are then devoted to "history and outlook". The facts which the author has gathered point to the conclusion that originally the temple-lands were the common lands of a tribe which were held in the name of the god, that during the time of the Urnina dynasty they were still to a considerable degree common lands, though by the time of Gudea they had largely ceased to be such and that certain of these lands were assigned to the use of the Patesi by virtue of his office as chief priest and ruler. Even in the period of the dynasty of Urnina private property in land was already known. The gods were thought of as gigantic men or half-men.

This useful little work concludes with tables of Sumerian measures, lists of the names of occupations, amounts of forced labor for canal building recorded in the tablets of the period, lists of divided fields mentioned in the tablets, lists of prices quoted in money, of monthly rations of barley assigned to slaves of the temple of Bau, of similar rations assigned to free attendants of the temple, of quantities of wool assigned to temple attendants, and of festal gifts from temple attendants of the temple of Bau.

The little book is an excellent compendium of the economic material contained in the archives of the earliest period of the history of Lagash.

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*Religion and the Future Life, the Development of the Belief in the Life after Death.* By Authorities in the History of Religions. Edited by E. HERSHEY SNEATH, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of the Philosophy of Religion and Religious Education, Yale University. FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY, 1922. Pp. 338, 4to.

This book, like *At One with the Invisible*, also edited by Professor Sneath, is made up of addresses by distinguished scholars which were delivered, at Professor Sneath's request, before his seminary during the academic year 1920-21. The scholars who took part in the discussion embodied in the present volume

were each particularly eminent in his field, so that the bringing together of these addresses has produced a volume of peculiar value and authority. The idea of a future life among primitive tribes is treated by Professor Franz Boas of Columbia; ancient Egyptian ideas of the hereafter, by Professor Breasted; immortality in India, by Professor Hopkins; immortality among the Babylonians and Assyrians by Professor Jastrow, whose untimely death we still mourn; the ancient Persian doctrine of a future life, by Professor Jackson; immortality in the Hebrew religion, by Professor L. B. Paton; immortality in the Greek religion, by Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; immortality in the Synoptic Gospels, by Professor Bacon; Paul's belief in life after death, by Professor Porter; immortality in the Fourth Gospel, by Professor Bacon; immortality in Mohammedanism, by Professor D. B. Macdonald; and the question of the reality of life after death, by Professor Sneath himself.

The whole makes a noteworthy contribution and brings together in readable form the best that is known on the subject. It would seem that these eminent scholars had vied with one another to give of their best, and to write with directness. Each address is a choice monograph on the topic handled. Only in Professor Bacon's papers does one get the impression that the author is intent on proving a thesis rather than on stating facts. The fresh material from Jewish sources which Bacon has brought into comparison nevertheless challenges the attention of every student. In bringing these papers together the editor has rendered the history of religion a real service.

GEORGE A. BARTON

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*Historical Origin and Economic Purpose of the Tower of Babel and the Name "Shinar" in Babylonian Inscriptions.* By L. W. WADDELL, LL.D. London: LIZAC & Co., 1922. Pp. 10.

It would be difficult to collect within the space of ten pages a larger amount of misinformation and misunderstanding than are compressed into the ten pages of this brochure, reprinted from the *Asiatic Review* of April, 1922. The theses advocated are: 1. That the Hebrew name "Shinar" was derived from an old ideographic form of the name of Babylon, TIN-TIR<sup>ki</sup>, by re-

solving the second of the two signs into its component parts ŠE-NIR. 2. That the Tower of Babel is shown by this view of its origin to have been about 3000 B.C. a great state granary for storing corn. 3. That another old name for Babylon which has been read KA-DINGIR-RA should be read KA-AŠ-RA. 4. That the Hebrew *kasdim* (Chaldeans) is a corruption of this KA-AŠ-RA. Every one of these points rests on wrong assumptions. Not one of them is supported by the facts. We will take them in order.

1. The sign TIR pictured a forest. It consists of two trees with interlocking branches (see Barton, *Babylonian Writing*, No. 329). It was only in later conventionalized writing that it seemed to resemble ŠE-NIR. Even then, to read it as ŠE-NIR was to ignore the sign TIN which preceded it—a sign which originally pictured a leaf. If any inference can be drawn from the name TIN-TIR as to the original meaning of the name of Babylon it would signify "leafy forest". Moreover, had the sign TIN been read ŠE-NIR, it would have become in Hebrew *Sinar* not *Shinar* in accordance with a well known phonetic law. Further, it has long been known that the Hebrew *Shinar* is the Babylonian SU-MER. This was derived, apparently, from the city name GIR-SU spelled backwards, as often in the earliest inscriptions. SU-GIR, corrupted in Babylonian spelling to SU-MER, retained in pronunciation enough of a nasal g sound, so that it was represented in Semitic by the letter *ghain*, which the Hebrews graphically combined with 'ayin. Then by dissimilation of the nasal quality an *n* was inserted in Hebrew spelling. Such an origin satisfies all the conditions, historical and phonetic, while Dr. Waddell's does not.

2. With the misreading of TIN as ŠE-NIR corrected, all ground for the belief that the tower of Babel was a state granary disappears. The description of Herodotus (I, 181) of the Ziggurat of Babylon makes it clear that it was an eight-staged ziggurat, similar to those adjoining every Babylonian temple, only higher.

3. KA-AŠ-RA is a reading for which there is no authority, and is in itself impossible. The RA is a phonetic complement, showing that we are to read the preceding sign as a word ending in R, i. e. as DINGIR.



4. The Hebrew word *kasdim* is, as scholars have long recognized, the *Kaldu* of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions. Waddell seems never to have heard of the phonetic law whereby in Akkadian and Assyrian a sibilant before a dental becomes *l*. The *Kaldu* (Chaldeans) appeared in southern Babylonia about 1000 B. C. and 400 years later established the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldaean empire. Of course the Hebrews would mention them. It is superfluous to seek another origin for the name.

This brochure illustrates the fact that Assyriology has many pitfalls, and that he who would, by means of it, make contributions to knowledge should study phonetics and history as well as the syllabary.

GEORGE A. BARTON

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*Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal.*

By NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI, M. A. Cambridge, England.  
W. HEFFER & SONS, LTD. Price 12/6. Pp. 184; 10 plates.

As the title partly indicates, the present treatise covers the coinage of the Sultans of Bengal for a period of one hundred years, taking in only the coins of the House of Ilyas and of the line of Raja Ganesh, a period from 1339 to 1431 of our era.

The inspiration of this work was the find of 346 coins at Dacca in 1918. Mr. Bhattasali has produced a very painstaking work on the coins of this period. He has made a special effort to decipher the dates, and he has been able to prove through accumulated material now at hand that many coins previously published have been misread. One who is familiar with the coinage realizes that, on account of the poorly and faultily written dates, incorrect reading is not surprising. Besides, many coins have been badly mutilated by Schroffs, so that in many instances the inscription has been more or less obliterated. The author brings out the fact that both Edward Thomas and Blochmann, important as their works are, have fallen into frequent errors as regards the dates. Since these books were written, many Bengalese coins have come to light, and the Shillong and Calcutta Cabinets have published this series.

The history of the Bengal kings is very scanty, and the coins themselves must supply some of the gaps. The whole book

shows a most careful examination of all historical data and published accounts of coins.

Mr. Bhattasali has very ably proved from the coins in this find that the Sultan Beyazid Shah actually existed—a fact that had been previously only suspected. A more important discovery was five coins in the find bearing the name of Alauddin Firoz Shah, the son of Beyazid Shah. This ruler was hitherto unknown. The author also ascribes the coins of Danujamardana Deva to Raja Ganesh.

The whole is a very careful and scholarly work on the period which it covers.

HOWLAND WOOD

American Numismatic Society, New York

### MINOR NOTICES

*Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus.* Von HERMANN OLDENBERG. Zweite, unveränderte Auflage. Göttingen: VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT, 1923. Pp. viii+317.

That a second edition should be needed of this work only eight years after the appearance of the first edition is a signal tribute to its importance. It is the more to be deplored that its brilliant author was not spared to see the new issue of his work, and perhaps to revise some parts of it. The book is too well known to need description. It will remain for many years to come an indispensable handbook for the study of early Hindu philosophic and religious thought.

*Ātmabodha czyli Poznanie Duszy.* Traktat Wedantyczny przez Śankaraczarje; Przekład z Sanskrytu St. F. MICHAŁSKIEGO-IWIŃSKIEGO. Warszawa: 1923. Pp. xi+36.

A Polish translation of this rather interesting minor work (in 67 stanzas—or, in other versions, 68) attributed to Śankara. The text, which is printed verse by verse along with the translation, is based wholly on that of Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta, 1897); it might have been improved at times by consulting other editions or manuscripts (e. g., verse 15b, read *yuktyavaghatataḥ* for *yuktyāvadhānataḥ*). Failure to note the allegorical allusion to the story of the Rāmāyaṇa in verse 49

spoils the rendering of that verse. But in general the translation seems competent, and will answer the purpose of making some of the main Vedānta ideas accessible in handy and popular form to those who are dependent on the Polish language for such information.

*The Bhakti Cult in Ancient India.* [By] Professor BHAGABAT KUMAR SHASTRI, M. A. Calcutta: B. BANNERJEE AND CO., n. d. [Preface dated May 1922.] xxxix+411 pp. Price Rs. 8.

An exposition of the Sātvata religion (a devotional form of Vishnuism) and its historic background, by an enlightened adherent of that sect. The author is steeped in the ancient lore of Hinduism. His attitude is devout and essentially mystical; occasionally it may seem slightly naïve to westerners; but generally speaking it is by no means lacking in intelligence, nor yet in critical power and acumen. Many of his observations are very suggestive, and for the most part he avoids the danger of reading too modern ideas into his texts. The book is analogous to what we might find in a historical study of Christianity by a western professor of philosophy who is at the same time an earnest Christian. It is interesting as a sample of what can be done to present a Hindu religious system in a form adapted to modern times, without sacrificing essential historic truth. It contains much that should interest professional students of Hinduism. To laymen it can be recommended only with reserve; tho intelligently apologetic, it is still apologetic.

*Selections from Avesta and Old Persian* (First Series). Part I. Edited with translations and notes by [Dr.] IRACH JEhangir SORABJI TARAPOREWALA, Professor in the University of Calcutta. Calcutta: CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY, 1922. xiii+242 pp.

This initial volume of a projected series contains 10 short extracts from the Younger Avesta, together with the three most important prayers. Facing the text (which is that of Geldner with minor modifications) is given a word-for-word English rendering, superior figures being used to identify the respective words translated. The notes are full and helpful. The author's viewpoint is philological and unprejudiced, but some of his interpretations must be regarded as doubtful. G. C. O. H.



*Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, 1831—1909. A Memoir.* By S. M. EDWARDES. [London]: 1923. (Printed at Oxford University Press.) viii+156 pp.

This volume, which has been printed only in a small edition for private distribution, gives a succinct account of the life and work of the distinguished Parsi scholar and reformer. His efforts to introduce sound philological study of the Avestan and Pahlavi texts are related in Chapter III. A list of his writings is appended.

G. C. O. H.

*A Study in Hindu Social Polity.* By CHANDRA CHAKRABERTY. Calcutta: R. C. CHAKRABERTY, 1923. 293 pp.

Seven miscellaneous essays, only two of which (on caste and social organization) belong to the subject suggested by the title. The contents will hardly prove interesting or useful to western readers.

#### NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Middle West Branch of the Society will hold its next annual meeting on March, 28-29, 1924, at Ann Arbor, Michigan, as guests of the University of Michigan.

## THE ŚĀLIBHADRA CARITA

### A STORY OF CONVERSION TO JAINA MONKHOOD

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THE Śālibhadra Carita was composed originally by Dharmakumāra in Vikramasamvat 1334 (1277 A. D.). According to the Praśasti, 7. 150 ff., his spiritual descent is from the sect (vaṇśa or gacha) of Nāgendra, thru Hemaprabha, Dharmaghoṣa, Somaprabha, and Vibudhaprabha. Tho his work is said to be the śrīśālibhadrākathā, it was apparently not polished enough to suit the taste of the time, and was, therefore, worked over in the highest style of kāvya by Pradyumnasūri (Pradyumnācārya), as is stated in 7. 153:

iyam kathā vṛddhakumārikeva sadūṣaṇā bhūṣaṇavarjitāsīt,  
pradyumnadevasya param prasādād babbhūva pāṇigrahaṇasya  
yogyā.

'This tale, like an old maid, was full of faults, and devoid of ornateness; but by the grace of the savant Pradyumna it was rendered fit for marriage.'<sup>1</sup> According to Jacobi, in the Preface to his edition of Pradyumna's Samarādityasaṃkṣepa (Ahmedabad 1906), p. 31, Pradyumna was frequently selected to do poetic rifacimentos of other writers' work. The Managers (vyavasthāpakāḥ) of the Yaśovijayagranthamālā, who print a preface and digest at the beginning of their publication of our text, give

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<sup>1</sup> A list of publications of the very active Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā (published under the care of His Holiness Shāstra Viśharad Jainacharya, whose recent death is a great blow to Jainism and Jaina scholarship) is appended to the present text of the Śālibhadra Carita. Under nr. 15, the text is announced as follows: Śrīśālibhadracaritaḥ tippapaśahitaḥ śrīdharmakumārasūtrīyā viracitaḥ, apūrvo 'yam kathāgrantho mahākāvyaśabdapratipādyah. A recent leaflet issued as a sūcipattra of the Śrīyaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā lists over 100 publications in Sanskrit, Hindi, Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī, and English.

a list of texts which thus enjoyed Pradyumna's favor (prasāda). In addition to our Carita they are as follows:

- The Mallinātha Mahākāvya (Caritra) by Vinayacandrasūri
- The Prabhāvaka Caritra by Prabhācandrasūri
- The Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākakathāsāroddhāra by Devendrasūri
- The Kuvalayamālā Kathā by Ratnaprabhasūri
- The Upadeśakandalīṭikā by Bālacandrasūri
- The Vivekamañjarīṭikā by Bālacandrasūri
- The Samarādityasaṁkṣepa by Pradyumnācārya
- The Śreyāṁsanātha Caritra by Mānatunga.

This list is rather longer than that mentioned by Jacobi, *l. c.*

The editors in the Preface cite the following stanza concerning Pradyumna; it seems to be composed by themselves, in imitation of the fourth stanza of Pradyumna's Praśasti in the Samarādityasaṁkṣepa (p. 415), to wit:

śiṣyaḥ śrīkanakaprabhasya sukaviḥ śrībālacandrānujo  
jyāyān śrījayaśīhataḥ pratibhayā śrīvastupālastutaḥ,  
asmadgotramahattaraḥ kaviguruḥ pradyumnasūriprabhur  
vidvadvṛndakavitvaśodhanadhanagranthamudlāsodhayat.

According to another stanza (7. 154) in the Praśasti of Śālibhadra the present work was written down at the first inspection (prathamādarśe) by the Gaṇin Prabhāvacandra, the author of the Prabhāvaka Caritra.

The work is published for the first time (apūrva) as Nr. 15 of the series Yaśovijayagranthamālā, by Shah Harakhchand Bhurabai, Benares, Virasamvat 2436 (A. D. 1910). The text is divided into seven Prakramas (sometimes, irregularly, called Prastāvas), totalling 1171 stanzas. It is, on the whole, well edited; the list of errata (śodhanapatram) is supplemented at the end of this essay.

The scene of this story is Rājagṛha, where rules King Śreṇika with his queen Cellagā and his son and minister Abhayakumāra. It is an account of the conversion and salvation of the youthful son of a merchant prince, Śālibhadra, or, for short, Śāli. His father's name is Gobhadra\*; his mother's Bhadrā; his sister's, Subhadrā. The latter is married to a merchant Dhanya. Gobhadra, tired of earthly futilities, turns ascetic, dies, and is

\* Hence Śāli is also known by the patronymic Gāuhhadri.



reborn as a glorious god in the Sāudharma heaven. There, remembering his former birth, he puts himself in touch with his son, and confers upon him wealth and earthly glory, so that Śāli lives in his palace, together with his thirty-two wives, in a state of bliss superior to that of the gods.

Certain merchants from a distance offer to King Śreṇika some magic shawls for so high a price that the king ironically refuses to buy them. They then wait upon Bhadrā, Śāli's mother, who buys the shawls at their full price and presents them to her daughters-in-law. Queen Cellaṇā hears of this, chides the king, and bids him get the shawls by fair means or foul. The king sends his doorkeeper to get the shawls from Bhadrā, but she is unable to deliver the goods which she no longer owns. The doorkeeper reports this, and also that Śāli is living in more than royal pomp. Śreṇika decides to see for himself, and when Śāli beholds him in all his glory, he is seized by the conviction that all existence is worthless, where the highest ruler is a mere living creature, with feet and hands, like himself.

This is pratyekabodhi, as Śāli himself recognizes triumphantly in what is the climax of the story. He compares his enlightenment, to his own advantage, with that of the four classical Pratyekabuddhas, famous both among Buddhists and Jains. Whereas they were enlightened by the perishable nature of mean or trivial things, Śāli has recognized the futility of life even tho veiled by the splendor of a king in all his glory.

Śāli resorts to the Gaṇin Dharmaghoṣa, by whom he is instructed in the higher religion. Urged on by his growing aversion to the world (vairāgya) he abandons each day one of his thirty-two wives, so that it would take him thirty-two days to dispose of the lot. This comes to the notice of Dhanya, husband of Subhadrā, Śāli's sister, who is seized by the spirit of the occasion, and exclaims that such shilly-shallying does not ferry one across the sea of desire. In proper course first Dhanya and then Śāli place themselves at the feet of the Holy Lord Vira; go out as homeless ascetics; return after long wanderings as emaciated monks to Rājagṛha; are not recognized by their mother Bhadrā, but receive their pāraṇa food from Dhanyā, Śāli's mother in his former birth as a shepherd boy, named Saṃgama (see below). They finally die of fast under a tree (pādapopagama)

on the Vāibhāra mountain, and are reborn as gods in the Heaven called Sarvārthasiddha.

Śāli's glorious destiny is motivated by the story of his previous birth in which he performs the self-abnegating act of giving alms to a monk who has come to break his fast (*pāraṇa*). This is told in the first introductory book of the *Carita*, and not, as is the usual practice, by an omniscient Kevalin who appears at the proper moment at the end of the story, and explains the fortunes of the hero as due to his conduct in a previous birth. Śāli's prenatal predecessor is a shepherd boy, named Saṃgama, son of a poor widowed mother, named Dhanyā. On a certain festal day, when everybody is feasting, she obtains, thru contributions from charitable neighbors, materials for a luscious meal for her boy, also anxious for a feast. Just as he is starting to eat, a Muni who is about to break a month's fast comes along; Saṃgama presents him with his food; and the Muni eats and blesses him. After his death Saṃgama is reborn as Śālibhadra.

The text presents itself under the caption of a *dānadharma-kathā* (1.1); more precisely as a *dānāvadāna*<sup>2</sup> (2.1). In the Jaina system (see our text 3.49; 5.82) <sup>1</sup> *dāna* figures as one of the four prescripts for the life of a householder (*gṛhīdharma*), namely, *dāna*, 'giving'; *śīla*, 'personal virtue'; *tapas*, 'asceticism'; and *bhāva* or *bhāvanā*, 'meditation'. The *dāna*, in turn, figures under the three heads of *jñānadāna*, 'conferring knowledge'; *abhaya-dāna*, 'conferring security'; and *annadāna*, 'giving food'. With amazing insistence Jaina texts dwell upon *annadāna*, especially when it takes the form of breaking the fast of an ascetic (*pāraṇa*). Our text is presumably the most elaborate and poetic exposition of the glory that ensues upon this last form of generosity. There is, however, scarcely a longer Jaina chronicle

<sup>1</sup> Glossed, *avadānam atyadbhutaṃ karma*. The word *avadāna* is certainly not ordinary in Jaina literature, but is commonly employed in Sanskrit Buddhist literature (*Divyāvadāna*, *Avadānaśataka* etc.) to designate, with tiresome iteration, stories in which the karma accumulated in a certain existence bears fruit, good or evil, in a subsequent life. The word (7.94) *vāsi-candana-kalpa*, '(ascetic) to whom the (burning) sword and (cooling) sandal are all the same', as I have shown in *JAOS* 40, 339 ff. (see below, p. 306), is another of the many technical specialties that connect, in this sphere, Jaina and Buddhist conceptions. So also the four *Pratyekabuddhas* (p. 275).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 119 note.



which does not contain some account of, or allusion to, the merit of feeding a Yati. In the present text this virtue, displayed in a former birth, leads Śālibhadra on to the attainment of the true ideal of Jainism, the destruction of all karma (kṣiṇa-karma), thru the rigors of asceticism that disregards all suffering, and, finally, death from starvation in a holy spot.

The story is told very briefly and without the least ornateness in Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa Caritra, Parvan X = Mahāvīra Caritra 10.57 ff. Much later the fertile writer Jinakīrti (about 1438 A. D.) is the author of a Dhanyaśālicaritra, which, doubtless, deals with our theme; see Weber, *Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften*, vol. ii, p. 1109, note 4; C. M. Duff, *The Chronology of India*, pp. 254 ff. Guérinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, no. 402 (p. 199), registers a Jaina Gujarātī tale, entitled Śālibhadra Śāhno Rās (published in Bombay, 1889).

In a tangled form, the events of our Carita are retold in Kathākośa, pp. 78 ff. of Tawney's Translation, and, partly, in the Āvaśyaka Tales; see Leumann, as reported by Tawney, *ib.* p. 238. In Kathākośa the name of the hero is Dhanya, both in the pre-birth and in the present-day stories. In the Āvaśyaka tale the pre-birth story is told with Dhanya as its hero. The same rebirth story occurs also as the story of Sthāvara and his mother, at the end of Jñānasāgara's story of Ratnacūḍa; see Hertel, *Indische Erzähler*, vol. vii, pp. 165 ff. (Leipzig, 1922).

Otherwise also the worthies of the story, Gobhadra, Bhadrā, Śālibhadra, and Dhanya, have a certain standing in Jaina tradition. Anent Gobhadra a gloss at Śālibhadra Carita 3. 71 quotes the following Prākṛit śloka:

jena kayam sāmannaṁ chammāse jhānasamjamarāṇa,  
taṁ munim udārakittiṁ gobhaddariṣiṁ namassāmi.

'I revere that Rishi Gobhadra, the Muni of exalted reputation, who, devoted to contemplation and restraint, performed asceticism for a period of six months.'

'Rich as Śālibhadra', is a Jaina way of saying, 'Rich as Croesus'; see Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, story 3. Very definite is the allusion in Sindhāsanaadvātrīṣikā (Weber, *Indische Studien*, 15. 291) to our Śālibhadra as 'the son of the merchant-princess Bhadrā, who enjoyed the youthful aroma of his thirty-two wives.' Identical with our Dhanya is, probably, that Dhanya who along



with his two wives is converted to the Jaina faith in Caritrasundara's Mahīpāla Carita; see Hertel, 'Jinakīrti's Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla,' *BKSGW*, 1917, p. 19. A faint echo of our story is the mention of the farmer Bhadra in Śāligrāma, most generous to the poor (dinādānaparāyaṇaḥ), in Mallinātha Caritra 2. 342. Śāli and the events of his life have, presumably, a historical kernel.

The text, in its final form, is written in the highest style of mahākāvya, governed by the extremest habits of Hindu rhetoric (alaṃkāra). To a Western reader its style, turgid, allusive, full of puns, alliterations, and double ententes, seems artificial or eufuistic. Aside from familiar devices, such as kalā in the double sense of 'accomplishment' and 'fase of the moon' (5. 75), or the equally standard puns on guṇa and vaṇśa (1. 16; 5. 54), the text goes far in the direction of independent tours-de-force. In 1. 31 dehe occurs in three different meanings: (sam-)dehe, 'doubt'; dehe, 'burnt'; and dehe, 'in the body'. In 2. 13 the word vaśā occurs in vaśāsthūlāḥ (sc. gāvaḥ), 'sleek with fat'; suvaśāḥ, 'good kine'; vaśūḥ (glossed, vaśyāḥ), 'subjected to'; and vaśādoṣadūṣitāḥ (glossed, vandhyādoṣadūṣitāḥ) 'free from the blemish of sterility'. In 2. 77 reṇur means once 'dust', and once 'they jingled' (gloss, śabdaṃ cakruḥ). In 3. 51 the two syllables mātṛā occur thrice, in the senses of 'with mother', 'measure', and 'not hither'. Yet more artificially, 3. 6, mudvahe nyasya tadbhāram udvahe vratam udvahe, 'having unloaded the burden of that upon my joy-bestowing son, I shall take upon myself the holy vow', where the syllables mudvahe occur in three different senses.

Examples of double meaning (śleṣa) of one and the same syllables (indicated by the word pakṣe in the gloss) are 1. 15, bahu-dhānyopakāraka = bahudhā + anyo°, 'in many ways benefiting others', or bahu-dhānya + upakāraka, 'benefiting with much grain', said of a village. In 1. 22 kulīna means 'of good family', and 'clinging to the earth' (ku-līna); aviparīta, 'traveled by birds' (avi-parīta) and 'not perverse' (a-viparīta); vipattra, 'protecting against misfortune' (vipat-tra) and 'wingless' (vi-pattra). Not infrequently precise fonetics are disregarded. Thus in 5. 44 bindu means 'drop' and 'knowing' (vindu); in 5. 150 śāradīna, 'autumnal', alliterates with śāradīnatā, 'essential pusillanimity'; in 7. 122 mahāśamarasamrambhe is either mahāśamara-samrambhe

'in great conflict', or mahā-śama-rasam rambhe 'essence of great asceticism, O Rambhā'. There is scarcely a stanza in the entire poem free from such rhetorical devices, some of which are pretty certain to occur in other texts of this class.

The following digest (uddhāra) of this Carita is made with reference to the events of the story and the skilful depiction of the characters in it, rather than the somewhat eufuistic diction which suits native, rather than Western, literary habits.

## DIGEST OF THE STORY OF ŚĀLIBHADRA

*First Prakrama: The Story of Saṃgama,  
the pious shepherd boy (pre-birth of Śālibhadra).*

Introductory stanzas extol the wish-tree (kalpadru) of the virtue of almsgiving (dānadharma), one of the stated items of Jaina religion<sup>1</sup>; invoke the protection of Nābheya (= Rṣabha), the first Arhat, famous for his liberality<sup>2</sup>; of Vīra, the last Arhat, 'the tree of whose wisdom, rooted in his great liberality during his first birth, has not been uprooted by the mighty elephant False Doctrine'; and, finally, of gaur devī sarasvatī<sup>3</sup>. The favor of the spiritual ancestors of the author Dharmakumāra, namely the Śrīsomaprabhasūrayaḥ, is next bespoken, 'at the touch of whose hands (rays) there is an outburst of taste (water) from me who am a stone';<sup>4</sup> strength is asked for the redactor (śuddhakṛt)<sup>5</sup> Śrīpradyumna, pupil of Śrīkanakaprabhā, himself pupil of Śrīdevānanda; and, lastly, praise is bespoken from the Śrīmadudayaprabhasūrayaḥ<sup>6</sup>. The Story of Śrīśālibhadra is then announced.

The first chapter (prakrama) contains an account of Śālibha-

<sup>1</sup> Defined, rather narrowly, in a gloss on dānadharma, at 7.148: dāna-rūpo mānopavāsinaḥ yateḥ kṣīraśālibhadra-maḥ.

<sup>2</sup> Adāu dhanahave yena gṛhameghāyitam.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning here, vāk sarasvatī, 'the goddess of speech'.

<sup>4</sup> The moonstone, touched by the rays of the moon, yields water.

<sup>5</sup> The jejune work of the original author, Dharmakumāra, was adorned, i. e. turned into Kāvya poetry, by Pradyumna; see 7.153, 156, and the stanza at the bottom of p. 1 of the Sanskrit introduction to the text.

<sup>6</sup> Udayaprabhasūri (about 1230 A. D.) is the author of Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya, or Saṃghapati Carita; see Guerinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, pp. 79, 398.

dra's existence in a former birth as the saintly youth Saṅgama.<sup>11</sup> The scene is laid in the lovely and prosperous village of Śāli-grāma in the country of Magadha. The curtain rises upon the poor and virtuous widow Dhanyā, who is bringing up her beautiful orphan boy, Saṅgama. He does not even know the name of his father. By hard chores, such as scrubbing and pounding grain in rich men's houses, she supports her son and herself. At eight years of age Saṅgama becomes a shepherd. By contemplating the Sun (or the Arhat)<sup>12</sup>, he is led to abandon the tyranny of his senses, and becomes enlightened. In the manner of a Sādhu, with staff and piece of cloth as a garment, his belly his only provision on the way<sup>13</sup>, he herds his calves in the woods outside the village, and passes his time in devotion to the (eight) Mothers (37).<sup>14</sup>

It happens that Saṅgama, accustomed to rough food, notices on a certain festival day, that delicacies are being consumed in every house but his own. As tho he were the son of a rich man, not sensing the proprieties of the situation, he asks his mother, politely to be sure, to prepare for him at once a pudding with sugar and milk. Dhanyā, realizing that Saṅgama can not have evil inclinations, promises to supply him with a feast, but she finds that she has not the means. She bewails her low estate of woman and widow, and complains to her father and mother (both dead) that she whose name is Dhanyā, 'Wealthy', is unable to provide her only son even a single feast (31).

The women of the neighborhood, disposed to be friendly, ask the cause of her grief. Dhanyā avows that she is not grieving for herself, but for her son whose desire, she says with self-persiflage, she is unable to gratify. 'To-day my son, as charioteer, ignorantly hitched me, an old cow, to the chariot of his desire.'<sup>15</sup> She then tells them what she needs, and the women, severally, send her the ingredients for a feast, rejoicing the heart of Dhanyā

<sup>11</sup> In a gloss at 1.35 he is called Saṅgamaka; also later in the text itself, 2.48.

<sup>12</sup> jaganmitrāvalokena, glossed, sūryo 'rhañā ca.

<sup>13</sup> kukṣisambali: may perhaps mean, 'all his provision being in his belly'.

<sup>14</sup> mātṛbhaktibhāk, glossed, aṣṭāu mātaraḥ; cf. 3.65. The 'Mothers' are doubtless intended in Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 182.

<sup>15</sup> manoratharathe 'dya mām avedanaḥ sutaḥ sūtaḥ saṅhuyyoja jaraṇ-gavim.



(73). Saṅgama leaves his calves in the forest, bathes, and returns home. Dhanyā gladly serves him the pudding she has prepared, and then goes away in superstitious dread of looking on him with delight<sup>14</sup> (82). Along comes, like a wish-jewel, or the heavenly wish-tree, a great ascetic (yati) who is about to break a month's feast. His brilliant presence in so humble a village suggests striking phenomena of nature and mythological events, such as Indra's elephant coming down to earth, or the Gaṅgā flowing in the jungle, or the paradise-tree growing in the desert.<sup>15</sup> Saṅgama realizes his opportunity, and determines to make the occasion redound to his spiritual advantage. With the hair of his body bristling with joy, he addresses the Muni in words of ecstatic praise of the latter's virtues and beneficent power. In a state of supreme love (bhakti) he hands him his own dish (109). The Yati, weak from fast, comes to himself, accepts the food, blesses Saṅgama, and returns to his abode (111). Mother Dhanyā, returning from another house, not knowing what had happened in between, sets other food before him. This he eats, rinses his mouth, and, as tho he had reached the glory of a king, enters into a state of bliss (116).

The rest of the chapter (prakrama) does not really advance the story. Sts. 117-135 are devoted to praise of the virtue of alms-giving (dānaśīla), reinforced by sundry historical or legendary allusions to former dānas, placed by the side of Saṅgama's act. In these figure the Savior Śreyāṅsa, grandson of Nābheya (R̥ṣabha); the Princess Candanā<sup>16</sup> who gratified

<sup>14</sup> samtoṣadṛghbhayāt: comm. dṛṣṭilaganabhayāt; see Appendix iii.

<sup>15</sup> āirāvato 'yaṁ bhūpiṭhe gaṅgāpūrā ca jaṅgale,  
marū jātaḥ pārijātaḥ sādhu grāme yad idṛśe (90).

<sup>16</sup> A quaint story, Mallinātha Caritra 7.1023 ff., tells how Candanā gave the Lord Vīra his pāraṇa, to wit: King Śatāṅka attacks King Dadhi-vilhana of Campā, who flees afright, abandoning his queen Dhārīṇī and her lovely daughter Vasumatī. Śatāṅka makes Dhārīṇī his chief queen, but decides to sell her daughter as a slave, in open market. As Vasumatī stands there, grass on her head as a sign of slavehood, a rich merchant, Dhanavāha, noting her grace and nobility, asks what is her descent and name, but she remains silent, too proud to make an appeal. Dhanavāha takes her home to his wife Mūlā, and she lives with the pair as a cherished daughter, under the name of Candanā.

She, nevertheless, incurs the jealousy of her foster-mother Mūlā. Once,

Lord Vira<sup>19</sup>, and the notorious Mūladeva, who has been canonized, as it were, by the Jains, as, perhaps, the most imposing example of the virtue of dāna (130)<sup>20</sup>. The text continues with reflections on Saṅgama's great act, which is sure to redound to his advantage at rebirth, even if the gods did not shower this world's goods upon him in his present existence (133)<sup>21</sup>. Unsuspected of spiritual greatness, of humble family, disregarded by illusion (Māra),

there being no slave available, Candanā washes the feet of Dhanavāha; during this act of filial regard her beautiful braid falls to the dusty earth; Dhanavāha lifts it up with his staff; Mūlā is confirmed in her jealousy, and decides to cut her off at the root like a poisonous creeper. When her husband goes to his business, she gets a barber to shave off Candanā's hair; beats her; chains her with strong fetters; and throws her into the cellar of the house. She threatens her servants: any one who tells will become a sacrifice in the fire of her anger. In the evening Dhanavāha returns and asks where his daughter is. All are silent, but an old maid-servant, thinking pitifully that her days are short, and that Candanā will perish from grief, points to the cellar where Candanā is confined. He breaks open its door and sees Candanā starved, wilted, fettered like a she-elephant, bald as a nun. He goes to the kitchen but finds there no food, only a little coarse rice collected in the corner of a winnowing-basket. He tells her to eat that, until he returns with a blacksmith to cut her fetters.

Candanā stands there, reflecting that it would be better to give this coarse food to a guest, rather than that she, a princess, should eat it. It happens that the Holy Mahāvira is wandering about the city for alms. Candanā, fettered, winnowing-basket in hand, manages to place one foot outside the threshold of the house while the other remains inside. In deep piety she offers the rice to Vira, who, recognizing her purpose, stretches out his hand to receive it.

The gods come to the spot and acclaim her generous gift. They break her fetters like a rotten rope. Her pretty braid is again upon her head, and she appears dressed as a princess. All-knowing wisdom (kevalajñāna) comes to Candanā; she turns nun; in due time she will reach nirvāṇa.

In Mahāvira's biography, Kalpasūtra 5.135, Candanā appears at the head of 36,100 nuns in Mahāvira's following. — Other cases of blissful dānas are cited in my 'Life of Pārivanātha', p. 128, note 28.

<sup>19</sup> prabhur; comm. śrīvīrah.

<sup>20</sup> See especially the excellent study of Professor Pavolini in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, 9, 175 ff. Other treatments and other matters pertaining to this subject are discussed in my article, 'The Character and Adventures of Mūladeva', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 1913, vol. 52, pp. 616 ff. Mūladeva, as the result of his deed, becomes King of Beṇḍyāḍa.

<sup>21</sup> mahādāne 'pi yat tasya na surā vavṛṣur vasu,  
dātum kila vyāmbhanta tat prabhūtaṁ bhavāntare.

he has reached enlightenment (135). Next, description of the boy's mood and conduct when taken with his religious fervor: 'Regularly he used to remember, in his mother's absence to cry out in grief, "Alas, mother, (where art thou)?" But, at the contemplation of the Muni, she, in turn, was forgotten.' Under ordinary circumstances even a thorn disturbs one's piety, but now danger to life does not disturb his spirit. The great virtue of renouncing his food for another filled his own mouth with camfor, 'for what was he, a mere shepherd boy, compared with the Muni, a great Indra, crested with flowers?' (143). In sundry other ways he continues to reflect upon the superlative qualities of the Muni and upon the perfect way in which he has achieved dānaśīla: 'Having constituted me an eater of others' food (parānna), my mother set before me a superb meal (paramānna). But I did set out food of the highest goal (paramārthānna), having, forsooth, attended to my own interests' (145). 'Now fitly this distinguished Muni may become for me a pool of the ambrosia of calm, an ever reliable refuge of peace' (146). The honored Mahātman, exemplar of noble men, beautiful as a jeweled mirror, is reflected in Saṃgama, tho he be worthless. Saṃgama's mind is immersed in the nectar-pot of meditation<sup>22</sup> which reaches to his throat; he abandons life thru fast; and enters that very day the pious state that results in complete perfection (160).

iti śālibhadrakathāyāṃ prathamah prakramah samāptaḥ.

*Second Prakrama: Birth and marriage of Śālibhadra.*

The scene changes from the village of Śāligrāma to the city of Rājagṛha in the land of Magadha in Jambūdvīpa, all of which places are described at length in the conventional, florid style practised by Kāvya writers, especially in connection with geographical and person names. There rules the glorious and pious king Śreṇika (Bimbisāra), familiar to both Buddhist and Jaina legend. Śreṇika is blessed with a perfect wife, Cellaṇā, and an intellectual son, prince Abhayakumāra, who acts as his minister<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> samādhāna=samādhi.

<sup>23</sup> All three are mentioned together (Cellaṇā as Cillaṇā) in Kathakośa, pp. 175 ff.; Hemaviṇaya's Kathāratnākara, story 82; Śreṇika and Abhaya figure much in Rāuhigeya Carita; in Hemaviṇaya, stories 85, 176; in Hema-



(36). In the same capital lives a merchant-prince Gobhadra, with his wife Bhadrā, sunk in the depths of connubial bliss (47). The soul of Saṃgama, in the fulness of time, descends into the womb of Bhadrā. She sees in a dream a field of ripe rice which looks as tho it had come from Śāligrāma ('Rice-village')<sup>24</sup>; reports the dream to her husband; and is told that she is big with a son. She is taken with a pregnant woman's desire (dohada), in this instance, desire to give alms,<sup>25</sup> in which desire her husband supports her loyally.

At the end of nine months she gives birth to a son (63). All the town joins in his birth-festival; the child is given the name Śālibhadra (to match the dream, as well as the names of his parents); and he is put in charge of reliable nurses. Every stage of his development, such as crawling,<sup>26</sup> walking, eating, talking, furnishes his father occasion for sacramental celebrations. As a child he plays about with animal companions, dressed in baby finery, a joy to his parents (82). 'Some children are filthy as swine; some, frisky as monkeys; some croak weirdly like frogs; and some are like wild elephants. Śāli, however, loves cleanliness like a high-bred horse; is clean-limbed as a tortoise; mighty as a lion; and pure as an ascetic.'<sup>27</sup> He is in due time made over to a noble teacher by whom he is instructed in the 72 accomplishments (kalāḥ) of a young gentleman (87).

Śālibhadra reaches young manhood in a marvelous state of beauty, which gives rise to a detailed comparison of his every part with the correspondingly beautiful things in nature. 'Afraid of the overpowering lustre of his body, the yellow-blossomed pandanus arranges to protect itself, as it were, by a hedge of thorns' (92). His every part is described painstakingly: feet, legs, navel, heart, arms, hands, throat, teeth, cheeks, face, brow,

candra's Commentary on Yogasāstra 2.114; Śreṇika and Celanā (I) in Mahāvīra Carita 10.90; etc. Cf. Weber, Samyaktva-Kāumudī, p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Allusion to the soul's former home, which, by the terms of its name, is supposed to abound in rice-fields. For dreams that foretell the birth of a noble child, see my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 189 ff. Such dreams are known as mahāsvapna, 'great-dream'.

<sup>25</sup> See the author, JAOS 40.1 ff., especially 17 ff.

<sup>26</sup> riṇṇaṇam, text, for riṇṇhaṇam; see Appendix vi.

<sup>27</sup> puriṣaśūkarūḥ kecic cāpalyakapayaḥ pare, māyugomāyavaḥ ke 'pi bālā vyālā ivetare, pāvītryapritijātyāśvaḥ saṃlīnāṅgatvakacchapah, sa tu sīṇha ivāśvasi śamavān śamavān iva.

eyes, forehead, and hair. In a final burst of ecstasy his beauty is said to excel that of other men, to be equal to that of the gods, and to be highly admired by the Nāga maidens dwelling in the lower world (Pātāla). In addition, dāna (alms-giving), the most distinguished among virtues,<sup>28</sup> like pāyasa (pudding) among foods, makes Śālibhadra shine as prince among young men (113).

Father Gobhadra, seeing his son such a paragon, chooses for him 32 beautiful maidens of Rājagṛha, as tho they were four times eight picked from the eight crores of heavenly women. They are accomplished, of good family, and all their bodily parts are like the lotus<sup>29</sup>, matching Śālibhadra's perfections. Following brilliant marriage festivities, Śālibhadra lives with his wives devoted by day and by night to the pleasures of the senses; a veritable elephant among women (140).<sup>30</sup>

iti śrīśālibhadracarite janmavivāhavarṇano nāma  
dvitīyaḥ prakramaḥ.

### Third Prakrama:

*Gobhadra turns ascetic, dies, and becomes a god. He returns to shower blessings upon Śālibhadra, in which the six seasons cooperate with him.*

Gobhadra regards the perfections of his son as a good omen, pointing to the fulfilment of his own career. Whereas some sons like gambling, rifle one's property, or, like an overdue debt, bring sorrow, others, gifted with the virtues of the golden age, afford success and joy, as tho they constituted uncounted merit (puṇya). 'Now that son of mine is like a black wish-jewel'<sup>31</sup> for increase of fortune, an antidote against sorrow, a joy to the coral-tree of the law.' Gobhadra decides to unload the burden of householdership upon this son of a lovely mother<sup>32</sup>, and to take the vow: 'When there is a beautiful, beloved son, acknow-

<sup>28</sup> Carried over from his pre-birth as Saṅgama who gained merit (puṇya) by feeding the ascetic (p. 265).

<sup>29</sup> They are, in fact, padmīnī.

<sup>30</sup> nārīkuṇjaratāḥ yāti.

<sup>31</sup> kṛṣṇacitrakaḥ, glossed by, kālī cintāmaṇiḥ; previously (1.85), kṛṣṇaś citrakaḥ.

<sup>32</sup> bhādrāmātura, apparently only in Pāṇini, with pun on the name of his mother Bhadrā; see Appendix iv.

ledged to be a region-elephant, (the father) who does not desert the householder's desire verily is a cattle-herd.<sup>22</sup> (7). Just as his thoughts are turning to Vira, the park-keeper announces the arrival of that Holy Saint himself. Gobhadra with a select retinue goes to honor Vardhamāna on Mount Vāibhāra and listens to a sermon of his on saṃsāra. Gobhadra is inspired to devote himself to pure religion<sup>23</sup>. Returning to his wife, he extols her many graces and virtues, which have led him on the way to religion, and requests her consent to his undergoing the dīkṣā with the Lord Vira, in order that he may obtain the fourth and greatest purpose of life<sup>24</sup> (22). Bhadrā remonstrates tearfully; she is weak, and has but a single son: will he abandon them both? In such case, is not staying at home more meritorious than the monk's vow? 'The male elephant may rudely spurn the lotus<sup>25</sup> which clings to his feet, but how can even the most restive elephant cast off the spots on his face and trunk<sup>26</sup> which are born on his body<sup>27</sup>' (27). After other arguments involving figurative, punning, or alliterative exhibits of no mean quality, she clinches her argument by the dogma that a true man is the one to uphold the family, not woman, weak and ignorant by name and nature (30).

Gobhadra retorts that she has, after all, her son to protect her; that merit (puṇya) is the essential at the two ends (beginning and end) of existence; man's undertakings in between being non-essential; that religion (dharma) seeks no opportunity against man, whereas death ever lurks; that contempt for a child is

<sup>22</sup> *supratīke sati prīte pratīte diggaje 'ṅgaje, nāśānīm yas tyajaty āśān satyaṃ paśupatiḥ sa tu*. The verse is a no more than usual example of the double entente style of the entire text: *supratīka*, in addition to meaning 'beautiful', is also the proper name of a region-elephant; *āśānī āśā* means both 'householder's desire', and, 'Śiva's quarter, the north-east'; and *paśupati* means both 'cattle-herd', and 'Śiva'.

<sup>23</sup> *śuklapākaikatvena dharmamānasam ānase*.

<sup>24</sup> This is *mokṣa*, 'release', the three others being *dharma*, 'religion'; *artha*, 'property'; and *kāma*, 'love'. Cf. *Vasupūjya Carita* 4.8 ff.; *Ratnacūḍa* (Hertel's Translation, p. 169); our *Carita* in the gloss to 2.112.

<sup>25</sup> *padmīnī*, with double entente, 'female elephant'; so according to the *Lexicografer*.

<sup>26</sup> *padma*, to pun with *padmīnī*.

<sup>27</sup> *aṅgaja* with pun on the meaning 'son'.



unbecoming in the wise.<sup>39</sup> The conclusion to be drawn is that, strong in her son, she should help her husband to fulfil his high purpose (39). Bhadrā is silenced by her husband's argument. They both call on Śālibhadra, who receives them in great state, and with the reverence becoming in a son (44). The father now addresses his son, who is seated on his lap, as an intelligent being of strong character. He points out that Śālibhadra, as his noble successor, must undertake the life of a pious householder with its three stages of childhood, youth and old age, devoted to the fourfold dharma<sup>40</sup>. He, Gobhadra, on the other hand, must prepare himself for victory over the enemy of Bhāva (pious meditation). Having wisely crossed the sorrowful river of householdership, in the company of Śālibhadra's mother, he is now asking her for the ferry-money, i. e., presumably, the price to be paid for release from the further responsibilities of householdership (52).

Śālibhadra, for his part, objects to his father's unloading the responsibility of a head of a family upon himself, a mere child. 'Having yourself cut the snare of saṃsāra, like the fish Rohita<sup>41</sup>, O father, will you go away and abandon us that are afright, just where we are?' (56). But Gobhadra insists that it is Śālibhadra's duty to promote his spiritual efforts, if for no other reason, because a father's glory in heaven confers honor upon the son. Turning to his wife Bhadrā, he bids her show true love to her son thru firm resolution, and, supported by her thirty-two daughters-in-law, keep up his household. After eight days' ceremonies preparatory to his niṣkramaṇa<sup>42</sup>, Gobhadra takes the vow at Lord Vira's hand; accumulates great merit thru ascetic practice; dies from fast; and is reborn as a god (sura) in the Sāudharma heaven<sup>43</sup> (72).

Up in heaven Gobhadra puts himself into rapport with his son. He remembers that, whereas he himself is a warrior, strong

<sup>39</sup> See under proverbs below. Appendix i.

<sup>40</sup> dāna-śīla-tapo-bhāva-catuhśālena śālitab.

<sup>41</sup> Text, rohitamatsyay, glossed, mateyarājas tu rohitab. Conversely, the fish Taṇḍula, owing to his guilt in eating other fish, goes to the seventh hell, Bhāvadevasūri's Pārivanātha Carita 3.393.

<sup>42</sup> The solemn act of going out from home to homelessness.

<sup>43</sup> Gobhadra seems to have high standing in Jaina tradition according to the Prākṛit Śloka, quoted on p. 261.

in his reliance upon the Jina, his son has been left behind to fight the battle of life, with only his mother to stand by him. He decides to quench Śālī's sorrows with an ambrosia shower from his own heavenly world. He leaves behind his glorious state, and visits his son (83), bringing with him, as presents to himself and wives, diadems, garments fine-spun as tho made of the rays of the moon, unguents made from sandal, and wreaths made of the flowers of mandāra, the coral-tree of paradise (87). Śālī obtains from his father divine grace and beauty that ever renews itself; his affairs prosper of themselves, being, in this and other regards, superior to the gods who must call their minds into action before they can accomplish anything (104). 'The Lords of the World (bhuvanādhiśvarāḥ), in comparison with Śālibhadra, take demonic (asura) character, whereas the inhabitants of Hell are doubly lowered by him' (105). The gods, in Jaina classification<sup>44</sup> (bhuvanādhiśvara, vyantara, jyotiṣka, vāimānika), are separately shown to be inferior to Śālibhadra (109). He gives alms on an unheard-of scale of liberality (112). His 32 large-eyes wives afford him connubial bliss to a degree commensurate with his virtues (117). The happiness which is enjoyed by both mortals and immortals, superior to the whole world, comes to him, of all others, just as, e. g., wisdom and skill to a minister, or the rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu to the great ocean (120). The seasons<sup>45</sup> show him love, extol him and cater to his pleasures. For instance, in summer, 'The mountains, beholding the world in the flashes of lightning, roar, as it were, in thunderous voice: "There is no one on the stool of the earth like in beauty to Śālī"' (134). Or, 'In winter when the sun's glory is dimmed by snowfalls, the sun of Śālī's happiness is in no wise diminished' (145). And so, in their order, all the seasons pleasure him, who is rich in virtue, just as virtues bring happiness to a great monarch, or holy vows to a great ascetic (154).

iti śrīśālibhadracarite gobhadrāgamaṇaṭṭuṣaṭkavarṇano  
nāma ṭṭṭiyaḥ prakramaḥ.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hertel, *Parīkṣitaparvan*, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>45</sup> The following type of description, referred to as ṭṭuṣaṭkavarṇana in the colophon to this chapter, is also known as saḍṭṭuvarṇana, each meaning 'description of the six seasons'; see Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara*, story 72 end.

*Fourth Prakrama: The magic shawls; King Śreṇika visits Śālibhadra; Śālibhadra's enlightenment (pratyekabodhi).*

To the city of Rājagṛha come from another country certain merchants with their goods. They first present themselves to King Śreṇika. The King asks them whence they have come with their honest ware<sup>44</sup>. They reply that they are from the country where rules King Nepāla, and have with them a stock of rare shawls<sup>45</sup>, which they wish to dispose of to the King. These garments are warm in winter, cool in summer, delicate as śirīṣa blossoms, and of enormous size. Thereupon they exhibit their precious wares to the King, as poets exhibit their compositions to a connoisseur (14). The King asks for some tangible proof of their value and is told that in winter a brass pot full of butter melts when enveloped in one of them, but that the same garment, in the noon-heat, makes a pot of ghee freeze. The King then asks the price and the merchants demand a lakh of gold. In amazement he retorts that, with such a sum, one may collect elephants, horses, and men, that will ensure victory in battle; but what power has a mere garment? The queen (Cellaṇā), joining the king unexpectedly, crushes the merchants' hope of doing business by spurning these jewels of garments, as being of no more use than a bull's dew-lap. Thereupon the merchants go to the abode of Śālibhadra (25).

His mother Bhadrā, having elicited by questions the virtues of the garments, buys them, eight in number, at their original price, cuts them up, and distributes the pieces among her 32 daughters-in-law, as foot-rugs. They, in turn, place them under Śāli's feet (31). Bhadrā's generosity elicits a group of proverbial stanzas on the relation of mothers-in-law to daughters-in-law: 'Some mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, by nature wind and gall<sup>46</sup>, as it were (in the same body), live in strife with one another, and act like co-wives (in quarrel)'. Under pretense of friendship, they carry on, in their own interest, intrigues, such as are customary in the seraglio of a minister (44).

In the meantime Cellaṇā, King Śreṇika's queen, learns from the gossip of her tire-women what had happened in the matter

<sup>44</sup> akāṅkṛitakrayāṅkāb; see Appendix ii.

<sup>45</sup> ratnakambalaśambalāb.

<sup>46</sup> Emend vāttapittaprakṛti to vāta\*.



of the wonderful shawls. She chides the king for not having acquired them, and asks him to take them by force. The king sends a confidential servant to the merchants to demand the garments, but they inform him that Bhadrā, Śāli's mother, has secured them. When this answer is brought to the king, he, mindful of his earlier money scruples, determines to gratify the queen's desire. He sends a door-keeper to Bhadrā to obtain the garments at their proper price. Bhadrā tells him that, tho neither price nor reluctance to part with the treasure counts when the king commands, she is unable to comply with the king's request, because she has already presented the shawls to her daughters-in-law (66). The door-keeper, wondering what sort of people Śāli and his wives may be, reports to the king that Śāli is living in more than royal pomp, and that his mother has distributed the costly garments among her daughters-in-law. The queen's ironic importunities have the effect of weaving Śāli's image into the king's soul; he sends his door-keeper a second time to Śāli's palace with an invitation to wait upon the king. Bhadrā, his mother, goes instead, and tells the king that her son does not leave the top of his palace even to visit his pleasure grove, any more than, for instance, Religion (dharma) leaves Āryadeśa (orthodox India). She, in turn, invites the king to grace her house with his presence; the king accepts the invitation. She arranges her palace for lavish hospitality. The king arrives, is received in state, and seats himself upon a jeweled throne (112).

Bhadrā tells her son that the king has come, but he says absent-mindedly: 'Look over the ware, weigh it, pay for it, and take it'\*\*. Bhadrā, delighted, exclaims that she is the most fortunate of women, because her son is so deeply immersed in pleasure\*\* as to misunderstand a plain statement. She replies that the king is present in all his majesty. 'The report, "It is the king!", tho of one foot (i. e. one word), enters marvelously the root of Śāli's ear, like a centipede ('hundred-foot'), and brings him to repentance' (120). Śāli reflects that even the strong are of no account: that existence itself is destruction,

\*\* Śāli's misunderstanding seems to me founded upon a pun between *śreṇika* and *kṛayāpaka*; his mother says the former; he hears the latter. Similarly *Mahāvīracarita* 10.106.

\*\* *Māgarbheśvarah*.

where the highest ruler is a mere living creature with feet and hands like himself (121). The idea that such a king is of no consequence is turned into a pratyekabodhi motif,<sup>11</sup> i.e., it becomes for Śāli, uninstructed, the particular occasion for spiritual insight: 'Of him that wears the shape of a mere bubble in the ocean of saṃsāra, how much is his princehood valued by the wise? Out upon this non-existing glory which has no more permanent habitat than a wandering harlot'. 'I know that the Lord of the three worlds, holy Vira, is my refuge; what use have I then for this eunuch king of a chess-board?' One is a real king only thru great virtue; what other king can then prevail against him? (128).

As if to clinch his own enlightenment by a particular event (pratyekabodhi), he recalls the four classical pratyekabuddhas, famous alike both among Buddhists and Jains. 'The world-disgust (vairāgya) of the king of Kaliṅga (Karakandū), why was it based upon (the spectacle of) a feeble bull?'<sup>12</sup> And he contrasts (to his own advantage) the depressing circumstances of all the four Pratyekabuddhas' enlightenment with his own, which is occasioned by a king in all his glory—one might suppose a sight the reverse of depressing: Śāli's vairāgya has mounted 'like a warrior equipped for battle upon the king-elephant' (130).

'Because the king of Pāṇcāla (Dommuha, Durmukha) saw a fallen flag, he became disaffected (with the world); but this (Śāli) saw the king aloft in shining joy and serenity (and became disaffected)' (131).

'By way of a bracelet Nami's vairāgya came and was established, but Śāli's vairāgya came even by way of the king' (132).

'The samvega (spiritual awakening) of Naggati<sup>13</sup> was incited

<sup>11</sup> For pratyekabodhi see my 'Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha', pp. 5, 116 note. An additional instance of this mode of conversion by a particular (single) event, in Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 29. In Umāsvatī's Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra 10.7 the pratyekabuddha is fitly contrasted with the bodhiṭa: the first is enlightened by himself, the second by the instruction of another.

<sup>12</sup> A śloka similar to the Prakṛit in Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erdählungen*, p. 38 bottom, is quoted in the gloss: śvetam sujātam suvibhaktaśṛṅgam goṣṭhāṅgane vikṣya vṛṣam jarāntam, rddhim tv anrddhim (text, tv arddhim) prasamikṣya bodhāt kaliṅgarājargir avāpa dharmam.

<sup>13</sup> For the form of this word see Appendix ii.

like a veritable kokila bird, when he came upon the fallen fruit of a mango-tree, but this man-lion's (Śāli's) sarivega rose, lion-fashion, when he *came upon the king*' (133).

Tho Śāli now, like one of true faith, looks upon Śreṇika as the unwelcome sight of error, he respects his mother's wish, and descends with his wives from the seventh story of his palace to pay his respects. The king is delighted with him, embraces him, and, amorously<sup>14</sup>, sets him upon his hip. The king enjoys the highest bliss from this contact, whereas Śāli breaks into tears (140). Bhadrā tells the king that Śāli, accustomed to heavenly wreaths, clothes, food, and unguents, furnished him by his father, who is a god in heaven, abhors exceedingly men's breath.<sup>15</sup> She begs him to let go Śāli, who is the pet of Fortune, and tender as a lotus<sup>16</sup>. The King releases Śāli who again retires with his wives to the upper terrace of his palace (145).

Now Bhadrā orders a grand shampoo for the king. As he is being finally rinsed, his signet ring falls into the water, 'like a beloved mistress in her tantrums, when she has become subject to anger and pride.' The king is annoyed by the loss, but when, at Bhadrā's order, the water is drawn off by a servant-maid, he easily sees the ring in the bath. 'Like a villager in the midst of city-folk, like a coward in the midst of heroes,<sup>17</sup> like a pauper in the midst of the rich, like a fool in the midst of the wise, it seems now a lustreless thing among jewels'<sup>18</sup> (156). This chills his love for Śāli, tho, at the same time, he recognizes his superior character. With play upon Śāli's name ('Rice'), he exclaims: 'While we, 'Barley'<sup>19</sup>, having fallen from our place, must endure splitting and other treatment of grain, 'Rice' (Śāli) alone of all

<sup>14</sup> This is, perhaps, what seems to be intended by the expression *tam ...bhūbhṛd utsaṅgaraṅge raṅgān nyavivīṣat*. The Digest paraphrases, *svotsaṅge tam śālim nidhāyācīkrīḍat*. Cf., later on in the digest, Śāli's thought, *māyā api hanta svāmī vartate* (p. 4, 1.6 from bottom).

<sup>15</sup> *naraśvāsvyāśāir dodūyatetarām*.

<sup>16</sup> The scholiast remarks that lotuses are crushed (indifferently) either by the hand (*kara*) of a king, or the trunk (*kara*) of an elephant, the king being addressed here in both aspects (*rājakoṭijara*, 'king-elephant').

<sup>17</sup> Read *śūreṣu* for *sūreṣu*.

<sup>18</sup> This is, again, a kind of *pratyekabodhi*.

<sup>19</sup> *hayaapriyāḥ* = *yavāḥ*, according to the gloss (only in Lexicographers). But the word plays with another meaning, namely, 'fond of horses'.



grains<sup>60</sup> is not crushed' (166). 'No lie it is, he is surely 'Rice' (Śāli), crest-jewel of noble grains, for whose grains of virtue the king-parrots yearn forsooth' (167). The king, in this way, realizes that Śāli, as the impersonation of the Jina, has unexpectedly served him also for a noble purpose. Bhadrā then entertains the king sumptuously, and showers gifts upon him; the king returns to his palace (172).

iti Śālibhadrakathāyām Śrīśreṇikāgamanavarṇano  
nāma caturthaḥ prakramaḥ.

*Fifth Prakrama: Śālibhadra decides to turn ascetic, after debating the matter with his mother. His brother-in-law anticipates his course.*

The fifth chapter announces its theme: 'The row of "Rice's" virtue-grains, can it in any way be counted? Yet the greatness of its measure must be divulged.'<sup>61</sup> 'The bliss of mortals and immortals, the rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu<sup>62</sup>, become tasteless in the overflowing ocean of Śāli's vāirāgya (loss of taste for the world), produced by the mere sight of the king'. As an elephant-keeper stains a scent-elephant<sup>63</sup>, so the king stains him with the vermillion of passionlessness. A Bṛhaspati in discernment, he considers the secret of contending against the Demon Illusion. The existence of kings has brought him bliss (thru pratyekabodhi); his spiritual eye is clear as a star (7). Nevertheless (remembering how he had attracted the king) he rails at the 'royal serpent'<sup>64</sup>, who constantly seeks to devour the unwary serpent-folk<sup>65</sup>, and decides to resort to the mantra (sacred formula) and the divinity which will prevent the destruction of bliss by the 'king-disease'<sup>66</sup> (14). In this frame of mind he

<sup>60</sup> Read sarvasasyeṣu for sarvaśasyeṣu.

<sup>61</sup> śāleḥ puṇyakaṇaśreṇibḥ kiṃ gaṇeyā kathādicana, idamīyaḥ paraṃ mānamahimā paribhāvyatām.

<sup>62</sup> Gaṅgā in heaven where live the immortals; Sindhu upon earth where mortals live.

<sup>63</sup> Elephant during rut.

<sup>64</sup> rājasarpa; double entente, 'royal serpent', and 'anaconda'.

<sup>65</sup> bhogi-loka: double entente, 'serpent-folk', and 'folk devoted to the senses'.

<sup>66</sup> rājamandya: double entente, 'king as cause of disease', and '=kṣaya-

resorts to the Gaṇa-leader (Sūri) Dharmaghoṣa<sup>67</sup>, instructor in war against the 'Serpent Existence', who teaches him in a largish sermon how to cast off the fetters that bind to the world, by abandoning the triad of sins, and adopting the three restraints (guṇti). Lauded by the three potencies, bhūs, bhuvās, and svar, he will then become 'Lord of the World' (35). Śāli, in ecstasy cries out, 'I will abandon existence, and, thru your teaching, apply my mind to Salvation'. He then promises to return, as soon as he has bid farewell to his tenderhearted, loving mother (37).

Returning to the city he seats himself upon the roof of his palace, and lets his body hold communion with his mind. Like a good servant, his body promises obedience in the great undertaking before him: 'Then may I (the Body), bravely enduring hardships, stoutly bearing the burden imposed upon me, swift to obey thy (the Mind's) orders, not plunging into disrepute—may I, as thy servant, thus strive to fulfil thy every intention, so that (thou) my Master, after having obtained control, shalt not fail of thy purpose.'<sup>68</sup> Grasping now this connection of the Mind with its vehicle, the Body, Śāli regards existence as a victorious race, run by a horse in one day (āśvina), coming to an end to-day or to-morrow (adyaśvina; 46).

He meets his mother, and tells her that he has heard from the mouth of the Guru the Law that furnishes refuge, and that he is exceedingly pleased with it. A mother should feel honored by a son whose numberless virtues confer honor upon the family<sup>69</sup> (54). Bhadrā is much rejoiced, yet points out that the son of his father (Gobhadra) is not the bond-servant of lust, even tho he is sunk in the delights of Fortune (Śrī); the Jaina truth sits upon him as does the milk of a lioness upon a golden dish<sup>70</sup>.

roga or rājayakṣma, 'consumption'.

<sup>67</sup> 'Sounder of the Law', frequently mentioned on similar occasions; e. g., Ratnacūḍa, p. 164 of Hertel's Translation; Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, story 177; Suali in his analysis of the Ādiśvara Caritra, p. 13, in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, vol. 7 (1908).

<sup>68</sup> In this stanza the author employs the four reduplicated participial adjectives sāśahi, vāvahi, cācali, pāpati in the order in which they occur in Pāṇini; see Appendix iv.

<sup>69</sup> With conventional pun upon guṇa and vaṇśa.

<sup>70</sup> Proverbial, see Appendix i.

Enough for him, therefore, that he devote himself to a pious house-holder's life (grhīdharma): let him practise to perfection (samyaktva) the twelve vows of laymen (60).

But Śālī soon disabuses her mind as to his intentions: 'Thou didst, O Mother, fitly say a faultless word, "Thou (Śālī) art the son of that father (Gobhadrā)". Now ponder the significance of that statement' (63). 'Leaving out of question the possible superiority of children over parents, how can I be the son of an imperial Sage, and yet be devoted to the five senses?' (64). 'If thru thee, tho thou art but a single mother, I am thus happy here; what then is to be said of good conduct in which the eight good Mothers<sup>11</sup> are involved?' (65). 'With me as a son, being the earth-sustaining boar (Viṣṇu Avatar), having the form of Puruṣottama, be thou, O mother, like the primordial she-boar,<sup>12</sup> blessed in thy son' (66). In several other stanzas Śālī argues that the ascetic state will redound to the glory of both himself and his mother. 'The difference between a Sādhu (monk) and a Śrāvaka (lay-disciple) is said to be like that between Mount Meru and a mustard-seed; how can I then, O Mother, become an adept (siddhārtha)<sup>13</sup> while living the life of a house-holder?' (67). 'O Mother, do not therefore delay (thy permission)! Be thou the mother of a hero, a campaka-wreath among flower-garlands!' (69).

Bhadrā, struck by these words, as if by a hurricane, rolls in a swoon upon the stool of the earth, like a creeper cut from its root. No sooner is she restored than she resorts to every argument dictated by her love and Śālī's advantage, to induce him not to abandon her so early in life. Her love clings to him as a creeper to a tree; without him she is bereft of support; she is a heaven full of constellations, yet without sheen. Resignation does not suit early youth (76). She pleads quaintly: 'My child, like a verb-root that has two voices (parasmāipada and ātmanepada), thou enjoyest the bliss of both mortals and immortals; therefore it befits thee to occupy the two stations (padadvayī) of this world and the next world' (78). Then,

The eight sacred writings. Gloss, aṣṭau pravacanamātarāḥ; cf. 1.37.

<sup>11</sup> ādipotriṇī = ādivarāḥī.

<sup>12</sup> Pun on the meaning, 'white mustard'.



following another line, Bhadrā points out that Śāli's father had not taken the vow before he had adorned the family mountain with a young lion (namely, Śāli); that, therefore, Śāli also should first produce a son; afterwards he might place, as a coping, upon the temple of practical piety the five great vows (of a yati). For the present it is not fit that he should turn away (vairāgya) from a world full of heavenly pleasures (90).

The son of Gobhadra (Gāubhadri) replies that his mother is preaching earthly, rather than heavenly interests; as for himself, he is sated with pleasure, because the *praṇava* (om) is established for him, embracing the knowledge (*veda*) which causes to spring up aversion to the world (99).

Returning to his evil experience with the king he bitterly exclaims: 'That influence which is spat out (left behind) by licentious king-demons must be avoided like eating by night'<sup>24</sup> (104). Further stanzas in the same strain contrast the call of the Lord Vīra to a holy life, which sits like a diadem upon the head, with the king's command which had suddenly fallen upon Śāli to his injury and sorrow: 'The crow, "possession by the king", making noise on high, surely bodes misfortune as it touches my head' (112). This is followed by four proverbs (115-118) which show how sensitive to treatment are noble things as contrasted with ignoble ones; e. g., 'A common garment is cleansed by pounding it with alkali-stones; a garment of the gods, on the other hand, is spoiled by the mere touch of man' (117). Thus the son of Gobhadra regards the king's favors as degradation, whereas others would delight in being his slaves; his soul and body are alike afflicted by him (122).

Bhadrā, in great grief, takes up this same idea: the king (*rājan*) has turned out to be the king-disease (*rājamandya*); she has performed a grievous *ajākṛpaṇiya*<sup>25</sup> act in introducing to him her son who is now afflicted by the king's breath. Nevertheless, she continues to argue the trials of ascetic life; the needs of her widowhood; the loveliness of his wives; his own charming youth; and the god-like career of sensuous pleasure open to him. Śāli finally yields to his mother's eloquence to the extent

<sup>24</sup> A sin with the Jains. The *niśabhojanavirati*, 'abstention from eating by night', is described and illustrated in *Vasupūjya Carita* 1.412-567.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix iv.

of abandoning one wife at a time, each day, so that it would take him 32 days to dispose of the lot (140).

Now there lives in that same city Subhadra, a younger sister of Śāli, married to an excellent, virtuous husband, Dhanya by name. One day while Dhanya is bathing, tears drop from his wife's eyes upon his shoulder. Asked for the reason, she says that she is grieved because her brother, in order to restrain his senses, is daily giving up, one by one, his beloved wives. Dhanya replies that such cowardly conduct does not ferry one across the sea of desires; if procrastination in love and business<sup>16</sup> be ruinous, how much more speedy should be progress in religion? (151). Dhanya's seven other wives, taking Subhadra's (and, incidentally, Śāli's) part, then ask him why he himself is not practising what he is preaching: 'Even cowards, more's the pity, can tell all about battles, but they scarcely breathe when strife roars its strident sounds' (153). Dhanya exclaims joyously that they, his wives, have become his spiritual guides; he will wait upon the Jina Lord to learn the holy life of an ascetic. As is usual in these cases, the wives make a show of objecting to being left without male support, and propose to follow him into homelessness. Dhanya is rejoiced, praises his wives, and meditates upon the arrival of the Lord Vira (166).

iti śrīśālibhadralilākathāyām pañcamah prastāvaḥ (! here, instead of prakramah).

*Sixth Prakrama: Śāli turns monk; his wanderings; his return home; and his pāraṇa by his mother in the preceding birth.*

In the meantime the Lord Vira, string of pearls of the triad bhūs, bhuvas, and svar, guide across the waters of existence, attended by Suras, who prepared his samavasaraṇa<sup>17</sup>, arrives on the Vāibhāra mountain. His arrival is opportunely coincident with the faith that has come to Śālibhadra. Dhanya, who knows Vira, the Cakravartin (Emperor) of the Holy Law, goes in company with his wives to the feet of the Lord, in order to obtain from him the means of salvation (8). Śāli then points out reproachfully to his mother Bhadrā, that his sister (Subhadra)

<sup>16</sup> Two items of the puruṣārtha; see page 270, note 35.

<sup>17</sup> Place of descent from heaven, a technical Jaina term.

and her husband (Dhanya) have assumed leadership in heroic conduct: why may he not follow them? (11). Bhadrā, realizing at last that Śāli can not be swerved from his purpose, tells king Śreṇika that her son desired to take vows with the Saint Vira, and asks him for the royal insignia,—golden pot, diadem, umbrella, and chowries,—in order to institute for her son the great festival of consecration (dikṣā). The king, at first, questions whether Śāli will be able to endure the hardships of ascetic life, but, finally realizing Śāli's noble purpose, promises to arrange himself his ceremony of niṣkramaṇa<sup>24</sup>. He dismisses Bhadrā in a state of delight (22).

Śāli asks his father, the Sura Gobhadra, by whose grace, he knows, he has so far tasted the sensual bliss that belongs to the gods, to favor him still farther by making his earthly bliss bear fruit in the solemn act of 'going out'. He then enjoins upon his wives the care of his mother (35). After 'hero-flags' have been placed upon the cāitya sanctuaries, Śāli proceeds to the bath pavillion, where divine maidens pour over him the water of consecration; perfume and adorn him; and perform many other festive and sacramental acts in which the king's insignia play a part (50). Thereupon he proceeds in the company of the king, his mother, and his wives to the place of Vira's samavaśaraṇa, and reverently asks the Lord of the World to guide him to the religion that brings nirvāṇa. He puts on the monk's robe (paricivaritāḥ); plucks out his hair<sup>25</sup>, which Bhadrā gathers up together with his jewels; and is given by Holy Vira himself the rank of a wandering ascetic (57).

Dhanya, his brother-in-law, with Subhadrā his wife (Śāli's sister), follows him into homelessness. The king returns to Rājagṛha. Bhadrā and Śāli's wives also go back sadly to a home which now seems like a divine grove without devadru trees, like heaven without the sun, like the firmament without the moon, like a country without king (64). The wives feel like an army abandoned by its leader, like duties performed without knowledge, like magic rites, ineffective because done without a spell, like a catena of virtue without good fortune, like she-elephants without the lord of the herd, like a threshing-floor without grain. They

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 271.

<sup>25</sup> See my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 115, note.



reproach themselves for not having followed him on the road to heaven, as stars follow the moon at the moment of his eclipse (73).

Dhanya and Śāli learn the scriptures from the mouth of the Saint Gāutama<sup>88</sup>, and then enter upon a course of severe asceticism whose rigors in every particular of life, such as food, clothes, and bed, are effectively contrasted with the Sages' former life of luxury (99). They engage in fasts of one, two, three, and four months respectively, in consequence of which their figures become lean and emaciated. They revere many Jaina ikons, and practise severe forms of asceticism, actuated thruout by their longing for perfection. Freed from all earthly attachments, they move without haste upon the mendicant's path. In the end they are so emaciated that their skeletons rattle in their bodies. In the company of the Lord Vīra, and endowed with the (five) samitis<sup>89</sup>, they arrive at the end of twelve years at the city of Rājagṛha (112). The Lord Vīra makes his samavasaraṇa upon Mount Vāibhāra, and is there revered by the people. As the two Munis are about to break a month's fast, they consult the Jina Lord, who advises them to let Śāli's mother perform this pious act (120). Unperceived by their former friends, they quickly go to Bhadrā's palace (126), and stand in the customary place of mendicants, emaciated, silent, motionless (138).

Bhadrā is rejoiced at the arrival of her daughter (Subhadrā), her son (Śāli), her son-in-law (Dhanya), and the holy Lord Vīra, and communicates the event to Śāli's wives. She glories especially in the presence of Vīra and Śālibhadra, the latter being her sole possession, the life of her life (143). She contrasts her own fate, during the twelve years she has been left behind, with that of her daughter Subhadrā. Tho already overcome by old age, she had remained behind like a blind she-jackal, while her daughter, tender-limbed as a śiṛiṣa-blossom, had followed her husband Dhanya into homelessness, thus becoming the crest of the Meru-mountain of virtue. Dhanya her son-in-law, too, appears to her in the light of a great Muni: he shines with his

<sup>88</sup> Gāutama is the first disciple of Mahāvīra; see, e. g., *Ayāraṅga Sutta* 2.15-28.

<sup>89</sup> Five rules of personal behavior; see *Umāsvatī's Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra* 9.5

eight wives, who are like the embodied Mūrtis<sup>12</sup> (152). She calls upon her daughters-in-law, whose husband has returned upon a great ship from a distant country, as it were, to make preparations for the bodily comfort of the guests. This they joyously hasten to do, giving orders to the servants, who skip about nimbly and egg each other on<sup>13</sup> (161).

But Mother Bhadrā is not destined to break her son's fast. In spite of her longing to do honor and to entertain, she is so overcome by her emotions, that, as tho her eyes were shut, she does not see her son. Confused by the flood of her thoughts, she does not show honor to the two Munis as they stand in the court of the house (169). Śālī's wives also regret their separation from him, blaming themselves because they have not followed him into homelessness. When they turn their sight upon him, they, too, are unable to see him for the tears in their eyes; and he, in turn, is so emaciated as to be unrecognizable (179).

The sages' equanimity is not at all disturbed by this apparent disregard of their needs (186). As they are about to pass out of the city, a certain Mathitahārikā<sup>14</sup>, a middle-aged woman (kātyāyanī), sees Śālī and is filled with great joy and exaltation, 'as tho she were a mermaid (jalamānuṣī) in the milk-ocean of delight'. She sheds tears of joy, and milk oozes from her breasts, as tho in the stress of motherhood. Poor as she is, she offers sour milk as alms. The two Sādhus, having accepted the alms, 'purified by every test (sarvopadhāśuddha),' depart (204). Śālī asks Holy Vira how his pāraṇa came about, and the Master tells him that the woman, in her former birth, was his mother Dhanyā, dwelling in Śāligrāma, and that she had now become a noble woman (satyā) thru her gift of sour milk (207).  
 iti śrīśālīlīlākathāyām śrīśālībhadravihāramātrgrhāgamanapāra-  
 ṇavarṇano nāma ṣaṣṭhaḥ prastāvaḥ.

*Seventh Prakrama: Śālībhadrā and Dhanya, ultimately enlightened, die by fast, and attain to Supreme Bliss.*

Śālī, remembering Holy Vira's sayings, ponders the course of his own life. To begin with, man in general skips about as an

<sup>12</sup> The gloss lists these Mūrtis, to wit: kṣiti, jala, pavana, hutāśana, yajamāna, ākāśa, candra, and sūrya.

<sup>13</sup> ehireyāhiraṇ cakrur nṣtyanto 'tyantacāñcalāḥ; see Appendix ii.

<sup>14</sup> This is either a proper noun, or means 'with her necklace disarranged'.



actor in the play of Existence<sup>25</sup>. He next lists and contrasts the events of his present life with those of his pre-birth: his life in a noble city, with his former life in a low-caste village; his mother's gift of the precious shawls to her daughters-in-law, with his former mother's destitution. In his former birth he did not even know the name of his father, much less had he seen him in the flesh; in his present birth his father Gobhadra (after he had become a god) had given the *chireyāhira*-command<sup>26</sup> here on earth in his behalf (7). And so he refers everything back to the time when, in his former birth, his mother Dhanyā procured the ingredients for a feast from her compassionate neighbors, enabling him to gratify the Muni with the food he himself so keenly desired. But for the Muni's arrival, his birth as a villager would have been fruitless. And all led up to his receiving his *pāraṇa* from the hands of his former mother (15). Reflecting thus, as on the om of the Veda 'Aversion from the World', he turns to his brother-Muni, Dhanya, who is traveling on the way to the fortress 'Excellent'; reminds him of his early leadership when he himself (Śāli) was still weak in the flesh; and bids him engage together with himself in the final battle of victory over the Chief Trickster, 'Illusion'<sup>27</sup>. Dhanya responds enthusiastically, pointing out, in harmony with his character, that delay or hesitancy pierce the vitals (of purpose) like an arrow, and that Śāli, in the past, had not made a long story of it, when there was question of giving alms (*dāna*). They go to Holy Vira, prostrate themselves before him, and constitute him their flag on the top of the high palace 'Self-restraint' (29). Vira encourages them to shoot with unerring aim at the target 'Contemplation' (*dhyāna*). They adopt the (five) Rules of Conduct (*samiti*), and abandon the four kinds of food along with all desires and hopes. Sustained in their resolution by the Sage Gāutama, they await death from starvation under a tree<sup>28</sup> (38).

Bhadra and her daughters-in-law, all clad in white robes, their faces veiled, go out to do honor to the Jina (Vira). They are joined by King Śreṇika and his son and minister, Abhayakumā-

<sup>25</sup> *narinartti naṭab prāṇi kaṭare bhavanāṭake*. For *kaṭare* see Appendix ii.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix ii.

<sup>27</sup> *dhūrtarājā mahāmoham*.

<sup>28</sup> *pādapopagamam nāmāśanam*; see Appendix iii.



ra. When Bhadrā fails to see Śāli and Dhanya with the Lord, she asks about them, and he tells her that they are engaged in the pīḍapopagama on the Vāibhāra mount (55). Bhadrā, like a haṁsa-bird in a cage, like a jhaṣī-fish caught in a net, like a she-antelope struck by an arrow, terribly disturbed in mind, sighing, stumbling, and falling down at every step, wailing pitifully, approaches the place where are the two Munis. She is followed by Śreṇika and Abhayakumāra. When she sees them lying on the mountain-top, as tho they had been struck by lightning, she and her retinue fall into a swoon (61). After being revived, she bewails long and bitterly her fate as wife and mother. She is a woman who had one child and many cares. Her crowning misery is, that she could not retain her child for life, at the time when he returned home to break a month's fast. She did not then appraise her Muni son at his full value (76). She also neglected Dhanya, her son-in-law, who, instead of being Śāli's play-fellow, became his guide in spiritual matters (83). Now she addresses Śāli as an accomplished Arhat, as river of equanimity, as one to whom good and evil are the same, as one to whom a (burning) sword and (cool) sandal are the same <sup>88</sup>. She begs him to give answer, or to favor her, if only with a look (95). Śāli's wives join Bhadrā in regrets over their abandonment of their husband: 'weighed in the gold-scale of love, they are discovered to be equal to the (slight weight of a) guṇjā <sup>89</sup>' (100). It will redound to their everlasting shame that their husband, standing in the courtyard (of Bhadrā's house), did not regard them even with a look (105). They beg him to return, but, if he is resolved to fast to death, let him at least present them with the ambrosia of his speech. Bhadrā is moved by their laments to the pitch of again falling into a faint, and, after being restored, continues to cry (112).

At this point King Śreṇika steps into the breach, by consoling her with the thought that she is going to be counted most honorable and praiseworthy among noble women; that her son will be honored even by the gods; and that, of all women, she will wear a diadem upon her brow for having given birth to a lion-

<sup>88</sup> vāścandanakalpa; see Appendix iii.

<sup>89</sup> A berry used as a small weight; see the note on p. 61 of Tawney's Translation of Prabandhacintāmaṇi.

son who roars at the 'Elefant Delusion'. Let her, therefore, with resolute words encourage her son in his great struggle (112). Bhadrā takes his words to heart; gives over her grief; consoles her daughters-in-law; encourages her heroic son to victory; glories in her own and her daughters-in-law's distinction; blesses the hard road to perfection (siddhi) which the two Munis are treading; and returns to the city (131). Śālī and Dhanya ride under the sailship of their captain Gāutama upon the ship 'Asceticism' (samnyāsa), die, and are reborn as supreme gods in the Heaven called Sarvārthasiddha where they enjoy the highest bliss (145).

iti śrīśālībhadracarite sarvārthasiddhiprāptivarṇano  
nāma saptamaḥ prakramaḥ.

## APPENDICES

### *Appendix i: Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions*

Like most Jaina fiction texts, and, indeed, like most fiction texts in general, the author or redactor of the Śālībhadrā Carita interlards his rather slender story with proverbs or proverbial expressions. Some of these occur elsewhere, but the majority appear to be new. The Jaina texts are not only full of religious apothegms (dharma), but they also exploit every fase of wordly wisdom (nīti, artha, kāuṭilya). To some extent such sayings are, doubtless, original with the Jaina writers, but, no less certainly, the same writers draw from the springs of popular inspiration in this respect, no less than in respect of narrative and folk-lore. These nīti-stanzas will have to be gathered and sifted into a huge supplement to Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, so deservedly famous in Indic filology<sup>1</sup>. For the present a few illustrations of these conditions shall suffice. Thus:

1.25ab: uttamāḥ svaguṇāḥ khyātā madhyamās tu pitur  
guṇāḥ.

'Highest is the character of them that are famous thru their own virtue; middling the character of them that are famous thru their father's virtue' (Böhtlingk, 1178, 1182).

<sup>1</sup> How familiar among the Jains these stanzas are may be gathered conveniently from the foot-notes to Tawney's Translation of Prabandhacin-tāmaṇi, pp. 20, 23, 32, 35, 40, 68, 78, 92, 114, 138, 182, 198. See also my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', pp. 208 ff.

- 3.34: *siñhārkanrpadeveṣu bāla ity avahilanā,*  
*gūḍhaprāuḍhapratāpeṣu* \* *viduṣāṃ nahi yujyate.*

'It is not proper for wise people to underestimate lions, the sun, a prince, or a god on account of their youth, because great power is hidden in these' (Böhtlingk, 7043, with *avahilanā*, not *avaheḷanā*\*, as Bō. emends).

- 4.126: *parakāvyaiḥ kavīvaṃ yad garvo yācitabhūṣaṇāiḥ,*  
*yā ca yācanayā tṛptis tad etan mūrkhalaḥṣaṇam.*

'When people establish for themselves the reputation of being poets thru others' poetry, or when they are proud of borrowed jewels, or satisfy their hunger thru begging—all that is the mark of a fool' (cf. Böhtlingk, 3917).

- 5.9: *nṛsiñhā na samihante bhakṣyaṃ kakṣikṛtaṃ parāiḥ,*  
*svikurvanti tu goṣṭhaśvās tat kṛtvā vighrahāgraham.*

'Man-lions do not desire the food tucked away in the hem of others' garments'; stable-dogs appropriate that, making it an occasion for strife.' Cf. Böhtlingk, 4979, 7322; Bhāvadeva-sūri's *Pārśvanātha Caritra* 5.182.

- 1.48, describing widowhood:

*nimnaṃ strījanma tatrāpi vāidhavyaṃ navyaduḥkhakṛt,*  
*dāuṣṭhyaṃ (I) sthānam anāsthāyā dāsyam hāsyakaram jane.*

'Low-grade is the birth of a woman. Her widowhood produces new pain. An evil station is that in which there is no support; servitude is cause for derision with people.'

- 3.29–30, describing men's and women's relation to the upkeep of a family:

*stambhaḥ sāudham na tu sthūṇā yūtham hasti na hastinī,*  
*durālānaṃ latā nāiva rathamukṣā na gaur yathā,*  
*evam uccāiḥ kulābhāraṃ sāttvikaḥ puruṣo 'rhati,*  
*abalā nāmadhāmabhyāṃ na nārī kovidāpy aho.*

'The (male) stambha-post is (the foundation of) the palace, not the (female) sthūṇā-pillar'; the male elephant is the herd, not the she-elephant. The (female) creeper is not at all a hard

\* Variant reading, *gūḍhaprāuḍhaprabhāveṣu*.

\* Both Sanskrit words seem to me back-formations from Prākritic forms (*avahirei*) which are ultimately derived from Skt. *avadhīraya-*, 'despise'.

\* The conventional Hindu pocket.

\* The noun *stambha* is masculine in gender; *sthūṇā* is feminine.



fetter (for an elephant to break); the cow is not a draught-ox<sup>4</sup>. Thus a noble man is fit to hold high the family; not, alas! a woman, weak by name and character, even tho she be an intelligent woman'.

3.58, dealing with the duty of son to father:

janakaṁ svam kalāvantam budhaṁ saminihitaṁ sutaṁ,  
trāyate vatsa nō sūram api mandas tamograhāt.

The stanza has two meanings: 'A wise son (the planet Mercury) protects his accomplished father (the moon with its fases) when stationed near him, O Child; but not a foolish one (the planet Saturn) even a learned one (the Sun) from misfortune (eclipse)'.

3.89-93, describe a father's love for his son.

4.36 ff., describe the relation between wives and mothers-in-law.

5.98, illustrates equanimity.

5.105, showing that subservience is a kill-joy:

parājñā bhogasāukhyeṣu sarvāṅgasubhageṣv api,  
trasarekheva<sup>5</sup> ratneṣu mahāmahimahānaye.

'The command of another reduces pleasures, even tho they delight in every (other) particular, just as a floating line in jewels reduces their value.'

5.115-118: objects of high quality are easily spoiled by contact with coarse persons or things.

5.116: suvarṇaṁ valinikṣiptaṁ varṇikāvṛddhim aśnute,  
uṣṇāśvāsābhiyoge 'pi māuktikaṁ mlānam iyate.

'Gold thrown into fire is improved in quality, but a pearl touched even by warm breath loses its lustre.'

5.117: sāmānyavaśanaṁ kṣāraśilākuttakakuttanāḥ  
dīpyate, devadūṣyaṁ tu naraśparṣena dūṣyate.

'Garments of average people are made to shine by pounding them with alkali stones; but the garments of the gods are defiled by the touch of man.'

5.153: kātārā api saṁgrāmāvartām āvartayanty aho,  
na śvasanty api nīsvānodvāmasāmrāṇiṇe raḇe.

<sup>4</sup> For rathamukṣā, see p. 301 and note 12<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> For trasa-rekhā, see p. 304.

'Behold, even cowards tell tales of battle; but they do not even breathe when battle resounds with its strident roar.'<sup>7a</sup>

The following are examples of proverbial expressions which accompany, *pari passu*, the set proverb stanzas, both constant elements of fiction:

- 1.44<sup>ed</sup>: vadanti prati putram hi pratyanikam na mātaraḥ,  
'Mothers do not contradict their sons.'  
3.44: mahānto hi jātu muñcanti nāucitīm,  
'Noble men do not neglect decorum.'  
5.57: sīnhipayas svarṇapātra evāvatiṣṭhate,  
'The milk of a lioness remains only in a golden vessel.'

This is supported in the gloss by a nīti-śloka which does not occur in Böhrlingk:

kṣīram śvānodare sīnhīdugdham asvarṇabhājane,  
niṣpuṣye śrī rasendro 'gnāu dharmaḥ tiṣṭhati nādhame.

'Milk does not remain in the belly of a dog; the milk of a lioness in a dish which is not gold; Fortune in him that has not accumulated a stock of merit; quicksilver in the fire; or religion in the vile.'

- 6.2: mahatām . . . spṛhāprāpti yugmajāte iva dhruvam,  
'Unfailingly desire and fulfilment, as tho they were twins, come to noble (pious) men.'

### *Appendix ii: Characteristic Jaina Words and Forms.*

Regarding the following, I do not guarantee that each item is exclusively Jaina. Each word or form occurs more or less habitually in Jaina literature, presumably mostly in literature composed in Guzerat. They are part of a larger collection of peculiarities, some of which may be gathered from the word-lists printed on pp. 220 ff. of my 'Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha' (Baltimore, 1919), and from the prefaces and introductions to the texts or translations of other Jaina fiction texts, such as Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*; Pradyumnācārya's *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*; the *Kathākośa*; Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*; Jinakīrti's *Pālagopālakathānakam*; the

<sup>7a</sup> *nivāna-udvāma-sāmrāṇi*: "characterised by uproar caused by emission (udvāma; not recorded in Lexx.) of shouts"??

Bharaṭakadvātrīṅśikā; the Pañcadāṇḍachattraprabandha, and others. A larger collection of such material will be found in the author's forthcoming paper, 'On some Aspects of Jaina Sanskrit', which will show that this language has retained a certain productivity not altogether dependent upon Prakritic or geographical and dialectal influences.

Śalibhadra's list may be fitly headed by a group of interjections which contain the elements re and ari (are), used mostly to address inferiors, in the sense of 'sirrah' or to express wonder:

kaṭare in 1.88; 2.58; 7.3, 'wonderful to narrate', glossed by āścaryabhūtam in 2.58; by āścaryārthe in 7.3. At 1.88 in parallelism with aho, and arire (see next). This word occurs also in Bhāvadevasūri's Pārśvanātha 3.492; 8.48, glossed, adbhutārtham avyayam, 'an indeclinable, expressing wonder'; in Hemacandrasūriprabandha, śloka 63 (Edition of the Prabhāvaka Carita, p. 300), kaṭare janānibhaktir uttamānām kaṣopalah, 'behold, devotion to one's mother is the touchstone of noble men.' In Kathākośa, in a stanza printed in Tawney's Translation, p. 234, in a note to p. 3, lines 25-28, kaṭare karma-lāghavam, 'strange to tell, my karma is light!' Pischel, *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, vol. i, p. 157 (anent 4.350), prints a doubtful and unexplained word kaṭari, which is the Apabhraṅśa form, and perhaps Prakrit form in general. Of this he cites a variant kūtare, in vol. ii, p. 187. This, presumably, is the same word. In the Apabhraṅśa Sanatkumāracaritam, elaborated by Jacobi, in the *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, München 1921, kaṭari occurs in stanza 777 by the side of vapuri and ari, in a sense similar to our word. In the Index, s. v. kaṭari, Jacobi also mentions kaṭa, and kata kaṭa, as occurring in the Nemināthacaritu (Nemināthacarita), of which his Sanatkumāra Edition is a part. The Apabhraṅśa vapuri is a combination of vapus, which even in the RV. means 'marvel', and ri. The meaning is again āścaryam.

arire, in connection with aho and kaṭare, also something like 'wonderful to tell'. The word is probably Jaina only, perhaps of Apabhraṅśa origin; see ari are, ari ari, ari ri, and arire in the Index to Sanatkumāracarita, Jacobi, l. c., Glossary, p. 106. Sanskrit lexicographers report arare and areare. Mallinātha Caritra 1.130, 264; 2.378 has are re.



The exclamation *ehi re yāhi re*, 'come here sirrah, go sirrah!', yields the pretty feminine adjective *ehireyāhirā* with *kriyā*, 'work', expressed or understood. Thus in 6.161, *ehireyāhirām cakruḥ*, 'they ordered about'; and in 7.7, *ehireyāhirākāri*, 'a great ordering about was caused'. In *Pārśvanātha* 6.82, *karoti bhavakūpe sminn ehireyāhirām kriyām*, 'he makes in the puddle of this existence a great ordering about (sc., a great stir, or a great pother)'. The gloss there is, *ehi re! yāhi re! yasyām kriyāyām sā ehireyāhirā, tām*. The word is listed in the *Gaṇa mayūravyaṅśakādi* (to *Pāṇini* 2.1.72), but is not quotable in non-Jaina Sanskrit literature. It may, therefore, have been taken by the Jains from Grammar. See below, p. 306 ff.

Other words that recur in Jaina writers are:

*niraṅgī*, 'veil', in *niraṅgī-channa-vadanāḥ*, 7.46, glossed *kāsumbhavastram, tena channanī ḍhaṅkitam vadanam yāsām tāḥ* (*ḍhaṅkitam*, not in *Lexs.*). This word occurs also in *Mallinātha Caritra* 3.68; *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 2.8, 149, 496; *Bharaṭakadvātrīṅśikā* 3; and in *Samarād.* 4.555. It is listed in *Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā* 2.20, 90; 4.31, in the forms *ṇiraṅgī* and *ṇiraṅgī* (glossed *nīraṅgikā*). Tawney, *Translation of Kathakośa*, p. xxiii, quotes *niraṅgī* as a *Prākṛit* word. In *Pārśvanātha*, 8.185, the word occurs in the feminine compound *kṛtaniraṅgikā*.

*śrīkarī*, 'palanquin', 5.118; 6.45; *Pārśvanātha* 6.514 (glossed, *sukhāsanam*); *Uttamacaritrakathānaka* 234.

*rora*, 'laborer, or 'beggar', in *rora-gr̥ha*, 1.91. *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* 8.72, 291, and *Mallinātha Caritra* 7.19 have the same word in the same sense. *Pārśvanātha* 8.221 has *rāurageha*, 'house of a laborer'. The form *rora* occurs also in the *Aghata* tale; see *Charlotte Krause, Prinz Aghata* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 148, note 2; 150, note 1; it there alternates with *raṅka*, 'beggar', which, according to Hertel, in his edition of *Bharaṭakadvātrīṅśikā*, p. 54<sup>b</sup>, is of *Gujarātī* origin. But the word occurs also outside that sphere. *Deśināmamālā* 7.11 has *rora*, along with *roghasa* and *romkapa*, all in the sense of *raṅka*. *Rora* in the same sense in *Dhanapāla's Pāyālacchī*, stanza 35, with many synonyms for 'poor'.

*maṣī-bheda*, in *maṣībhedaṃ akurvāṇaḥ*, 3.71. Glossed, *dānādī-cāuryam asatyam ca maṣībhedaḥ*. The expression *maṣībhedaṃ akurvāṇaḥ*, therefore, seems to mean, 'not making an infraction of good character'. The subject of *akurvāṇaḥ* is the pious

merchant Gobhadra, Śālibhadra's father, who is praised as a holy man in a Prākṛit śloka, reported above, p. 261. The statement there suits our word. In Pārśvanātha 6.410 there is a half-śloka, vināivādhyayanam siddhir lebhe māsaṭuṣādibhiḥ, where māsaṭuṣādibhiḥ is glossed by munivīśeṣāḥ, 'totally without study perfection (or, magic power) has been obtained by the Sages so designated'. There seems to be some connection between maṣibheda and māsaṭuṣādayaḥ, māsa being 'one who is of good character' (namely maṣi). The word tuṣa, in the same sense, is also unknown hitherto.

pheruṇḍa = pheraṇḍa, 6.95 (glossed by ṣṛgāla), Mallinātha Caritra 1.457, 'jackal'. So also Pārśvanātha 3.904, glossed the same way. Both forms in Lexs. Cf. phera, pheru, and pherava.

agañjita, 3.70, 'unterrified', also Pārśvanātha 6.376 (here glossed, abhīta). Dhātupāṭha has a root gañj, in the sense of garj, 'roar'.

maṇḍinī, 3.18, glossed nāuḥ, 'ship'. Also Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan 2.402; Mallinātha Caritra 2.337.

cheka, 3.21, 46, here glossed, chekā vidvāṇsaḥ, 'wise', 'cunning'. Also Paṛiśiṣṭaparvan 2.447; Siñhāsanadvātriṅśikā, pp. 295, 327 (Weber, Ind. Stud. xv).

ratha-kaṭyā, 2.16, glossed, rathānām samūhaḥ, 'mass of wagons'. Also cited in Böhtlingk's Lexicon from some Pārśvanāthacarita, 4.172, which is not by Bhāvadevasūri. Lexicographers and Grammarians have ratha-kaṭyā.

puṣpadantāu, dual, 3.119, glossed, divākaraniśākaraṁ, 'sun and moon'. Also Śātrunijayamāhātmya 14.225. Lexs. have puṣpavantāu in the same sense.

chaṭācchoṭa, 1.104; 4.89. The passages are as follows: 1.104, ānandāśrujalodgārāḥ chaṭācchoṭam kiramā iva; 4.89, hari-candana-kāsmira-chaṭācchoṭa-dharā dharā. The compound chaṭācchoṭa seems to mean 'mass', in 4.89 'the earth carrying a mass of sandal and saffron trees'; cf. Prākṛit chaḍā, 'mass', in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 109<sup>b</sup> (Skt. chaṭā). But in Pañcāṇḍachattraprabandha, p. 24, we have: makara-maccha-nakracakra-suṣumāra-gajaturagavṛṣabhākārapuccha-chaṭācchoṭakalitam niranidhim, which Weber (p. 65) translates, 'das meer, das durch die schwanzschläge von makara, fischen, krokodil-schaaren, delphinen, und von elephanten-, rossen-, stieren-ähnlichen gestalten aufgepeitscht ward'. Weber, p. 24,

note 112, cites Molesworth, *Mahratti Dictionary*; 'Mahratti and Gujarati chaṭāchoṭa, imitation of the sound of slashing or cutting rapidly a soft, yielding and rushing substance (as plantain-trees, hair, etc.)'. I find it impossible to harmonize the last statement with the use of the word in Śālibhadra.

jemana, 2.73, 'eating', in the combination, riṇṣaṇam (for riṇkhaṇam 'crawling') kramaṇam jemaṇam. Root jem also in Dharmaparikṣā (see Mironow, p. 8, note 10). See Hemacandra, IV, 110, 230; and Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, Vocabulary, s.vv. jimiya and jemei.

kad-āgraha, 'evil inclination', 1.43; Pārśvanātha 6.787.

caturthapuruṣārtha, 3.22; Mallinātha Caritra 3.208; Vasu-pūjya Carita 4.8 ff., 'fourth purpose of man', i. e., mokṣa, 'release'. The four puruṣārtha are: dharma, artha, kāma, and mokṣa. Śālibhadra 4.109 mentions a puruṣārtha-trayī, followed by the fourth, namely mokṣa. Mallinātha Caritra 2.232 puruṣārthas tṛtiyaḥ is a kenning for 'love'. Cf. Weber, *Die Griechen in Indien*, p. 30, for possible connection with Greek ideas.

akāṇakṛita-krayāṇaka, 4.7, glossed, dānacāuryarahitapaṇya<sup>8</sup>, 'dealing in properly acquired goods': kāṇaka-krayin, 'purchaser of stolen goods', Bhāvadēvasūri's Pārśvanātha Caritra 8.247. See Bloomfield, 'Life and Stories of the Jaina Savoir Pārśvanātha', pp. 217, 234; and, 'The Art of Stealing in Hindu Fiction', *American Journal of Philology* 44.105.

sarvārthasiddha (sc. mahāvīmāna), 'heaven of complete accomplishment': 7.139; Rāuhīṇeya Caritra 468; Mahāvira Carita 10.181.

The most important word nyūñchana, apparently exclusively Jaina, occurs twice in Śālibhadra, 1.42; 7.64. In the first passage the pious and proper shepherd boy Saṃgama asks his destitute mother to prepare for him a luxurious feast, quite beyond her means, and she replies, to wit:

mātā provāca he vatsa rūpanārāyaṇasya te,  
nijañilāvilāsasya bālakasya baliḥ kriye. 41.  
nyūñchanam tava netrāṇām bhāṣitasyāvatāraṇam,  
bhrāmye 'haṃ bhujayor jātamukhakasya mriye mriye. 42.

<sup>8</sup> From this it seems to follow that it was thought improper to sell things acquired by gift.



In 7.64 Bhadrā hears that her son Śalibhadra has gone to the Vāibhāra mountain to die by fast under a tree (pādapopagama), and she wails:

mriye mriye tavāsyasya nyuñchanam tava netrayoḥ,  
balih kriye ca te yāmi nirmamatve 'vatāraṇam.

The comm. glosses avatāraṇam with lokoktyā "avatarāṇam".

In Bhāvadevasūri's Pārśvanātha Caritra 6.1188 we have śironyuñchanaka, apparently in the sense of, 'some arrangement of the hair of the head':

prṣṭāu ca cakriṇā kiṁ bho ihāgamanakāraṇam,  
kevalam tāu dhunitaḥ sma śironyuñchanakam kila.

'And when the Emperor (Sanatkumāra) asked the two (gods, Vijaya and Vāijayanta): "Why, Sirs, have you come here?", they merely shook their. . . .'. This passage is wanting in the three versions of the Sanatkumāra conversion story, Kathākośa p. 35, middle; in the Māhārāṣṭri version, Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 21, l. 5; and in the Apabhraṁśa version from the Nemināthacariu, published by Jacobi in *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie*, 1921 (stanza 739, p. 58). The latter text, however, has the word niuñchanam in 777; see pp. 62, 128.

Rāuhiṇeya Caritra, stanza 122, describes the following ceremony which the mother of the thief Rāuhiṇeya undertakes in honor of his first theft:

nyuñchanāni vidhāyāsu pradīpaṁ saptavartibhiḥ,  
vidhāya tilakam mātā putrāyety āśiṣam dadāu.

The root uñch, 'gather', 'glean'; nir-uñchana, 'lustration', and proñch, 'wipe out', throw no light on nyuñchana.

In 4.133 occurs Naggati as the name of one of the four Pratyekabuddhas, famous both in Buddhist and Jaina literature. This 'back-formation' of Prākṛit Naggai seems to be a genuine and exclusive product of Jaina Sanskrit writers, for it is employed also by Lakṣmivallabha in his *Dīpikā* on the Naggai story in Devendra's commentary on Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, pp. 48 ff.). The proper noun Nagnajit occurs as early as Mahābhārata (3.15257; 5.1882; 7.120); its Pāli form is Naggaji, Kumbhakāra Jātaka (408). Almost one would think that the avoidance by the Jaina Sanskrit writers of the form nagnajit, 'conquering the naked', is to spare the feelings of the Digambaras, who might not like its implication. But

the form *Naggati* has no discernible association or meaning.

In *Śālibhadra* 5.11 the word *netra*, 'kind of a cloth', is glossed by *paṭṭakūlam*, which occurs in the text of *Rāuhipeya Caritra* 147, 176, 313; in *Bharaṭakadvātrīṃśikā* 3; and in 'Die Abenteuer Ambadas', by Charlotte Krause, *Indische Erzähler*, Band iv, p. 167. Hertel in his edition of *Bhar.*, p. 53<sup>b</sup>, derives the Sanskrit word from Old Gujarātī *paṭakula*, 'silk cloth', citing other forms from Hindu dialects.

The word *su-dhī*, 'teacher' (*śrīdharmakumārasudhiyaḥ*, 'spiritual teachers of Dh.') occurs at the head of the Editors' Introduction to *Śālibhadra*. It is quoted otherwise only from the *Kośas*, except that it is found in *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 2, where Tawney reads with some mss. *svadhiyaḥ*.

The 'root' *vidhyāi*, 'to go out', 'be extinguished', a Sanskrit back-formation of Pāli-Prākṛit *vijjhāi* (itself from Sk. *vi-kṣāi* 'burn out') is common, eclectically, in some Jaina Sanskrit texts, and totally wanting in others. See my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', pp. 220 ff.\* It does not occur in the text of *Śālibhadra*, which has opportunity to use it (*nirvāpaya*-, 'extinguish', in 3.82; 4.26; 7.113); but the gloss at 6.176 knows the word: *jvalatkāṣṭham nireṇa vidhāpyate* (I for *vidhyāpyate*), 'a burning log is extinguished by water'.

Of grammatical peculiarities which *Śālibhadra* shares with other Jaina texts the most noteworthy is the desiderative participle *cikīḥ* 1.28; 4.113; 5.137 (glossed, *cikīrṣati*), 'desiring to perform', all times at the end of a compound. The word occurs also *Pārśvanātha* 8. 25 (glossed, *kartum icchuḥ*); *Parīṣṭaparvan* 7. 90; 8. 453; *Mallinātha Caritra* 3. 116, 117; *Jinakīrti's* *Pālagopālakathānaka* 123, 124, 177; *Merutuṅga*, *Nabhākarāja Carita* 7. 60; 22. 22; *Uttamacaritrakathānaka*, 1. 98; and in the tale of *Aghata*, elaborated by Charlotte Krause, *Prinz Aghata* (Leipzig, 1922), verse 204; cf. p. 148, note 2. The form is reported by *Vopadeva*, but is not quotable from any Brahmanical text (cf. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* 4392<sup>d</sup>); there is, at present, no way of deciding whether or not the Jains took and popularized the word from grammar merely.<sup>††</sup>

\* Add. *vidhyāpayitum* 'to extinguish', *Mallinātha Caritra* 7.390.

†† *Mallinātha Caritra*, 1.303, has *cikīrṣu*.

Śālibhadra 6.25; Mallinātha Caritra 7. 34, 917; and Pariśiṣṭaparvan 1.153 have the secondary pronominal adjective yāuṣmākina, 'your', otherwise reported only by grammarians and lexicographers; Mallinātha 7. 677 has the corresponding āsmākina (Pāṇini); cf. māmākina and tāvakina, Mallinātha 7. 124. Mākina occurs a single time in RV. Śālibhadra 5.1 has idamīya, 'pertaining to him' (glossed, asyāyam), patterned after tadiya, etc., whereas Pārśvanātha 3.465 abandons tvadiya in favor of tvatya, glossed tvadiya (see Whitney, 1245<sup>b</sup>). Cf. kvatya, 'whence', in Mahāvīra Carita 11.43 (also Pāṇini). The Prakritism imāḥ for ebhiḥ occurs somewhere in Pariśiṣṭaparvan; in Pārśvanātha 1.805; 6.767; 7.398; and in Samarādityasaṃkṣepa 4.508, 619; 6.385; 8.520. It may be presumed that other analogical or Prākritic pronominal forms will turn up in Jaina Sanskrit.

In Śālibhadra 5.102 the duplication bhogā-bhoga is Pāli-Prākritic; see my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 223. For the perifrastic perfect participle sambhāvayāmāśivān 5. 167, see *ib.* pp. 237 ff., where are cited parallels from Pārśvanātha and Samarādityasaṃkṣepa. In Mallinātha Caritra 7.993, occurs the fem. kathayāmāsuḥ. The imperfect third plural āiyaruḥ, 1.52; 4.4, is supported by the grammarians, but is not otherwise quotable; cf. the present third plural iyrati in Pārśvanātha, Pariśiṣṭaparvan; see *ib.*, p. 237, and add Mallinātha Caritra 8. 63. Finally, the expression, with mixed syntax, yūyam abhūvan, 5.157, for bhavantyo 'bhūvan, is paralleled by tvam abhūt, for bhavān abhūt in Pañcadaṇḍachattraprabandha, p. 26, l. 9. In Śālibhadra 5.69 the expression, mātā mā tad vilambadhvam, 'Mother, do not therefore delay!', is based upon the same unconscious blend between mātā and the polite plural bhavatyāḥ.

### Appendix iii: New words not in the Lexicons.

Considering that the Śālibhadra Carita is a small text it shows a rather surprising number of new words, aside from an even larger number which it shares with native lexicons and grammars; see below, pp. 306ff. They are not all of them of equal importance; some are morphological variants of familiar words; some pertain to Jaina dogmatics; and some are more or less obscure in meaning. Collectively they seem, however, to show, along with the considerable list of new words in Bhāvadēvasūri's Pārśvanātha



Caritra<sup>11</sup>, that the springs of Jainistic language have by no means run dry since the days of Hemacandra. The following list contains more than 100 more or less novel items of varying degrees of interest or originality:

1.29: maraṭṭa in the following śloka:

satimārjanam cakārāryā harmyāṇām karmaṇām iva  
gharaṭṭāir dalayāmāsa maraṭṭāir vipadām iva.

Here the word maraṭṭāiḥ, glossed ahamkāraiḥ prakarṣāir vā, is not in the Lexs. 'The noble lady scrubbed houses, as one wipes off the effect of deeds (done in a previous existence); with grindstones, she rubbed off....'

1.36: kuksi-sambalin, glossed, pātheyam, 'one whose (only) provisions are in his belly', that is, 'one who takes no provisions with him'.

1.52: āveśin, in āveśinyas tayā śucā, 'affected' (by this grief). Gloss, tena śokena... vyākulāḥ.

1.57: iṣṭikāpākamūṣikā in the following śloka:

ājanmaduḥkhadagdhām mām vidagdha api mugdhavat |  
tāpaṁ kiṁ prchata<sup>12</sup> svacchā iṣṭikāpākamūṣikām ||

'Why do ye tho ye are wise, foolish-like, plainly ask me, who have been afflicted (burned) by misfortune from the time of my birth, about my grief (fire), me who am (like) a mouse baked into a brick?' This translation of iṣṭikāpākamūṣikā is, of course, conjectural, my idea being, 'why do you ask a mouse baked into a brick whether it is hot?' Note that the verse is redolent of words for heat.

1.70: varārakṣas, sc. sneham, glossed, pradhānato rakṣaṇam yasya tam sneham (pradhānarakṣaṇīyam). The word seems to mean, 'exercising especial care'.

1.82: samtoṣa-dṛk, in samtoṣa-dṛg-bhaya, glossed, dṛṣṭi-laganabhaya, seems to be eufemism for 'envious look', in the nature of 'evil eye'. Cf. Crooke, *Popular Magic and Folklore in Northern India*, pp. 181 ff., especially p. 191 (to avoid 'fascination' while a particularly good dinner is eaten). In our text Dhanyā leaves Saṁgama who is eating the feast prepared by herself, samtoṣadṛgbhayāt 'because she fears that her look may 'fascinate'.'

<sup>11</sup> See my 'Life of Pīrīvanātha', pp. 224 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Read prchatha.

1.101: kalyāṇatā, 'happiness'. With double entente, 'golden character'.

1.103: vigaḥad-vasu, bahuvrīhi adjective, 'of vanishing wealth', 'poor'. Cf. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1299<sup>b</sup>.

1.107: aparama, 'bereft of fortune', explained as derived from apa and ramā, 'fortune', apagatā ramā yasmāt, but really to be taken as a-parama 'he who has no superior'.

1.110: pragṛhita, in pragṛhītābhīdhān bhikṣām...ṣaṣṭhīm 'designation of a certain form of alms'. Seven technical bhikṣās, of which this is the sixth, are listed by the comm. in a Prākṛit śloka, the sixth being paggaḥiyā, which is explained in Sanskrit, to wit: bhojanārthaṁ karopāttabhojyamadhyād dātum iṣṭā. In the Prākṛit śloka read uddhaḍā for uddhaḍā.

1.126: gajapaṭi, glossed, deśāntariyaṁ vastram=gajavaḍḍh (Prākṛit), 'imported garment'. Cf. paṭi.

1.127: jāti-saṁsmāra=jāti-saṁsmaraṇa, 'remembrance of former birth'.

1.146: tallikā, 'pool', in puṇyāmbhastallikā, 'pool of the water of virtue'; 5.47, āyallakāmbhastallikā, 'pool of the water of longing'. The latter passage is glossed: āyallako raṇaraṇaka utkaṭhā (read utkaṭā) sāivāmbhas tasya taṭākikā. Here the word āyallaka is quotable only from the Lexs. The word taṭākikā is not in the Lexs.; it glosses tallikā also at 1.146; and at 5.142, puṇyāmbhastallikā, 'pool of the water of virtue'. In 7.13, vātsalyāmtatallikā, 'pool of the ambrosia of kindness', the word tallikā occurs once more without gloss. For taṭākikā (otherwise unquoted) cf. the words taṭāka and taṭākinī, 'pool', 'pond'. Cf. also taḍāka, and taḍāga.

1.154: kadannakam=kadanna, 'wretched food', with pejorative syllable at the beginning and at the end.

2.3: lakṣa-dīpaka, glossed, lakṣayojanāni yāvad dīpakah, 'shining to a distance of a lakh (of yojanas)'.

2.5: sapta-varṣa, 'holding seven countries', epithet of Jambūdvīpa. Gloss, atra varṣaśabdah kṣetravācī. The countries are enumerated: bharata, hāimavata, harivarṣa, videha, ram-yaka, āiranyavata (read, hāiranyavata), āirāvata (Lexs. only, āirāvata). See Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra 3.10 (ZDMG 50. 313).

2.7: pāre'bdhi, compound adverb, glossed, abdhēḥ pāram.... avyayibhāvaḥ, 'on the other shore of the ocean (an indeclinable)'.

2.23: *netra*, glossed *tadākhyo vṛkṣaḥ*, 'name of a tree' (growing about hermitages).

2.26: *śreṇi*, 'supports of a king', glossed, *rājñām āsthāna-śreṇayo 'ṣṭādaśa*. The eighteen are listed as follows: *malla*, *āpta*, *hita*, *snigdha*, *mantrin*, *amātya*, *mahattama*, *buddhisakha*, *ubhayasakha*, *āmnāyika*, *sāṅgrāmika*, *deśiyapuruṣa*, *mānapuruṣa*, *dhanyapuruṣa*, *kāmapuruṣa*, *viññānapuruṣa*, *rājapuruṣa*, *vinodapātrāṇi*. The majority of these are not in the Lexs. Cf. the *ratnāni* ('jewels') of a king.

2.27: *puṣkarāvarta* = *vartaka*, glossed, *śreṣṭho meghaḥ*, 'superior kind of cloud'.

2.29: *bhṛāmara-dhyāna*, 'a kind of pious contemplation'. Glossed, *vītarāgaṃ yato dhyāyan vītarāgo bhaved bhavi, ilakā bhramarībhūtā bhṛamaridhyānato yathā* (śloka).

2.73: *ilopanayana*, and *vatsaragranthibandhana*, 'sacramental practices during early childhood'.

2.77: *kanaka-ghurghurāḥ*, glossed, *suvarṇa-ghurghurāḥ*, 'golden anklets'.

2.78: *keli-dolā*, 'pleasure-swing'.

2.79: *balakṣapakṣapakṣin*, glossed *rājahaṃsa*, 'bright-winged bird', kenning for 'royal haṃsa'.

2.92: *prabhā*, glossed, *prakṛṣṭaṃ bhayaṃ yasyāḥ sā* (qualifying *prabhā*, 'lustre'), 'dangerous'.

2.128: *kāyavattara*, glossed *prakṛṣṭadeha*, 'of beautiful body'.

2.134: *nāri-kuñjaratā*, 'condition of being elephant among women'. See lexs. s. v. *nāri-kuñjara*. In *Pañcadaṇḍachatraprabandha*, p. 28 (cf. 67), the word occurs in a different but obscure meaning.

2.135: *dhoṅkāra*, 'sound of a drum' = *dhāum-kāra*, *Mallinātha Caritra* 4.165.

2.136: *jhāṅkāra*, 'sound of a lute'. Cf. *jhāṅkāra* (*Prākṛit jhāṅkāra*).

3.5: *kṛṣṇacitraka*, glossed *kālī cintāmaṇiḥ*, 'black wish-jewel'. Previously, *kṛṣṇaḥ citrakāḥ*, in the same sense, 1.85. The word occurs also in the expression *kṛṣṇacitrakakuṇḍalikā*, for which see note 5 to p. 173 of Tawney's *Translation of Prabandhacintāmaṇi*.

3.13: *apa-taru*, glossed *nirvṛkṣa*, 'tree-less', qualifying *maru*, 'desert'.



3.13: *daśabhid*, in the passage: *samsāre... dharmo daśa-bhidā bhinnah kila kalpadrumāyate*. Glossed, *kṣāntyādinā* (sc. *daśabhidā*). Perhaps, 'In the *samsāra*... religion, unfolded by the ten-fold unfolders, verily acts as the heavenly wish-tree'. The 'ten-fold unfolders' may be ten forms of ascetic practice (*kṣānty-ādi*); see *Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* 9.6, where the ten restraints are listed: *kṣamā*, *mārdava*, etc. In *Malinātha Caritra* 3.229 the abstract *daśabheda*.

3.14: *pākṣikatva*, from *pākṣika*, in *śukla-pākṣikatva*, 'act of taking the part of pure (religion)', relating to the antithesis between *śukla-dhyāna* and *rāudra-dhyāna*. Cf. *Umāsvāti* 9.29, 36.

3.29: *ratham-ukṣā* (stem *ratham-ukṣan*) 'dray-steer', in the clause, *rathamukṣā na gaur yathā*, 'as the (male) dray-ox is not like the (female) cow'. It is not possible to construe *ratham* as an independent accusative. See the entire proverbial passage, p. 288.<sup>124</sup>

3.30, 51: *kulābhāra* 'upholding the family'. Cf. *kulāmbhara*.

3.34: *avahīlanā*, 'contempt'. Perhaps a *Prākṛiti*ism = Skt. *avadhīraṇā*. See p. 288.

3.45: *tribhuvani-* in *tribhuvani-sāra* (v.l. *trijagati-sāra*) 'essence of the three worlds'; 4.127: *tribhuvani-nātha*, 'Lord of the three worlds'. Ordinarily *tribhuvana-*. The form *-bhuvani-*, only in composition.

3.55: *grhā-vāsa*, metrical for *grha-vāsa* 'householdership'.

3.66: *pañca-mahāvratī*, 'group of five great vows'. Ordinarily, *mahāvratā*.

3.80: *trāyastriṃśa*, 'designation of aids of Indra'. See *Umāsvāti*, 4.4. Cf. *trāyodaśa*, 'relating to 13'.

3.87: *hṛdyaka* = *hṛdya*, 'charm', or 'delightful gift'.

3.98: *ākṛṣṭi-vidyā*, 'magic charm by which one brings to one's presence'. Cf. *ākṛṣṭi* in *Bhāvadēvasūri's Pārsvanātha-caritra* 1.576; and *ākṛṣṭi-mantra* in *Lexs*. An *ākṛṣṭi-mantra* is given in full, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 612 (ll. 16 ff.); the practice of *ākṛṣṭi* is described in *Yasodharacaritra*; see Hertel, *Jinakīrti's Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla*, pp. 142, 143.

<sup>124</sup> But perhaps *ratham* is a nom.; with anomalous gender: "the ox is the vehicle, not the cow" (cf. pāda b, "the he-elephant is the *herd*, not the she-elephant").—F. E.

3.125; 4.142: śvasanī-sarpa, glossed (in 4.142), sarpaviśeṣaḥ, 'serpent that kills by breath'. Lexs. only śvasana. In Divyāvadāna, p. 105 middle, occur four kinds of serpents, one of them the present kind, śvāsa-viṣa, 'whose breath is poison.'

3.148 (bis): marud-baka, glossed, yathā marāu bakāḥ sidati, 'heron in the wilderness'. See my paper, 'The Fable of the Crow and the Palm-Tree', *AJPh.* 40. 10.

4.9: baladhūlī, 'dust thrown up by an army, or by force', i. e., 'thick dust'. The śloka reads, samrāt (read °rāj) deveṣu bhūpāla nepālo yatra bhūbhujām, śiraḥsu baladhūliva gandhadhūlyādhirohati. Here the word gandhadhūlī, 'musk', is reported only in Lexs. and the word baladhūlī is uncertain.

4.15: ūrṇāyu-varṇikā, 'woolen texture'. See ūrṇāyu, 'woolig' (Böhtlingk), and 'woolen blanket' (quoted from Lexs. in Mon. Will., Appendix); and varṇakā (s. v. varṇaka), 'woolen cloth' (quoted from Lexs.). Cf. ūrṇāyu-varga in 4.32.

4.30: vīra-kṛaya, glossed, yathākathitamūlya, 'originally stated price'.

4.32: dhātuka-rūpa, unexplained in the following two yugma stanzas: pūrṇam ūrṇāyuvargeṇa śītabhītārtirakṣaṇāiḥ, kṛtvā ca dhātukarūpaṁ devārcāsu yad arjitam; tenāgaṇyena puṇyena svajātau prāpya ratnatām, kambalaḥ śālikāntānām anhrisevām ivāsadan. Seems to refer to some ascetic practice.

4.44: pārighraṇika, 'pertaining to a retinue' in mantripārighraṇikavigraha, 'intestine strife'.

4.62: vāhā-vṛṣabha, 'draught-bull'. Metrical for vāhā°.

4.63: dipālaya = dipālī, 'name of a lamp festival'; see Hertel's Translation of Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, vol. i, p. 97, note 3.

4.69: pratyāṅgiramahāmantramandaloddhārakarman, 'some tantric practice'. For pratyāṅgiras rites see Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Brahmana*, pp. 8, 66, 68.

4.109: tritaya, 'three-fold', in bhūmi tritayī, 'threefold earth'.

4.120: avagāhīnī, fem., 'immersing itself', 'entering'.

4.125: paribhoga, metrical for parī°, 'enjoyment'.

4.131: indra, brachylogy for indraketu, or indradhvaja, 'Indra's banner'; see p. 275 and cf. Charpentier, *Paccekabuddhageschichten*, p. 43.

4.143: yugmin. The Pet. Lexs. have, 'von unbestimmter Bedeutung', Śatruṃjayamāhātmya 3.4. The passage here reads: pitāśya . . . . divyabhogaśriyaṁ datte kalpadrur iva yugminām,

'His father bestows upon him the bliss of divine enjoyment as the wish-tree (gives happiness) to Yugmins'. The word occurs a second time, 6.185, to wit, *atisnigdham jaganmāitryā manah kim yugmikālavat?* 'Why is their mind exceedingly tender with kindness to the world as in the time of the Yugmins?'

4.149: *saṃvāhanā* (*caturvidhā*), glossed *asthi-māṃsa-tvag-roma-bhedāiś caturdhā*, 'fourfold shampoo'. Lexs. have only neut. *saṃvāhanam*.

4.157: *sormika*, 'having waves'.

4.165: *tala-haṭi*, as gloss to *adhityakā*, 'table-land'. Lexs. have neither *tala-haṭi*, nor *haṭi*.

4.170: *dhūma-pāka*, 'smoked food'.

4.170: *dvipākima*, glossed, *vahnīsūryātapapācita*, 'zwieback'.

4.173: *pāṇau-kṛta*, glossed, *vivāhita*, 'married'. Lexs. have *pāṇau-karaṇa*. Cf. *pāṇi-grhīti*, *Pārśvanātha Caritra* 1.570, and *°grhīti* in *Kośas*.

5.3: *gandha-sindhura* = *gandhagaja*, 'scent-elephant' (elephant during rut).

5.17: *kekikekāyita*: *kekāya*, 'cry *kekā*', as a peacock.

5.22: *vinayāgastyadakṣiṇā*, glossed, *vinaya eva agastyaś tasya nivāsāya dakṣiṇadiksamānā*, 'a kind of reverence'.

5.66: *ādi-potriṇi*, glossed, *ādi-varāhi*, 'primordial she-boar'.

5.79: *sapta-kṣetṛi*, in *sapta-kṣetṛi-niveśana*, 'act of placing into the seven fields'. Cf. *sapta-kṣetṛi* in 6.37 (*saptāṅgūḥ saptakṣetṛim*). According to Hertel, Translation of Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara*, vol. i, p. 207, note 2, the seven fields are: the Monks and the Nuns; the male and female lay-disciples; the temples; the ikons of the Jinās; and the libraries of the Monks; see also vol. i, p. 232; vol. ii, p. 105, 290, and the same author's Translation of Jinakīrti's *Ratnacūḍa*, p. 168 (*Indische Märchenromane I*). The word occurs also in *Mallinātha Caritra* 2.658.

5.84: *śrī-kalyāṇācala*, glossed *meruparvata*, 'Mount Meru'. Cf. the mountain *Śrī*, mentioned frequently in Jaina literature; e. g. *Bhāvadevasūri's Pārśvanāthacaritra* 3.120, 124; *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Tawney's Translation, p. 10.

5.88: *jagatī-dṛś*, glossed *jagan-netra*, 'eye of the world' (sun, moon, etc.).

5.91: *Gāubhadri*, patronymic of *Gobhadra*. Neither in



Lexs. Gobhadra, however, is mentioned in Kathākośa, pp. 82, 83 of Tawney's Translation.

5.92: arvācina-tā, glossed, ihalokāpekṣā, 'interest of the present or terrestrial world'.

5.94: kubja, glossed, ṛṇa-kuṭiraka, 'grass hut'.

5.97: taptāyogola-kalpa, 'age of the heated fire-ball', 'present age'.

5.103: uddhuṣita, glossed, dagdha, 'kindled'. Root dhuṣ, otherwise only in composition with sam.

5.105: trasa-rekhā, 'floating line in jewels', in the expression, trasarekheva ratneṣu mahāmahimahānaye, 'as a floating line in a jewel, calculated to diminish worth'. See p. 289.

5.109: susthitaka-prāya, 'for the most part unshaken', but with pun on 'some brilliant headgear worn by a king', parallel to kalyāṇa-māuli (glossed, suvarṇamukuta). susthitaka is glossed by Prākṛit sūthiyā, lokabhāṣāyām iḍhuṇi, quotable neither from Hemacandra, nor Pischel's Index. The passage reads: kalyāṇamāulau śrīvīrasvāmyādeṣe śiraḥsthite, katham susthitakaprāyaṁ rājate rājaśāsanam. The susthitaka is, apparently, a headdress inferior to the diadem (māuli).

5.120: sakala-devāḥ, glossed svayambhūdevatānām, saprabhavanām vā, 'superior gods'. Mallinātha Caritra 7.574 has devatā sakalā.

5.131: phālikā, in, katham . . . karpūraphālikābhir prāsādaśikharaṁ bhavet, perhaps, 'how can the crest of a palace be made out of slabs of camfor?' phālikā seems to be a vṛddhi-derivative from phalaka.

5.134: vijigāṣu, 'desiring to immerse one's self'.

5.138: devadantin, glossed āirāvaṇa, 'Indra's elephant'. In Lexs. said to be Śiva (erroneously).

5.150: tuṇḍa-tāṇḍava, glossed, mukhanṭyam, 'mouth-dance', i. e., 'vain talk'.

5.153: udvāma, perhaps "emission"? In the cpd. nīsvānodvāmasāmrāviṇe; see p. 289 above. The gloss renders nīsvānodvāma- by ravād bhayānake.

6.11: nāsīravīratā, 'position of a hero in the van of an army'.

6.22: vy-amrākṣit, from vi + mṛś, glossed, preṣayāmāsa, 'dismissed'.

6.41: maṇi-maya, metrical for maṇi- 'jeweled'. maṇi is quoted as an independent stem, Ādiśvara Caritra, 2.22: see

Suali, 'L'Ādiśvaracaritram', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, vol. 7, p. 6.

6.50: laṅkha, glossed vaṅśāgrādinṛtyādikārin. Seems to mean, 'some kind of acrobat or dancer'. In the dvandva compound laṅkha-maṅkha-vidūṣakān, the two last members of which are glossed respectively, maṅkhāś citraphalakahastāḥ, and vidūṣakā ūmakadūcakādīvācakāḥ (kad-ūcaka = kad-vada, not in Lexs.).

6.64: adevadru, 'without devadāru trees'. Neither devadru nor adevadru in the Lexs.

6.79: lūkā, glossed lokoktyā 'lū'. The śloka reads: yatra dehe nṛpaśvāsāḥ śūcisūcā prapañcitā (gloss, śūcikalpanā kathitā), lūkā jhalajhalā tatra malayānilatām gatā. Once more lūkā in 7.142: vyāmohena mahāhīmena mathitarāṃ no māyayā lūkayā kopena prabalātapena na madāi rogābhiyogāir iva. This lūkā with its colloquial lū seems to run parallel to yūka and yū 'louse'. The word is evidently pejorative, but I do not venture to guess its meaning.

6.81: kiṭṭita-lohatā, glossed kiṭalohatā, would seem to mean, 'red color of some insect'. Or, is kiṭṭita denominal participle from kiṭṭa 'rust', so that the compound means 'rusty color'? In antithesis with gāurikatā, 'color of white mustard.'

6.82: kāntalohapātra, glossed kāntilohabhājanam, kān tilohabhājano 'gnitāpena dugdham utphaṇatīti lokoktiḥ (utphaṇ, not in Lexs.). The Lexs. have kāntalāuha = lohakānta 'magnetic iron'.

6.85: vāiśvānara-rathyā, glossed agnisamānamārga, 'a particular division of the moon's path' = vāiśvānara-patha.

6.89: dhūpanī, fem., ordinarily dhūpana, neut., 'exhalation'.

6.95: uttuṇḍa, glossed utpāṭitamukha, 'with open snout', (said of jackals).

6.103: bhadra, mahābhadra, sarvatobhadra, yavamadhyā, and vajramadhyā, 'certain kinds of Jaina ikons'. Gloss: etāḥ sarvāḥ pratimāviśeṣāḥ.

6.116, 141: trilokitilaka, 'ornament of the three worlds'.

6.137: kīradāru, glossed, kīrakāṣṭha, 'designation of a tree'.

6.155: dvādaśābdiya, glossed, dvādaśābdānām samāhārah, abdāni varṣāṇi, 'period of twelve years'.

6.156: manorathika, 'springing from desire'

6.158: savana-pīṭha, glossed, snāna-pīṭha, 'bath-stool'. The latter word in this sense 4.151. Neither compound in the Lexs.

6.194: abdhijalamānuṣī, glossed jalavāsini strī, 'mermaid'.

6.205: iryāpāthiki = āiryā°, q.v.

7.18: vi-sādhaya-, 'achieve'.

7.26: alpa-kālina, in antithesis with śāśvata, 'of short duration'.

7.32: rādhā-vedhas, neuter, 'act of shooting so as to hit the aim'; cf. -vedhin, and -bhedin. See Merutuṅga's Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 45, 77 of Tawney's Translation. According to Leumann in a note to p. 45 of Tawney's work, Rādhā is a puppet (Prākṛit puttaliyā), painted into the middle of a butt, as a mark to shoot at. He who hits it is a rādhā-vedhin. On p. 45 the word Rādhā is inverted into Dhārā, the name of a courtesan.

7.33: netra-paṭṭa, glossed, deśāntarāyātavastraviśeṣam, 'imported garment'.

7.36: pañcāṅgirakṣaṇa, glossed, sādhuḥkṛtyā, 'paṇḍitahikarī', 'some Jain practice'; in juxtaposition with pañcanamaskāra, 'reverence to the Arhats, etc.'

7.38: pādapopagama = pādapopagamana (nāmānaśanam), 'death by fast under a tree'.

7.60: korita, as gloss to utkīrṇa, 'heaped'. Dhātupāṭha has a root kur 'utter a sound', which does not suit.

7.94: vāsi-candana-kalpa, describing an advanced ascetic, 'he to whom the (burning) sword and the (cooling) sandal are all the same'. This word occur in Buddhist Sanskrit. See the author, *JAOS* 40. 339 ff. The antithesis between sandal and sword occurs also in Prabandha-cintāmaṇi; see p. 92 of Tawney's Translation; and cf. Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* 4882.

7.118: cūlā = cūḍā, 'crest'.

*Appendix iv: Words quoted only in Lexicons or Grammars, or quoted in their present meaning only in the same class of texts.*

The Śālibhadra Carita, in common with many other Jaina texts, uses many words and expressions which are recorded hitherto only in the native Lexicons and Grammars. Beginning with the great and prolific Hemacandra, the Jains were ardent students of filology. In the Mallavādī Prabandha, the scarcely



less famous Haribhadrāsūri says of himself that his belly is so full of learning (śāstrapūrāt) as to threaten to burst, and that he is, therefore, tying it with a golden band. If he should happen not to understand the sense of a single word spoken by any one, he vows to become his pupil. See Candraprabhasūri's *Prabhāvaka Carita*, pp. 104 bottom; 105 top. The same, or similar, statements appear in Māṇikyasūri's *Yaśodhara Carita*, and in a *Paṭṭāvalī*, extracted in Weber's *Handschriftenverzeichnis*, ii. 3, p. 1034 (nr. 1989); see Hertel, *Jinakīrti's Geschichte von Pāla und Gopāla*, pp. 142, 144<sup>11</sup>. The monk Śobhana<sup>12</sup> studies for twelve years not only Grammars, Lexicons, and Poetics, but also other sciences, in the 138th story of Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara* (Hertel's Translation, vol. ii, p. 81).<sup>13</sup> Inasmuch, therefore, as Jaina texts are all relatively late, it does not follow that words which occur in them, and only *Kośa* and *Vyākaraṇa* texts besides, are any more 'quotable' than the grammatical forms of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. Thus *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍalaka*), cited widely by Lexicographers in the sense of 'dog', occurs in that sense in *Pārsvanātha* 3.1104; *Dharmaparīkṣā* 2.36; 4.74 (Mironow, p. 8), but we may not, therefore alone, assume that the word is really Sanskrit<sup>14</sup>. Nay, even if the word in that sense should ultimately turn up in 'Classical' Sanskrit literature, we should not be certain that the Jaina authors actually knew it as such: it would still be possible, or rather likely, that their knowledge of it is derived solely from the *Kośas*. The same caution should attend our judgment of many Jaina words. Thus, e.g., *ajākrpaṇīya*, *Śālibhadra* 5.125; Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara*, story 19 (Hertel's Translation, vol. i, p. 54), in the sense of 'unexpected untoward happening'. This Pāṇinian word, as yet unquoted in Sanskrit literature proper, is the precise opposite

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, 2. 329.

<sup>12</sup> For Śobhana see Tawney, Translation of *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 62. Cf. Winternitz, l. c., p. 341.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the droll story in *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 39, where an entire family, down to the wretched one-eyed maid-servant, is clever enough to fill in stanzas partly recited before them (*samasyā*, *dodhaka*, or *gūḍha-caturthaka*). That was, doubtless, a Jaina family.

<sup>14</sup> This word is also *Prākṛit*, but that does not explain its origin, nor is it likely that the Sanskrit writers have borrowed it from that source: see Zachariae, *Beiträge zur Indischen Lexicographie*, p. 66.

of *kākatāliya*, 'unexpected favorable happening', which is very common in Sanskrit; see the author, *AJPh* 40. 11 ff. The *ajākṛpaṇiya* refers to a well-known apolog, and is probably good Sanskrit, the Jaina writers seem to derive it from Pāṇini, and not from any literary source hitherto unrevealed.

Quite certainly Pradyumnasūri, the learned, elegant, and fecund author or redactor of the present Śālibhadra Carita, does derive part of his verbal inspiration directly from the Grammarians. Thus we have stanzas 5.44, 45:

tad ahaṁ sāsahīḥ kaṣṭhaṁ vārahīr bhāraṁ āhitam,  
cācalis tava nirdeśāir apakīrtāu na pāpatih;  
bhūjiṣyas te yatiṣye 'haṁ sarvārthaprāptaye tathā,  
labdhvā<sup>17</sup> yathāham indratvaṁ gosvāmi na vyathiṣyate.

The Body speaks to the Mind: 'Then I (the Body), bravely enduring hardships, stoutly bearing the burden imposed upon me, swift to obey thy orders, not plunging into disrepute—may I, as thy (Mind's) servant, thus strive to fulfil thy every intention, so that thou, my Master, after having obtained control, shalt not fail of thy purpose'. The four italicized reduplicated adjectives (participles) appear in the same order in Pāṇini 5.2.38. It does not matter that three of them (all but *pāpati*) are from Rig-Vedic times, whereas *pāpati* is cited only by Grammarians; our author obviously derived them from Pāṇini, and their individual chronology is negligible, in so far as our author's diction is concerned.

Once more, at Śālibhadra 4.50, occur three adjectives in -āyya in the following śloka:

śrīnikāyya<sup>18</sup> prajāyya<sup>19</sup> 'pi kambalaḥ prājya<sup>20</sup>prājyabhūḥ<sup>21</sup>  
prasahya mahyam ānāyya sapradarpaṁ samarpyatām.

The passage is spoken by Queen Cellapā to King Śreṇika: 'O (king), dwelling-house of Fortune! bring here by force, and proudly give me the shawl which, tho it be (intrinsically) worthless, confers great honor!' The theme of the command of the queen is a shawl of magic power. The three italicized words above are all from Pāṇini 3.1.138; our author's use of them throws not

<sup>17</sup> Text, erroneously, *labdhā*.

<sup>18</sup> Glossed, *lakṣmīgrha*.

<sup>19</sup> Glossed, *asaṁmata*.

<sup>20</sup> Glossed, *bahumānakāraṇam*.

the least light on their standing in literature. They may, or they may not, be mere fictions of grammar, as far as Pradyumnasūri's testimony goes.

Less stringent, yet quite convincing, is the alliterating use of the words āśvina and adyaśvina in 5.46.

dehavāhamanaḥśādisāṅgatyam avagamya tat,  
sa mene bhavam āśvinam adyaśvinam jayotsavam.

'Having understood this connection of the Mind seated in the vehicle of the Body, (Śālibhadra) regarded existence as a victorious race, run by a horse in one day (āśvina)<sup>21</sup>, coming to an end to-day or to-morrow (adyaśvina)<sup>22</sup>. The two glossed words are cited respectively in Pāṇini 5.2.19 and 5.2.13; there is scarcely a chance that our author knew them from literature or any source of information other than that of the Grammarians.

The two curious compounded gerunds, kape-hatya and mango-hatya<sup>23</sup> occur in 5.26 and 6.165 respectively in the sense of 'being sated or satisfied' (glossed, *tr̥pti-paryantam*, and *tr̥pti-sūcakam*). Pāṇini treats these anomalous verbal prefixes (*gati*) in 1.4.66, 3.1.6. I take it unquestioningly that Pradyumnasūri has derived them from grammar, and not from any other source.

'The Grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted without any other addition than that of an *a* into a present stem' (Whitney, *Skt. Gramm.* 1054). Such forms occur scatteringly thru the language, and Jaina writers seem to favor them. Thus our text, 1.118, has *suvarṇati*, 'to be worth gold', glossed, *suvarṇāyate* (neither in the Lexs.); 6.95, *kāntāsaṅgītanti*, glossed, *kāntāsaṅgītam ivācaranti*, 'they practice the song of female loves'. The word is used of the howl of open-mouthed she-jackals (*uttuṇḍacandapheraṇḍāḥ*, glossed, *utpāṭitamukhavac candāśṭgālyāḥ*); 7.80, *vajrati*, 'be hard as adamant', glossed, *vajra ivācarati*. Suali, in his 'Analisi dell' *Ādiśvaracaritra* di Hemacandra,' *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, vol. 7, p. 6, cites the forms *paśavanti*, 2.973, and, *cañcarikanti*, 5.402. It seems as tho this phenomenon, whose scope it is not possible as yet to state, is due to acquaintance with grammar, rather than to inspiration from outside literary models.

<sup>21</sup> Glossed, *āśvino 'dhvā sa yo 'śvena dinenāikena gamyate*.

<sup>22</sup> Glossed, *adya śvo vā bhavam adyaśvinam*.

<sup>23</sup> Not in the Lexa.



The same is true of occasional Vedisms in Jaina Sanskrit. Our text, 6.188, has the reduplicated participial adjective, governing the accusative, dadhi (glossed, dadhāti), quoted only from Veda and Grammarians. In the same śloka occurs nir-īyamāṇayoḥ (glossed, nirgachatoḥ) which is also pretty clearly a Vedic archaism. In 1.79, the participle eṣantyaḥ (glossed, āgachantyaḥ) is quotable only from RV. and AV. In 5.13 we have rājasarpaḥ prasarpantaṁ yakaṁ jegilyate...bhogilokam, 'the anaconda (with double entente, 'royal serpent', meaning King Śreṇika) who devours the poor serpent-folk (with double entente, 'his happy people')'. The pejorative or diminutive use of suffix ka with pronoun is essentially Vedic; see Edgerton, *JAOS* 31. 93ff., but is occasionally found in Jaina texts, see my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 238. See also, as instances of real diminutives in our text, 5.108, naraka (glossed, kutsito naraḥ), 'unworthy man'; and, 5.126, pūtaraka, from pūtara, 'despised insect'; cf. kadannakam, above. Nevertheless yaka may be a mere Vedism. Mironow, *Die Dharmaparikṣā*, p. 7 ff., cites from that text, anāśvāṁs, 'not having eaten'; viśvajana, 'ruler of all folk'; aśanāyā, 'hunger'; caraṇyu, kenning for 'wind'. We may feel sure that some of these Vedic words are derived from filological rather than literary sources. So probably also the nominative nā, 'man' (stem nṛ) in Mahāvīra Carita 1.136.

The following is an additional list of words quoted only in Lexicons or Grammars, or quoted in their present meaning only in the same class of texts; it contains more than forty words, in addition to those discussed in the preceding.

1.38: utpaśya, 'looking up or upwards'. Glossed, unmukha. Also in Mallinātha Caritra 6.244.

1.40: sahya, 'health' (gloss, sahyāya = nirogāya).

1.65: dhūmari, 'mist', 'fog': see Zachariae, l. c., pp. 55, 66.

1.77: kuṇḍalikā, 'mixture of rice and ghee' = kuṇḍala. This sense of kuṇḍalikā is not given in the Lexs.

1.93: śilāputra, 'good-for-nothing'. The interesting gloss reads:

nirbhāgyo durbhagaḥ paṇḍuḥ kuṇḍ kuṇḍhamatis tathā,  
nīcaḥ pāparato yas tu śilāputraḥ sa ucyate.

kecid evam āhuḥ: kasyāś cit striyo loḍhako jātas tayāsāv  
araṇye tyaktaḥ (accordingly loḍhaka seems to mean 'bantling',

to be exposed in the forest). kuṇṭha-matis (not in Lexs.) = kuṇṭha-manas, 'weak-minded'. Mallinātha 7.393 has āsmaputra in the same sense.

1.96: pātratrā-kr, glossed, pātrāya dīyata iti pātratrā: "deye trā ca" (Pāṇini 7.2.133), 'to give to a worthy person'.

1.115; 4.163: āśitambhava, glossed, tṛpti, 'satiety'; only in Pāṇini and Lexs.

1.117: praguṇāir guṇāih is glossed by āudanikāir guṇāih. The word āudanika is quoted only in Gaṇa saṁtāpādi, to Pāṇ. 5.1.101. The reference of the scholiast is to the word puṇya-pāka in the text, so that the meaning of āudanika, 'one who knows how to cook porridge', is relevant.

1.125; 7.2; Mallinātha Caritra, 8.466: aṣaḍakṣiṇa, glossed, catuṣkarṇa, 'not seen by six eyes', i. e., 'known by two persons only', 'secret', Pāṇ. 5.4.7. Cf. the familiar ṣaṭkarṇa, as contrasted with catuṣkarṇa in parallel senses, and see the author in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 56, p. 13.

2.33: caturā, glossed hastiśālā, 'elephants' stable'. The neuter caturam occurs in that sense in the Lexs. only.

2.55, 56: tāilakanda and tāilakanda-mahāratnam, 'crystal', or 'jewel', glossed, amṛtakunḍasamaṁ tāilakandanāmnā ratnaviśeṣaḥ; and, sphaṭikaratnaviśeṣaḥ. The word is quoted in the Lexs. only in the sense of 'a certain bulb'.

2.66: pātriṇa, in sarva-pātriṇa, glossed, sarvapātrebhyo योग्यानि, 'filling the whole dish', 'abundant'.

2.73: The word riṇṣaṇam is to be emended to riṇkhaṇam, 'crawling', and is so quoted only in Lexs.

2.93: lakṣmīpuṣpa, glossed, padmarāgamaṇi, 'ruby'.

2.128: ciraṇṭikāś (emend, ciraṇṭikāś) ciraṇṭiḥ (the latter glossed, vadhūtyāḥ), apparently, 'a class of women described in the Kāmasūtra'. The Lexs. s. vs. ciraṇṭi, ciraṇṭi, 'a woman, married or single, who, after maturity, resides in her father's house'. Only in Lexs. and Gramm.—ciraṇṭi also in 4.36; ciraṇṭikā, glossed by vadhū, also in 6.140.

3.6: bhāḍramātura, glossed, bhadrā mātā yasyāsāu, 'son of a virtuous or handsome mother'. Here with double entente, Bhadrā being Śālī's mother.

3.8: cidrūpa, glossed, paṇḍita, 'wise'. In that sense only in Lexs.

3.15; 6.52: yāpyayāna, glossed, śivikā, 'palanquin', 'litter'. The same word in 6.7 (glossed sukhāśana). The Sanskrit form

is a facile, yet really senseless, folk-etymological back-formation of Prakrit jhampāṇa; see Zachariae, in *Vienna Oriental Journal* vol. 16, p. 25.

3.70: hiṇḍi, glossed, rātrāu rakṣācāra, 'night-watch'.

3.80: kuṣiṇ-bhari, 'gluttonous'.

4.7: kūtastuta, glossed, kutaḥkuto bhavāḥ, 'coming from an unknown country'; Mallinātha Caritra 5.93. The feminines kūtastutā and kūtastutī, Mal. 6.390; 7.576. Quoted in Gaṇa kaskādi. Cf. kūtastya, 'coming whence', Pārsvanātha 3.618; Mal. 1.52.

4.9: gandhadhūli, 'musk'.

4.23: galakambala, 'bull's dewlap'. Lexs. and Uṇādisūtra. See Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara, Hertel's Translation, vol. ii, pp. 156, 271.

4.66: ciraṭna, 'ancient'. Pāṇini and Grammarians. Digest, in the Introduction to the text, glosses, ciraṭitana.

4.142: ku-rājya, 'evil government'.

4.153: jāṅguliya, glossed, gāruḍika, 'snake-charmer'. Lexs. have jāṅguli etc. in that sense.

4.162: paṇipatyate, intensive from pat. Only in Gramm.

4.166: hayapriya, glossed, yava, 'barley'.

5.47: āyallaka, 'longing', in āyallakāmbhastallikā, 'pool of the water of longing'.

5.49: kalā-keli, glossed, kandarpa, 'sporting with the digits of the moon', as a kenning of Kāma.

5.116: varṇikā, 'purity of gold'; see Lexs., s.v. varṇaka.

6.36: vira-jayantikā, glossed, vira-patākā, 'hero-flag'.

6.43: somāla in su-somāla, 'very delicate'. Cf. 6.118, where the text has somā latā, for somālatā, 'delicacy'.

6.87: bhissā and bhissatā, 'inferior kinds of cooked rice'.

6.92: karpūra-pāñcālī, 'puppet made of camfor'. pāñcālī, in that sense, only in Lexs. (frequent in Vikrama Carita, F.E.); it is glossed by pūtalī, not in Lexs., and doubtless=puttali. Cf. puttikā.

6.94: kaṭṭkaṭā, 'dried ginger'.

6.94: aṭṭyā, '(habit of) roaming'.

6.97: avāvari, fem. of adj. avāvan, glossed, oṅṅ apanayane, auṅṅa doṣān, 'carrying off (blemishes)'. Pāṇini and Lexs.



6.191: kṛtyāyanī, glossed, ardhavṛddhanārī, 'middle-aged woman'. Also in Prabandhacintāmaṇi; see p. 34 of Tawney's Translation.

7.4: kukkuṭa-grāma, glossed kuḡrāma, 'low caste village'. kukkuṭa = kukkura, 'offspring of a Niṣāda by a Śūdra woman'. Only Lexs.

7.5: mañjī = mañjā, glossed ajā, 'she-goat'. Both only in Lexs.

7.18: varkara, glossed, hāsyena ajāputreṇa vā, 'sport', or, 'kid'. In the former sense only in Lexs.

7.27: kalamba, glossed, bāṇa, 'arrow'.

7.57: kil, 'bind', in jāla-kilita, 'caught in a net'.

7.87: nir-vira, glossed, niṣpatisutā, 'woman without husband and sons'. In this sense only in Lexs.

7.138: śākhāpura, glossed, purasya samīpaṇi yad upapuram, 'suburb' = śākhānagara.

*Appendix v: Denominal Verbs and Participles:  
Elative Verbs in tarām.*

In my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 230 ff., I have listed a notably large number of new denominal formations. This seems to me to be a peculiarity of Jaina diction, for the present text also exhibits considerable fertility in this respect; see Suali's parallel observation on the text of the Ādiśvaracaritra, l. c., p. 6. In addition to the denominals in -a, mentioned above, p. 309, Śālibhadra Carita contributes the following list:

1.2: gṛtameghāyita, 'acted as a cloud rich in ghee'. The passage is, ādāu dhanabhāve yena gṛtameghāyitam. Gloss, gṛtameghavad ācaritam. In 6.203 occur further the parallel compounds dugdhameghāyita, mahāmeghāyita, dadhimeghāyita, and sudhāmeghāyita. The uncompounded denominative meghāya- is familiar, but these participles are denominals made directly from compounds.

1.15: sajjanāya-, 'to act a good part'.

1.96: cintāmaṇīya-, 'to act the part of a thought-gem'.

1.157: svāmīya-, 'to rule'.

2.121: vasanta-samayāyita, 'pervaded by the spring season'.

The passage is, *puṣpaparakaranikṣepāir vasantasamayāyitam*, (sc. *vivāham*!), in stanza 126), 'a wedding turned into spring season by throwing bouquets of flowers'.

2.122: *suparva-nagarāyita* 'turned into a festive city'. The passage is, *divyāir dūṣyāir alamkāraḥ suparva-nagarāyitam*, (sc. *vivāham*), 'a wedding turned into a city festival by means of divine garments and ornaments'. Followed by another denominative participle, *koṇita*, in the expression *nāyavallīdalāḥ pūgapūgāḥ*<sup>24</sup> *kāuṅkaṇakoṇitam* (sc. *vivāham*). Here *kāuṅkaṇakoṇitam* is obscure.

3.13: *kalpadrumāya-*, 'act as the wish-tree', cf. *śaṭat-patradrumāyate*, 'become tree with falling leaves', *Pārśvanātha Caritra* 2.177.

3.28: *ālānaya-*, 'fasten to an elephant's post'.

6.55: *pari-civarita*, 'drest in a ragged monk's garment'.

6.63: *vimukhāyita*, 'averted'; gloss, *vimukhacārita*.

6.69: *tūrṇaya-*, 'to make restless'; glossed, *utsukikuryāt*.

6.69: *apakarṇita*, glossed, *avagaṇita*, 'disregarded'.

6.186: *svargasargāyita*, where *sargāyita* has the gloss, *śṛṣṭi*, 'there was created heaven'.

7.129: *sandhīraya* (text, *sandhī°*), 'encourage'.

I add here, as established Jaina usage, tho not restricted to these texts, the frequent employment of the elative suffix *tarām* to finite verbs: 2.105, *plāvayate-tarām*; 4.141; 5.115, *dodūyate-tarām*; 5.53, *rocate-tarām*; 6.93, *paprathire-tarām*; 6.159, *tatvarire-tarām*; 6.191, *mumude-tarām*. Cf. my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 238.

#### *Appendix vi: Emendations and Corrections.*

1.2: for *yathorviśasyaśrīḥ*, read *°śasya śrīḥ*.

1.19: for *jaṅgamas sevadhī*, read *°maś śevadhīḥ*. But *sevadhī* also in 2.55.

1.26: for *niścadmā* (glossed, *nirmāyā*), read *niścadmā*, 'unprotected'; or, possibly, *niḥśadmā*, 'without abode' (*anyasad-masu niḥśadmā*, in alliteration).

1.52: in the note 9 on the stanza read in the gloss, *āveśīnyo* for *aveśīnyo*.

<sup>24</sup> Glossed, *kramuka-samahāḥ*, meaning *°samūhāḥ*.

- 1.57: for *ṛcchata*, read *ṛcchatha*.  
 1.68: for °*taṇḍulān*, read °*taṇḍulāḥ*. So also in 5.107.  
 1.69, note 9: for *sarkarām*, read *śarkarām*.  
 1.71: for *pratīśeṣanyāḥ*, read *pratīśeṣinyāḥ*, as in the repeated śloka 1.124.  
 2.5, note: for *āiraṇyavata*, read *hāiraṇyavata*.  
 2.73: for *riṇṣanam*, read *riṇkhanam*.  
 2.80: for *śūkarāḥ*, read *sū°*.  
 2.122, note 3: for *kramukasamahāiḥ*, read °*samūhāiḥ*.  
 2.128: for *ciraṇṭikāś*, read *ciraṇṭikāś*.  
 2.140: for *naśtāmitam*, read *na cā°*.  
 3.46: Separate the two vocatives, *anutsuka* and *mahotsāha*, which are printed as one word.  
 4.9: for *saṃrāt*, read *saṃrād*.  
 4.10: the alternate reading, *kambalāiḥ svabalāir iva*, is to be taken into the text.  
 4.21: for *kiṃ balaṃ*, read *kiṃbalaṃ*.  
 4.43: for *vāṭṭapitta°*, read *vāṭapitta°*.  
 4.67: for *kiṃ rūpaḥ*, read *kiṃrūpaḥ*.  
 4.118: for *śṛṇi-śūcyeva*, read *śṛṇi-sūcyeva*.  
 4.153: for *jāṅguliypadena vā*, read *jāṅguliypadeneva* (?).  
 4.156: for *sūresu* read *śūresu*. This particular interchange between *ś* and *s* is a frequent Jainism; see e. g. Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, p. 130.  
 5.7: *punarāvṛtā* seems to stand for °*vṛttā*, 'recurring'.  
 5.45: for *labdhā*, read *labdhvā*.  
 5.47: in gloss 5 read *utkaṭā*, for *utkaṭhā*.  
 5.61: for *harṃyiaṇām*, read *harṃyāṇām*.  
 5.80: in *tvam apī pūraya sarvāṅgacāṅgasarvāśāḥ*, separate °*cāṅga* from *sarvāśāḥ*, 'having knowledge of all Aṅgas, fulfil thou all hopes'. With double entente, 'do thou of sound limbs, fill all the regions of space'.  
 5.103: for *parādeśānalāi mātara*, read *parādeśānalāir mātara*.  
 5.107: for °*taṇḍulāḥ* read °*taṇḍulāḥ*. So also in 1.68.  
 5.111: for *nānārūpī cakre*, read *nānārūpicakre*.  
 5.119: for *nyatkāra* (gloss, *tiraskāra*), read *nyak-kāra*.  
 6.17: for *tad duḥkhato*, read *tadduḥkhato*.  
 6.18: for *somā latā*, read *somālatā*, 'delicacy'.  
 6.43: for *sukhamāmūlāiḥ*, read *suśamāmūlāiḥ*.



6.54: for bhūṣaṇānyastadūṣaṇaḥ, read bhūṣaṇān nyastadūṣaṇaḥ. The rare masculine bhūṣaṇān also in 6.56.

6.93: for svāmisattāyā, read svāmisaktāyā.

6.110: for kīkāśa°, read kīkāśa°.

6.174: for pravrajiṣyāmaḥ, read the conditional prāvrajiṣyāmaḥ.

7.3: for parāvṛtṭya, read, perhaps, parāvartya. But Jaina texts seem to confuse primary and causative forms a good deal; see Weber, *Pañcadaṇḍachattraprabandha*, p. 3; and my 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 238.

7.63: for nīrajanīrañjana, read, perhaps, nīraja nīrañjana, pace gloss kamalavan nīrañjana.

7.80: for triparīkṣītavajrati, read triparīkṣitām vajrati.

7.96: for mṛgapakṣigaṇākulām read °kulā, agreeing with the subject of the sentence.

7.122: for mahāśamarasamrambhe, read mahāsamara°, with pun, to be sure, on mahāśama-rasam rambhe; see p. 262.

7.176, note 2: for vidhāpyate, read vidhyāpyate; see my remarks on the 'root' vidhyā, 'Life of Pārśvanātha', p. 220, and cf. above, p. 296.

In 5.53; 6.122 we have the frase, mṛṣṭam vāidyopadiṣṭam ca, 'delicacies and food prescribed by physicians'. The same frase is printed in 4.81 as miṣṭam vāidyopadiṣṭam ca. Tho both mṛṣṭam and miṣṭam are good Sanskrit<sup>22</sup>, only one of these (here mṛṣṭam) should appear in a given text.

<sup>22</sup> miṣṭam is perhaps a cross between mṛṣṭam and iṣṭam, under Prākritic impulse.

## ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COMPOUND POSTPOSITIVES IN EARLY SUMERIAN

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POEBEL in his *Grammatical Texts*, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 24ff., states that the compound postpositive *-ka-ka* is a double sign for the genitive—a noun+a noun+a genitive+a genitive. In making a new translation of the early Sumerian royal inscriptions I have been led to study the subject somewhat minutely, and Poebel's explanation does not suit any one of the cases which I have examined. As Poebel cites only hypothetical examples in support of his statement one is at a loss to know on what he bases it.<sup>1</sup> If one may judge by the published translations of inscriptions Poebel's view is shared by other scholars. It seems fitting, therefore, that the subject should be more fully and inductively examined.

It should be noted as a starting point for such examination that, when the relation to be expressed is the simple genitive, but one *-ka* is used, as in the Stele of Vultures, vi, 12ff.: *gá-edín-na a-šág gán ki-šg<sup>2</sup> nin-gír-su-ka*: "Guedin, the irrigated field which is beloved of Ningirsu." Also (Stele of Vultures xii, 11-13): *a-šág-da-na ki-gar-ra<sup>2</sup> nin-gír-su-ka*: "That exalted field, the place of the luxurious crops of Ningirsu."

It should further be noted that, in Sumerian, a postpositive governing a noun which is followed by a dependent genitive is placed after the dependent genitive. For example: *é-an-na-tum pa-te-si šir-pur-la<sup>2</sup>-ra*: "To Eannatum, Patesi of Lagash" (Galet A, 22-24). The *-ra* governs Eannatum. Again: *nam-pa-te-si šir-pur-la<sup>2</sup>-ta nam-lugal<sup>2</sup> kiš<sup>2</sup> mu-na-ta-sum*: "(Ininni) to the patesiat of Lagash the kingdom of Kish added" (*ibid.* vi, 2-5). Here *-ta* after *šir-pur-la<sup>2</sup>* governs *nam-pa-te-si*.

<sup>1</sup> The view is reiterated in his *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik*, 1923, p. 135.

Similarly, in accordance with this rule, a postpositive governing a noun followed by a dependent genitive, when that genitive is denoted by the postpositive *-ka*, is written after the *-ka* and both postpositives retain their meaning. Thus: *nam-til en-te-me-na-ka-šû*: "For the life of Entemena" (Cone A, vi, 3, 4). The *-šû* governs *nam-til*, and the *-ka* is the sign of the genitive, and both retain their full meaning. Again in Urkagina's "Oval plaque" inscription (*Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. I.), col. V, 17ff., we find *ge-gir sal-išib ki ag nin-gir-su-ka-ra e-ni mu-na-rû*: "For Khegir, the priestess beloved of Ningirsu, her temple he built." In this sentence the *-ra* of *-ka-ra* clearly means "for" and governs Khegir. Similarly in Urkagina's Cones B and C, ix, 23ff.: *ki-sur-ra nin-gir-su-ka-la a-ab-šû maskim-lû nu-è*: "In the irrigated land of Ningirsu, even to the sea, an overseer was no more." In this sentence *-la* clearly means "in" and governs *ki* in l. 22. Another example: *an-la-sur-ra nin-gir-su-ka-la zu-zu lugal u-ug u-ug-šû mu-gaz*: "(Eannatum) from the Antasurra of Ningirsu, Zuzu king of Opis, unto Opis pursued" (Galet A, v, 2-7). In this sentence *-la* means "from" and governs *an-la-sur-ra*, while *-ka* has its usual meaning "of". Still another is the following: *en-lil-la è-at-da ni-sag-ga-ka-ni mu-na-rû*: "For Enlil the house of the father of the loud thunder he built" (Urkagina, Stone Tablet, iii, 7-iv, 1). In this passage *-ni* has the force of *ana*, "for" (cf. *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, no. 228<sup>4</sup>) and governs *en-lil-la*, while *-ka* denotes the genitive relation after *ni-sag-ga*. Similarly in the Stele of Vultures (v, i): *è-an-na-tum a-šûg-ga šu-dug-ga nin-gir-su-ka-da nin-gir-su mu-da-gul*: "Eannatum in the devastated field of Ningirsu Ningirsu made to rejoice".

In this connection it should be noted that the postpositive *-ka* does not always mean "of", but is equivalent to other English prepositions. For example it may mean "in". Thus in the Lament over the fall of Lagash, written in the time of Lugalzaggisi (*Revue d'Assyr.* VI, 29 and Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, 47) we find: *zu-ab-e-ga-ka šu-bi-uš*: "In the ruined reservoir they have shed blood" (col. iii, 9),—an expression in which *-ka* means "in". This meaning is also found when *-ka* occurs in a compound postpositional expression, as *gi-ka-na nin-maš ter azag-ga-ka-ka šu-bi-uš*: "In the Gikana of Ninmakh, the grove of the holy



one, they have shed blood" (*Ibid.*, ii, 10). Here the second *-ka* governs *gi-ka-na*, with which *ter* is in apposition, and the first *-ka* denotes the genitive after *azag*, which is in apposition with *\*nin-mağ*.

Once more: *ē-an-na-tum mu-pād-da \*nin-gir-su-da-ka kūr-kūr-ri sag e-dā-sig*: "By Eannatum, whose name was spoken by Ningirsu, the countries were subdued" (literally, "knocked on the head"), Galet A, iv, 20-24. In this sentence *-ka* is instrumental and governs *ē-an-na-tum*, while *-da* is also instrumental, governing Ningirsu.

Passing now to the passages which contain the compound *-ka-ka*, variant *-ka-kam*, we find, upon examination, that they fall into two classes which represent two distinct usages:

1. The second *-ka* (or *-kam*) is a postpositive governing a preceding noun in the dative case and having a meaning analogous to *-ka-ra* or *-ka-la*.

2. The second *-ka* (or *-kam*) performs the functions of the temporal adverb "when".

The first usage predicated above is very clear. Thus: *e-ki-sur-ra \*nin-gir-su-ka-ka e-ma-la-bal*: "Over the boundary ditch of Ningirsu he crossed" (Entemena, Cone A, iii, 2-4). Here the second *-ka* means "over". Again: *gān ū-gig-ga a-šāg-ga \*nin-gir-su-ka-ka giš-ur-ur-šū e-da-lal*: "Into the field Ugigga, the irrigated field of Ningirsu, for battle he pressed" (*Ibid.*, IV, 8-10). This passage is repeated in the Oval plaque of Urkagina (iv. 14ff.), thus *gān ū-gig-ga gān ki-āg \*nin-gir-su-ka-ka \*nin-gir-su-gē giš-ur-ur-šū zig-ga-bi ni-ga-lam*: "In the field Ugigga, the field beloved of Ningirsu, for Ningirsu Umma his glory destroyed." In this form of the statement the second *-ka* means "in", but as in the passage in Entemena, it governs *gān*.

Again, in the Stele of Vultures iii, 1ff.: *e-ma-da-gū šir-pur-la<sup>hi</sup> bar nig-im-ba-ka-ka gab-bi šu-e-ga-ma-uš*: "They said as to Lagash, on account of the hatefulness of its government, its control verily is ended." Here the second *-ka* governs *bar*.

Similarly Stele of Vultures iv, 21ff.: *ē-an-na \*ininni ib-gal-ka-ka a-tum mu-ni mu-sà*: "To Eanna the Ininni of the great enclosure, advancing, named his name." The second *-ka* here governs Eanna.

In Entemena's Vase Inscription (21,22) we find also the follow-

ing: *ud-ba du-du sangu* <sup>4</sup>*nin-gir-su-ka-kam*: "At that time Dudu was priest of Ningirsu". Here the second *-ka* means "in" or "at" and governs *ud*. This explains the rise of the second usage predicated above, of which we shall speak presently. In Gudea's Cylinder A (xiv, 8ff.) we have: <sup>1</sup>*ma-da-gù-sag-sar-sar-ra-na* <sup>2</sup>*gù-edin-na* <sup>4</sup>*nin-gir-su-ka-ka*: "In the country's chief rich land, the Guedin of Ningirsu." The second *-ka* means "in" and governs *ma-da*.

The second meaning of the second *-ka*, "when", is proved by the following passages:

In Urkagina's Cones B and C, vi, 155ff. and ix, 35ff. this sentence occurs: *gi-en-ki-ka-ka lù ša tùm*: "When to the enclosure of Enki a man for burial was brought." The second *-ka* here means "when".

Similarly in Entemena's Cone, vi, 9 ff.: <sup>1</sup>*lù giš-ug<sup>hi</sup>-a* <sup>2</sup>*še ki-sur-ra* <sup>4</sup>*nin-gir-su-ka-ka* *e ki-sur-ra* <sup>4</sup>*nina-ka à-zid-šù à-sàg-gàn tùm-ne an-ta bal-e-da*: "When the men of Umma the irrigating canal of Ningirsu and the irrigating canal of Nina, in order to bring the cultivated fields into their power, shall destroy". Here the second *-ka* of <sup>4</sup>*nin-gir-su-ka-ka* clearly means "when." Again, Entemena, Brick A, viii, 1-5: *[mu]-na [mu]-na-[sà] en-te-me-na keš-du rù-a* <sup>4</sup>*nin-gir-su-ka-ka*: "Its name he named when Entemena was the reservoir builder of Ningirsu." The second *-ka* denotes the time "when".

Once more (ibid. viii, 8, 9): *du-du [sangu]* <sup>4</sup>*nin-gir-su-ka-kam*: "(It was) when Dudu was priest of Ningirsu". The final *-ka* again means "when". A comparison of this passage with the example quoted from Entemena's silver vase above, to illustrate our second usage of *-ka-ka*, shows how this adverbial use of the final *-ka* rose. Originally it was a postposition governing *ud-ba*; then, by the omission of *ud-ba*, it was employed alone to express the adverbial idea.

Another compound postpositive which is of frequent occurrence is *-ka-gè*. The uses of this combination are peculiar; they do not run parallel to those of any other compound postpositives. This is not strange, since the postpositive *-gè*, when employed singly, exhibits characteristics possessed by no other postpositive. It will tend to clearness to give first some examples of the meaning of *-gè* when used singly. It may express:

1. The genitive relation, "of", as: *uš pa-te-si giš-ug<sup>hi</sup>-gè*: "Ush, Patesi of Umma" (Entemena, Cone A, i, 13-15).

2. It sometimes means "to" or "unto": thus: *nin-gir-su-gè è-nug<sup>ki</sup>-ga inim dūg-ga ur-ka-gi-na-ka ba-ū mu-da-gù*: "To Ningirsu at the temple of Erech a good word for Urkagina Bau spoke." (Urkagina, Clay Olive A.) In this passage -gè means "to" or "unto".

3. In a third usage -gè denotes instrumentality. Thus: *à-sum-ma en-lil-gè*: "Endowed with might by Enlil" (Galet E, iv, 7, 8); *mu-šar šà-a nina-gè*: "Whose great name was named by Nina" (Ibid, 11, 12).

4. A fourth and fairly frequent usage of -gè is to give emphasis to a nominative case. This usage is similar to the emphatic state of a noun in Aramaic. Thus: *ininni-gè da-ni ni-dib*: "Ininni his hand seized" (Stele of Vultures, iv, 19, 20); again: *en-te-me-na-gè lugal ki-un-na-àg-gá-ni nin-gir-su-ra il-nun-ta mu-bi-kur-ra e-na-la-ni-è*: "Entemena, for the king who loves him, Ningirsu, from the great river to the slope (?) of the mountain carried it" (Clay, *op. cit.*, no. 5, iii, 2 iv, 2).

This second example explains, perhaps, how this emphatic usage arose. If the -ta in *e-na-la-ni-è* originally had a passive force as Langdon thinks (*Sumerian Grammar*, p. 147), this -gè may originally have been instrumental. In that case, the passage last cited would be translated: "By Entemena, for the king who loves him, Ningirsu, from the great river to the slope of the mountain it was carried." If this was the origin of the usage, that origin was forgotten by the time our inscriptions were written, for, as in the example previously cited, it is now employed with verbs which are active in form.

It is frequently employed after nouns which are in apposition with a preceding nominative. The following examples will illustrate this emphatic use of -gè in appositives: *dingir-ra-ni nin-sa-gè nam-til-la-ni-là ud-ul-la-ni nin-gir-su-ra šub ge-na-gál*: "May his goddess, Ninshakh, for his life unto distant days to Ningirsu offer up prayers" (Urkagina, Stone Tablet, iv, 10-v, 5). Again: *lugal-zag-gi-si pa-te-si giš-ug<sup>ki</sup>-ka dingir-ra-ni nidaba-gè nam-dag-bi gá-nu ge-ù-ù*: "As for Lugalzaggisi, Patesi of Umma, may his goddess, Nidaba, bear his mortal sin on her head!" (Lament over Lagash, vii, 11-ix, 3).

Coming now to the compound -ka-gè we find two distinct uses. 1. It is employed in an instrumental sense, parallel to the instrumental use of -gè. In the inscriptions of Eannatum, Ur-Bau, and Gudea, it is used side by side with -gè to express



instrumentality. Thus: *è-an-na-tum pa-te-si šir-pur-la<sup>ki</sup>-gè mu-pád-da è-en-líl-gè à-sum-ma è-nin-gír-su-ka-gè šàg-pád-da è-nina-gè ga-zí-kù-a è-nin-ğar-sag-ka-gè mu dug sà-a è-ininni-ka-gè giš-tuk-pí è-en-ki-ka-gè*: "Eannatum, patesi of Lagash, (whose) name was spoken Enlil, (who) was endued with power by Ningirsu, (who) was conceived by Nina, (who) was nurtured with the milk of life by Ninkharsag, (who) was named a good name by Ininni, (who) was given intelligence by Enki" (Galet A, i, 2-ii,7). In this passage -gè and -ka-gè are found side by side with identical instrumental significations. In the similar passages of Entemena and Enannatum II the names of the gods are thrown into the accusative and no postposition is employed. For evidence see Silver Vase inscription, Bricks A, B, and C, and Clay Nail Inscr.; also Enannatum's inscription in *Découvertes*, pl. 6, no. 4. Urkagina's inscriptions, like those of Urnina, do not employ the construction. The usage, although discarded by the immediate successors of Eannatum, was revived by Ur-Bau and Gudea five hundred years later, both of whom employ -gè and -ka-gè in the same context to express instrumentality. (For Ur-Bau see *Découvertes*, pl. 8, col. i, 7-11, 3; and for Gudea, *Ibid.*, pl. 16 (Statue B), ii, 8-iii, 6.)

2. Entemena on the other hand employs -gè and -ka-gè side by side to express the genitive relation "of". Thus in his "Galet" inscription (Clay, *Yale Babylonian Collection*, no. 4) we have: *en-te-me-na pa-te-si šir-pur-la<sup>ki</sup>-gè dumu en-an-na-tum pa-te-si šir-pur-la<sup>ki</sup>-ka-gè*: "Entemena, Patesi of Lagash, son of Enannatum Patesi of Lagash" (col. i, 3-8). Also *du-du sangu è-nin-gír-su-ka-gè*: "Dudu, priest of Ningirsu" (*ibid.* iii, 2, 3). And finally: *pa-te-si gal è-nin-gír-su-ka-gè*: "The great Patesi of Ningirsu" (Brick C, ii, 2, 3, Clay, *op. cit.*, no. 5). As a rule, then, the uses of -ka-gè do not run parallel to those of -ka-ka. I have noted but one passage where this could plausibly be claimed. That is the last but one cited, which, when read in full, runs: *ud-ba ir-ra-ni du-du sangu è-nin-gír-su-ka-gè*: "At the time his servant Dudu was high priest of Ningirsu". It may be argued that -gè here governs *ud-ba* just as -ka does in the silver vase inscription. Undoubtedly this would be the right interpretation, were there parallel usage to substantiate it, but, since there is no parallel, and since *ud-ba* can be an accusative expressing time, the explanation first given is probably the right one.

# THE BABYLONIAN ANTEDILUVIAN KINGS

W. F. ALBRIGHT

AMERICAN SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

AT LAST the great lacuna in our cuneiform Genesis—the list of the ten antediluvian monarchs—has been filled, at least in part, thanks to Langdon's publication (*JRAS* 1923, 251-9) of W(eld)-B(lundell) 62 in the Ashmolean collection. This tablet gives the list so long sought in vain, though it is unfortunately in an imperfect condition. The names are badly mutilated in several cases; one of them is quite illegible, at least in the present state of our knowledge. Fortunately, however, the last four names are preserved, as are also all the regnal years. Quite enough is available to make a comparison with the Greek list of Berossus possible. Langdon has made a good beginning of such a comparison, but more can be done.

The first two kings on the new list reigned in *HA-A-KI*, that is, Šubari (cf. Poebel, *Historical Texts*, p. 121); Langdon's reading *Ḫabur* is entirely baseless, since the Sumerian town of Šubari has, even when transplanted to the underworld and the banks of the river Ḫubur, nothing to do with the terrestrial river Ḫābūr in the land of the Šubarū or Subaraeans (cf. *AJSL* 35, 171, note 1). The first one bears the name [ ]-*alim*, and is said to have reigned 18  $\frac{2}{3}$  sars (= 67,200 years, since a sar is 3600). Though Langdon seems to have overlooked Poebel's suggestion that Alōros is to be identified with Lāl-ūr-alim-ma, the traditional king of Nippur who figures as the hero of the so-called "Babylonian Job," this text would seem to confirm it, since we must surely supply [Lāl-ūr-]alim. In support of this view is the fact that the second name also contains the element *lāl*—[ ]-*lāl-gar*, since such traditional pairs of names tend to resemble one another; cf. *Mes-an-ni-pad-da* and *Mes-ki-āg-nun-na*, *E-lu-lu* and *Ba-lu-lu*, etc. It is interesting to note that the first antediluvian king appears as ruler of Šubari near Eridu, of Eridu itself (so apparently in the Poebel text of the Creation legend), of Nippur, and finally of Babylon in the official version handed down to us by Berossus. The story of Lāl-ūr-alim (Tābi-utul-Ellil) may then have been originally parallel to Adam's

Fall rather than to the career of Job. The Greek *Αλωπος* is presumably a dissimilation of *Lal-ur*, like *Inanna* for *Nin-anna*, *Inurta* for *Nin-urta*, etc. The second king of Šubari, [ ]-lāl-gar, who reigned 20 sars, is identified by Langdon with Berossus's second king, Alaparos or Alaporos, whose name he would read *Αλαγαρος*—Γ for Π. Since Alaparos is said to have reigned only three sars, I would suggest the identification of [ ]-lāl-gar with the Megalaros or Amegalaros of Berossus, the latter's fifth king, who reigned 18 sars (originally 20, see below). We should naturally transpose, as in *Δαραγχα* for *Ααρχαρα*, reading *Melagaros* or *Amelagaros*. Langdon does not identify Megalaros at all.

The second antediluvian dynasty, according to the new tablet, was that of Larsa,<sup>1</sup> with two kings, [ ]-ki(?)*-du-un-nu*, the *šá-kin-kin*, who ruled 20 sars, and [ ]-uk(?)*-ku(?)*<sup>2</sup>, who reigned six sars (21,600 years, not 20,800, as Langdon erroneously has). Identifications are doubtful—but see below for a possibility.

The third dynasty, of Bad-tibira (Dur-gurgurri) also had two kings. Langdon's reading *Bad-tibira* for the usual *Dur-gurgurri*, and identification with the Pautibiblon or Pautibiblia of Berossus, is very happy indeed, and solves this long puzzling point. For *ἐκ Παντιβιβλων* we should naturally read *ἐκ Παντιβιρων* or the like; the present Greek form may be due to the contamination of *βιβλος*, *βιβλιον*, etc. The first of the two kings bears the name [ ]-zi, and is called a shepherd; since Bad-tibira was one of the chief centres of Tammuz worship, we can hardly go astray if we read the name *Dumu-zi*, or even *Damu-zi*, following the older form which survived in the appellation *damu*, "son," of Tammuz. It is true that the Nippur lists of postdiluvian kings make Tammuz, now a palm-tree fertilizer,<sup>3</sup> fourth ruler of the First Dynasty of Erech, but other lists may have had a different system. Nor is it impossible that Tammuz, the shepherd of Bad-tibira, and Tammuz of

<sup>1</sup> Langdon still writes "Ellasar" for Larsa, following the identification of Arioch of Ellasar, Gen. 14, 1, with Warad-Sin or Rim-Sin of Larsa, now antiquated. Whichever one of the suggested identifications of Ellasar with states in Central and Northern Mesopotamia we may adopt, there can be no doubt that Arioch is a good Hurrian or Subarian (Mitannian) name.

<sup>2</sup> Langdon's copy of the text offers *ma* instead of *ku*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 264, n. 3.



Erech were considered as distinct; such doublets are by no means uncommon in ancient legend. At all events we can hardly avoid identifying our shepherd of Bad-tibira, who ruled eight sars, with Daōs or Daōnos, the shepherd of Pautibiblon, who ruled ten sars, especially since Dumuzi or Damuzi (pronounced *Dawuz*), the hero of Bad-tibira, was also a shepherd (*sib*) in Babylonian mythology. It may be added that Daos had been previously identified with Tammuz by Pinches and others. Tammuz's successor, *]-en-lil-an-na*, ruled six sars and may very probably be compared to the Amēlōn of Berossus, who also reigned at Pautibiblon, for thirteen sars.

The seventh king of our cuneiform list ruled at Larak, the Larancha of Berossus, as pointed out long ago by Delitzsch. It is doubtful whether his name, *Sib-zi-an-na*, is complete or lacks something at the beginning; if complete it is identical with that of the constellation Orion\* ("the faithful shepherd of heaven") which may, therefore, have received special divine honors at Larak. As seen by Langdon the name is clearly identical with that of Amempsines, also king of Larancha, who also reigned for ten sars. We should perhaps read Σαμφινος instead of Αμεψινος, the initial Αμ of the latter being due to the influence of the adjacent names Αμηλων and Αμμερων.

Dynasties with only one king instead of two having now become fashionable, we find the next antediluvian dynasty, that of Sippar, also with one ruler, the famous Enmeduranki (the *Enmeduranna* of the text is simply vertical dittography from the preceding *Sibzianna*), who reigned 20 sars according to the cuneiform text and 18 sars according to Berossus, the latter number going back, however, to 20, as will be shown below. Our new text seems to remove the most remarkable correspondence between the Hebrew and Babylonian lists of antediluvian patriarchs, since Enmeduranki appears as eighth king, and cannot, therefore, be compared with Enoch, the seventh. It must naturally be admitted that the order of the names is not of much moment, since the two Babylonian lists disagree among themselves quite as much as the two Hebrew systems preserved by E and J.

The last antediluvian dynasty is that of Šuruppak. Here

\* For *Sib-zi-an-na* cf. Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie*, pp. 30 f. It may be added that CT XXXIII, 2, Col. II, 2 identifies the constellation *Sib-zi-an-na* with the god Papsukkal.

there is a surprise for us. Instead of giving Ubar-Tutu and Ziusuddu, the Opartes (text *Ουριαπτης*) and Xisuthros of Berossus, our new list gives *Aratta* (*SU-KUR-LAM*)-gi son of Ubur(so)-Tutu and Ziusuddu son of Aratta-gi. This explains the Ardages (read *ΑΡΔΑΓΗΣ* for *ΑΡΔΑΤΗΣ*) of Alexander Polyhistor, and suggests that the latter drew on some unknown Hellenistic source for part of his Babylonian material. Apparently the Babylonians had two conflicting traditions regarding the parentage of Ziusuddu, which our text harmonized by considering one father as a grandfather. The recension of Berossus agrees perfectly with the Weld-Blundell tablet in the number of years assigned to Xisuthros's father, in both cases eight sars. Since the name of the Deluge-hero is written in its Sumerian form, *Zi-ud-sud-du*, there can be no longer any doubt that *Ξισουθρος* is a mistake for the more correct *Ξισουθος*, due to the influence of such Greek words as *ἐρυθρός*. With this is of course identical the name of the Flood-hero of Hierapolis, *Sisythes* (reading with Buttmann *CICTΘHC* for *CKTΘHC* of the mss). The etymologies of Xisuthros based upon a transposition of *Atra-hasīs* must now go by the board. It is a pity, however, that Langdon still insists on regarding a hypothetical *Uta-napištim-[arik]* as being the Assyrian equivalent of *Zi-ud-sud-du*, when the direct translation *Utnapištim rāqu* has been independently pointed out by Hommel (Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, p. 205), Zimmern, and the writer (*JAOS* 38. 60 ff.).

The new list credits these ten kings with a total rule of  $126 \frac{2}{3}$  sars, or 456,000 years. Langdon has two mistakes, perhaps due to the compositor, as so often, which confuse his calculations; in the transcription he offers a total of 455,200 years, while at the opening of the article he gives the total as  $127 \frac{2}{3}$  sars, or 459,600 years. Now Berossus gives us only 120 sars, or 432,000 years, for the antediluvian period. It is clear that his system is secondary to that of the new cuneiform list, since the traces of a modification are still apparent. At present only two of the reigns given on the two lists are identical, but several others are practically so. Moreover, while [ ]-lāl-gar and Enmeduranki have 20 sars each, (Me)lagaros and (Am)empsinos have 18 each, so Berossus seems to have reduced their reigns systematically. There is one other with 18 in the list of Berossus—Xisuthros (so). Since the first king of the cuneiform

list has  $18\frac{2}{3}$  sars, and the last one has 10, while the first of the Greek series has 10 and the last has 18, there has evidently been a transposition; Aloros should have  $18(\frac{2}{3})$ , while Xisuthos should have 10. This gives us  $4\frac{2}{3}$  of the  $6\frac{2}{3}$  sars eliminated by Berossus for cyclic reasons; his method in reduction was evidently to deduct from the highest reigns, so he may have taken the remaining two sars from the reign of Amelon.

The new list enables us to recover the original Sumerian scheme of antediluvian rulers with a high degree of probability. The number  $126\frac{2}{3}$  sars, which also, as we have seen, lies at the bottom of the system preserved by Berossus, represents  $20 \times 6 + 6\frac{2}{3}$ . In other terms, there were seven rulers, the first six of whom reigned 20 sars each, while the last, whose reign was interrupted by the great Flood, ruled  $6\frac{2}{3}$  sars, or one-third of the normal period. If now we turn to the cuneiform list, we find that there were at first three dynasties of two kings each, and that the first three kings ruled 20 sars each (assuming that the  $18\frac{2}{3}$  is reduced from 20). Obviously the original scheme of seven kings—two each of Šubari, Larsa (Larak?), Badtibira, and one of Šuruppak—has been changed to one of ten kings by introducing extra rulers of Larak (or Larsa), Sippar, and Šuruppak. The confusion in the numbers is due to the attempt to distribute the numbers without changing the total length of the period. The 120 sars of Berossus represent a slight modification of the correct  $126\frac{2}{3}$  (according to Sumerian calculation) in order to obtain a cycle of 12 world-years of 36,000 common years each (see below).

There is an extraordinary parallel between the two Babylonian systems which we have found and the two schemes of Genesis, preserved respectively by E and J. As well known, the former, "Sethite" genealogy has ten names, while the latter "Cainite" list offers only seven, omitting Seth, Enosh, and Noah. It would seem that both lists reflect—indirectly, of course—Sumero-Babylonian prototypes. It may be added that the scheme of seven kings is even more Babylonian in character than that of ten. Besides the seven planets, seven evil spirits, seven *tubuḡāti*, seven *nagē*, etc., discussed fully by Zimmern, *KAT* 1 462 f., 615 ff., note the seven wise men of Enoch in the Gilgames Epic, and the seven gates of the underworld, seven *apsē* (*JSCR* 7, 9, n. 28), etc.—According to one Sumerian theory Ziusudu did not disappear immediately after the close of the Flood, as in



the Assyrian recension and Berossus, but remained on earth (cf. *JAOS* 38, 61 f.). This theory is illustrated by the view of the Sumerian archetype list we have recovered, that Ziusudru ruled only  $6\frac{2}{3}$  sars, a third of the normal length of reign; presumably he lived  $13\frac{1}{3}$  sars after the Flood. It is interesting to note that Noah lived two-thirds of his life (six hundred years) before the Flood and one-third (350) after that catastrophe.

The development of antediluvian chronology in Babylonian erudite theory is closely paralleled by that of postdiluvian. According to the probably correct view of Poebel (*Historical Texts*, pp. 98 ff.) the Nippur chronology counted 32, 243 years from the Flood to the end of the Isin Dynasty. Now Berossus gives (cf. Eduard Meyer, *Klio*, III, 131 ff.; *GA* 1, 2, 351) the length of the period from the Flood to the beginning of the kingdom of Babylon (presumably the Amorite Dynasty) as 34,090 years, obtaining this result by subtracting the duration of the historical dynasties, which he reckoned as 1910 years to the death of Alexander (B. C. 323), from an arbitrary total of 36,000 years from the Flood to the same date. This period of 36,000 years is to be considered a world-year (equivalent to 360 days of a century each) which came to an end with the new dispensation introduced by Alexander the Great. Naturally it is hard to say whether this theory arose as a *bona fide* tribute to the friendly Macedonian rulers or as flattery. Now, as the writer has pointed out elsewhere (cf. *Rev. d'Assyr.*, 18, 94, note 2) the Harranian world-year is simply a modification of the older Babylonian period of 36,000 years on the basis of the Julian calendar; that is,  $365\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 36,525$  common years. Evidently this reflects a new speculation of the Babylonian wise men of the Parthian period, who, disappointed in their hopes that Greek domination meant a new and happier age, extended the duration of the first postdiluvian world-year by 525 years, thus bringing its end to about 203 A. D.—assuming that they followed Berossus's system in matters of detail. It is hardly necessary to point out the similarity between the course followed by these eschatological speculations in Babylonia and in Palestine, as illustrated by the prophecies of Daniel. Very probably the expectation in Babylonia of a new world age at about the opening of the Christian era, as reflected in the second chapter of Matthew, was based

upon speculation of this type, rather than upon astrological-astronomical computation, as frequently supposed.

At the close of our paper we append a table illustrating the correspondences between the new cuneiform list of antediluvian kings and Berossus, altering the order of the latter for ease in comparison:

Cuneiform Names <sup>1</sup>	Sars	Greek Names	Sars
1. [Lál-úr]-alim of Subari	18¾	1. Ἀλῶρος	18¾ (10)
2. [ ]-lál-gar "	20	5. (Με)λαγαρος (Μεγαλαρος)	20 (18)
3. [ ]-ki-du-un-nu, Larsa	20	4. (Αμμε)ρων (?)	12
4. ? "	6	2. Αλαπαρος (?)	3
5. [Dumu]-zi zib, Badtibira	8	6. Δαῖως, ποιμήν	10
6. [ ]-en-ló-an-na "	6	3. (Αμ)ήλων	? 15 (13)
7. [Sib]-zi-an-na, Larak	10	8. Σέμφινος (Αμειφινος)	10
8. En-me-dur-an-ki (I), Sippar	20	7. Εὐδοίραγχος	20 (18)
9. Aratta-gi, Šuruppak	8	Αρδαγης (Αρδατης)	
or Ubur-Tutu his father		9. Οπαρτης (Οτιαρτης)	8
10. Zi-ud-sud-du, Šuruppak	10	10. Ξισούθος (Ξισουθρος)	10 (18)
	126¾		126¾ (120)

<sup>1</sup> We may safely assume that the list was originally compiled by gathering the names of the traditional first rulers of certain towns, selected because of their claim to superior antiquity. There were always certain places which made this claim, justly or not, and most such claims were taken by outsiders at their face value. Cf., for example, the Phrygian theory that they were the oldest of peoples, which was generally accepted, as was often also the Arcadian claim to be older than the moon (*προσέληνη*). Some of the names in our list are presumably divine, borne by the deity of the town, which regarded him as its first ruler, while other names are doubtless human, borne by traditional heroes who may actually have lived—after the Deluge. One would naturally ascribe Dumu-zi and Sib-zi-an-na to the former category, and Lal-ur-alim to the latter. Enmeduranki may have been a man originally, but his name is suspicious, and his figure has distinct solar traits, borrowed perhaps from Utu, the god of Sippar, just as Gilgames borrowed from Lugal-marda. Ziusiudu, the Flood-hero, has a very suspicious name, "He who prolongs the day of life," but it may be an appellative, like Atrahasis, "The very wise." It may be added that all the comparisons made between the names of Berossus and Genesis are proved false by our cuneiform list. It is likely, at least in the present state of our knowledge, that only the framework of the lists was borrowed—indirectly—from Mesopotamia, and that the names are genuine Canaanite or Hebrew, derived by combining the traditions of different clans or tribes regarding their founders. This is almost certainly the case with Adam and Enosh, archetype men, Seth, Lamech, and Cain.

## BRIEF NOTE

### *An elucidation of the adverbial phrase n mt n š.t*

Back in 1882 Adolf Erman prefaced his commentary to the inscription of Uni (ZÄs. 20. 1 ff.) with a statement that he intended to show by the analysis of a longer text, how far our understanding of Old-Egyptian texts reaches. He came to the conclusion that the intrinsic philological understanding of Egyptian texts was still wanting. A like analysis of the same text at the present time would undoubtedly show material progress in the philological interpretation of Egyptian texts, but it would, at the same time, reveal the need of investigation of many points which stand out as linguistic enigmata. The Uni inscription, in fact, offers quite a number of unsolved problems.

At present I wish to draw attention to a phrase which occurs in line 19:

ink wnn(w) ỉry-n-šn šhr  
(i)šl i šw.t(y) m pr-š mr hnty-š  
n mt n š. t

Erman (*l. c.*, p. 15) was unable to explain the phrase *n mt n š.t*. He wrote: "Aber was ist *nmt n šst*? Ist es ein Titel wie *mt n š*? (*L. D.* II, 142 c, Louvre C. 11.12)? oder ist *n mlā nā šst* zu lesen und gehört es zu *št mt* (Louvre C 1)? oder steckt endlich ein Verbum *nmt* darin, das zum Folgenden zu ziehen wäre?"

Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, p. 143 translated: "I was the one who made for them the plan while my office was (only) that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh of [ ]".

Budge cites the passage in his *Egyptian Dictionary*, p. 331, but leaves it unexplained.

Breasted seems to have felt the force of *n mt n š.t* by inserting "only" in brackets. The passage should be translated: "I was the one who devised the plan for them while my office was that of Pharaoh's chief of the orchard, properly speaking."

The phrase *n mt n š.t* literally means "nach der Korrektheit des Platzes", and might also be translated by "nach der rechten



(Rang)stellung", "according to the correct position (of rank)," thereby keeping more closely to its literal meaning. But there is no doubt, judging from the want of an additional word, like *i3w.t*, that the phrase has taken on the more general meaning of "properly", or, "properly speaking", "eigentlich." *Nmt n 5.t*, therefore, is to be explained as an adverbial phrase.

The revised translation of lines 16 (beginning with *k3b.wy*) to 19 this runs as follows:

"His Majesty sent me at the head of this army; then (*ist*) (*scil.* came) the counts, then (*ist*) the royal treasurers, then (*ist*) the sole companions of the palace, then (*ist*) the nomarchs, the commanders of strongholds of the South and the Northland (and) the border districts (*smr* is here a designation of Egypt's border lands or neighboring vassal states), the chief interpreters, the chief prophets of the South and the Northland, the chiefs employed in government storehouses, those at the head of a troop of the South or the Northland (and) of the strongholds and cities which they ruled (and) the negroes of these countries (which are mentioned under the term *smr*). I was the one who devised the plan for them while my office was that of Pharaoh's chief of the orchard, properly speaking."

Former translations ignored the fact that *ist*....*ist* expresses the graded formation of the army and its leaders. Uni marches at the head of the army, followed by the officers according to their rank down to the troop commanders of the South and the Northland, of the strongholds and the cities. The rear of the army is made up of the Negro-tribes. Uni, however, not only marches at the head of the army, but he also devises the plans, although "properly speaking" he is an inferior officer. The force of the phrase *nmt n 5.t* comes out more fully with a correct understanding of the syntax of *ist*....*ist*.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Geschichte der indischen Literatur.* Dritter Band. Von M. WINTERNITZ. Leipzig: C. F. AMELANGS VERLAG. [1922.] xii+698 pp.

After twenty-three years of labour, Professor Winternitz's "History of Indian Literature," whose first volume appeared in 1908, is complete; but though its composition has occupied so long a time, the work, both in execution and in spirit, forms a unit. The author has attempted, with much success, a difficult task—a survey of a vast literature in many diverse fields, a literary evaluation, and adequate bibliographical references—a toil all the harder because of the utter vagueness of the Indian mind as to history or even as to accurate recording of names of authors. Chronological certainty can seldom be attained in matters purely Indian, whence, *faute de mieux*, it seems best to accept Indian tradition regarding authorship until definite scientific proof can be alleged to the contrary. These problems are judiciously weighed by the author; and though some may doubt, for example, whether all the works which he assigns to Bhāsa (pp. 184-202, 644-646) were really written by that dramatist, it appears wisest for the present to take this position, at least as a working hypothesis.

It may be stated quite safely that Professor Winternitz's "History" supersedes all works hitherto written on its theme. The volume under consideration discusses the artificial poetry of India, including the native theories of poetics, dramaturgy, and metrics, the court epics, pseudo-histories and real histories, lyric, proverbial, and didactic poetry, drama, fable-literature, romances, and *campūs*; the scientific literature on grammar, lexicography, philosophy, customary usage (if the reviewer may suggest this as covering all that is implied in the wide term *dharmaśāstra*), practical science (*arthaśāstra*)—especially politics, hippology, elephantology, architecture, music, and precious stones—erotics, medicine, astronomy, astrology, and mathematics; and concludes with a brief "survey of modern

Indian literatures" and with addenda and corrigenda to the entire work.

From the nature of the case, the study as a whole is a compilation, though it bears throughout the stamp of the author's own judgment and individuality. For the technical reader its principal value is that it summarises the present state of knowledge and opinion on its subject; for the layman its length may perhaps be deterrent, and a condensation of all three volumes into a single one of less specialised character might be desirable. The reviewer has long been of opinion that there is need (1) of a strictly technical history of Indian literature corresponding to the *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* by Teuffel and his successors, including all the material of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* and the catalogues of manuscripts which have appeared since, together with an exhaustive bibliography; and (2) of a purely literary history somewhat like Croiset's *Histoire de la littérature grecque*.

Particular interest attaches to the author's discussion of the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa (pp. 184-202), of the history of the *Pañcatantra* (pp. 272-311) and the *Brhatkathā* (pp. 312-353), and of the *Kauṣīlīya-Arthaśāstra* (pp. 509-524), while his judicious remarks on the Prākṛits (pp. 97-98, 404) as literary languages developed from popular dialects deserve notice, as do his views on the question of Indo-Hellenic contacts in drama (pp. 174-180), fable (pp. 307-311), romance (pp. 371-374), philosophy (pp. 477-478), medicine (p. 554), astronomy (pp. 557-562), astrology (pp. 566, 569-570), and geometry (p. 577).

Although Professor Winternitz has included a vast amount, and has given abundant proof of his wide reading and deep reflection, there are a number of omissions; and, without attempting an exhaustive supplementation, the reviewer has noted the following addenda, including some studies which have appeared since the work was published

p. 48, note 2: reference should be made to Ettinghausen's *Harṣa Vardhana, empereur et poète de l'Inde septentrionale* (Paris, 1906).

p. 58, note 2: the *Raghuvamśa* has been translated into Greek by Galanos (Athens, 1850) and into French by Fauche in his *Œuvres complètes de Kalidasa* (Paris, 1859-1860).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, much additional bibliographical material might have been added from catalogues of manuscripts, printed books, etc.



p. 67, note 2, and p. 105, note 2: Fauche has also translated the *Śiṣupālavadha* (Paris, 1863) and *Meghadūta* (*Œuvres complètes de Kalidasa*).

p. 109, note 4, and p. 127, note 1: Fauche has likewise translated the *Ṛtusamhāra* and *Gītāgovinda* (Paris, 1850), and Sir Edwin Arnold has made a poetic version of the *Gītāgovinda* (*The Indian Song of Songs*, London, 1875).

p. 117, note 1: The *Caurīśuralapañcāśikā* has been translated into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold (*The Thief's Lament*, London, 1896) and into French by Fauche (Paris, 1852), while an adaptation of the framework in English verse has been made by P. Seshadri (Madras, 1914).

p. 143, note 3: Bhartṛhari has been translated into French by Fauche (Paris, 1852) and Regnaud (Paris, 1875); the *Nūṣātaka* and *Vairāgyaśātaka* into English prose by Wortham (London, 1886), into English verse by Tawney (Calcutta, 1877), and into Italian verse by Pizzi (Turin, 1899); cf. also More's *Century of Indian Epigrams chiefly from the Sanskrit of Bhartrihari* (Boston, 1898).

p. 189, note 2: the *Madhyamavyāyoga* has been translated into English prose by E. P. Janvier (Mysore, 1921; University of Pennsylvania dissertation).

p. 234, note 1: the *Mālaṭīmādhava* has been translated into Italian by Cimmino (Milan, 1915); cf. also his *Osservazioni sul rasa nel Mālaṭīmādhava di Bhavabhūti* (Naples, 1915).

p. 286, note 1: the *Pañcatantra* has been translated into Greek (together with the *Hitopadeśa* and *Śukasaptati*) by Galanos (Athens, 1851), into French by Lancereau (Paris, 1871), and into Italian by Pizzi (Turin, 1896).

p. 293, note 2: the *Hitopadeśa* has been translated into French by Lancereau (Paris, 1882) and into English by Johnson (2nd ed., London, 1864) and Pincott (London, 1880).

p. 353, note 2: the *Daśakumāracarita* has been translated into French by Fauche (Paris, 1862).

p. 509, note 2: see also Kālidās Nāg. *Les Théories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra* (Paris, 1923).

p. 533, note 4: the first part of Śrīkumāra's *Śilparatna* appeared in 1922 in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*.

p. 541, note 1: an English translation of the *Ratirahasya* appeared in 1923 at Lahore.

p. 556, note 1: on the problem of the *nakṣatras* see also Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, i (Leipzig, 1906), 70-88, where the theory of Babylonian origin is favoured.

p. 606 (on i, 24): add a reference to Hilka, *Die altindischen Personennamen* (Breslau, 1910).

p. 608 (on i, 62): the second volume of Sarup's *Nighaṇṭu* has now appeared (Oxford, 1922).

p. 621 (on i, 246 ff.): well-founded doubts as to the exactness of these identifications have been advanced by W. E. Clark, "The Alleged Indo-Iranian Names in Cuneiform Inscriptions," in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXXIII (1917), 261-282.

A general reference might also be made to Sushil Kumar De's *Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics* (2 parts, London, 1922-23).

It is rather difficult to criticise Professor Winternitz's section on the modern Indian literatures. It is confessedly only a sketch; and an adequate discussion, which might conceivably be prepared by Sir George Grierson and Mr. R. W. Frazer, would fill at least a volume. Yet if this part had been expanded only a few pages, the reviewer cannot but feel that it would have been greatly improved. For the Dravidian literatures in general reference might well have been made (p. 579, note 2) to Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages* (2nd ed., London, 1875), pp. 123-153, and for the Aryan languages (p. 585, note 2) to Beames's *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, i (London, 1872), 82-96. The following bibliographical additions to this portion of the work may be noted.

p. 578, note 1: for Sindhi literature see *Linguistic Survey of India*, VIII, i, 12-13.

p. 579, note 2: for Tamil literature see also Chitty, *The Tamil Plutarch, Containing a Summary Account of the Lives of the Poets and Poetesses of Southern India and Ceylon* (Jaffna, 1859); P. Sundaram Pillai, *Some Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature* (Madras, 1895); M. Śeṣagiri Śāstrī, *Essay in Tamil Literature* (Madras, 1897).

p. 583, note 5: at least one Malayālam novel has been translated into English, the *Induleka* of O. Chandu Menon (Madras, 1890).

p. 583, note 6: a reference should be added to E. P. Rice, *History of Kanarese Literature*, 2nd ed., London, 1921.

p. 583, note 8: a very serious omission is the failure to record the *Wide-Awake Stories* of Mrs. Steel and (Sir) R. C. Temple (Bombay, 1884) with its "analysis of the tales" and "survey of the incidents in modern Aryan folk-tales." Mention should also have been made of Swynnerton's *Indian Nights' Entertainments; or, Folk-Tales from the Upper Indus* (London, 1892) and *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb* (Westminster, 1903). Other collections worth noting are *The Talking Thrush and Other Tales from India* by Crooke and Rouse (London, 1899), Chilli's *Folk-Tales of Hindustan* (Allahabad, n. d.), Shankunny's *Folklore in Malabar* (Calicut [1902]), Natesa Sastri's *Dravidian Nights Entertainments, being a Translation of Madanakamarajan-dakāi* (Madras, 1886), Anderson's *Collection of Kachāri Folk-Tales and Rhymes* (Shillong, 1895), and Campbell's *Santal Folk Tales* (Pokhuria [1891]), to mention only a few works in the reviewer's private library.

p. 584, note 1: refer also to T. H. Thornton, "The Vernacular Literature and Folklore of the Panjāb," in *JRAS*, 1885, pp. 373-414, and to *LSI* IX, i, 618.

p. 585, note 2: for Assamese literature see Grierson, "Assamese Literature," in *IA* xxv (1896), 57-61, and *LSI*, V, i, 396-397; for Oriyā, Monmohan Chakravarti, "Notes on the Language and Literature of Orissa," in *JASBe*, lxvi (1900), 317-348, lxvii (1900), 332-386; for Rājasthānī, *LSI*, IX, ii, 3-4 (for Mārwarī, *ib.* p. 19; for Jaipurī, *ib.* p. 32).

p. 588, note 1: for Marāṭhī literature see *LSI*, VII, 12-15.

p. 590, note 2: for Maithilī literature see *ib.* V, ii, 17-18.

p. 592, note 1: for Kāshmirī literature see *ib.* VIII, ii, 237-238.

p. 592, note 3: for Gujarātī literature see *ib.* IX, ii, 332-333.

p. 597, note 1: a number of Bengali novels have been translated into English, among them being Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Poison Tree* (London, 1884), *Kopal Kundala* (London, 1885), *Chandra Shekhar* (London, 1904), and *Abbey of Bliss* (n. p., n. d.), P. C. Mitter's *Spoilt Child* (Calcutta, 1893), and N. C. Sen's historical romance *Roshinara* (Trichinopoly, 1912).

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*Choix d'objets d'art d'Extrême-Orient conservés dans les Pays Bas.* Première série. Société des Amis de l'Art Asiatique, publications rédigées par T. B. ROORDA. La Haye: MARTINUS NIJHOFF, 1920.

In the autumn of 1919 the Society of Friends of Asiatic Art of the Netherlands held an exhibition of selected works of East-Asiatic art at Amsterdam, which are well reproduced in this volume in twenty-four photogravures with brief explanations. This new series, however, has a wider scope, and it is proposed to render accessible to the public in future issues all remarkable examples of Asiatic art found in public and private collections of Holland. This is a very praiseworthy enterprise, as only in this manner may we hope to arrive at a just appreciation of the monuments by having as much material as possible at our disposal. The editor expresses the wish that this publication may give an impetus to similar publications abroad, so that a sort of international archives of reproductions may be engineered, in which the necessary tools for a comparative study of the art of the East will be presented. In this issue monuments, chiefly of Buddhistic character, from China, Tibet, Japan, Siam, and Camboja are reproduced. The Tibetan painting of a White Tārā and the Japanese sculptures are particularly beautiful. Thanks to her former intimate relations with Japan, Holland can boast of many Japanese treasures which are not easily duplicated in any other country. The large size and fine quality of the reproductions permit one to study the designs with all details, and this publication promises indeed to become a thesaurus of oriental art. We anticipate with great eagerness the issues to follow.

B. LAUFER

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*Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum.* Von ADOLF ERMANN. Neu bearbeitet von HERMANN RANKE. Mit einem farbigen Titelbild, 100 Abbildungen auf 42 Tafeln, sowie 276 Strichzeichnungen, 2 Karten und Schriftproben im Text. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. MOHR (PAUL SIEBECK), 1923. XXVII+692 pp.

H. Ranke, the well-known translator of Breasted's excellent *History of Egypt*, shows his great ability now by his new edition

of Erman's book on Egypt which appeared in 1885 for the first time. The important new material which through excavation has come to light in the meantime made it necessary to revise our views of ancient Egypt. It was a very difficult task which R. has executed in the best possible way. Although the framework and the leading ideas of the book remain the same, R. has worked in all the new results gained in the last four decades since the first edition of the remarkable book. There is a larger number of very instructive pictures in the text and of plates. At the end of the book there is added a list of the Egyptian kings and their dates (as far as they can be fixed). Then follows an index (pages 662-672), a list of all native texts cited, as well as of passages in the Old Testament and classical writers (pp. 679-680), and a list of abbreviations (pp. 682-692) which is at the same time a very useful bibliography of all important publications. The book marks a decided progress in Egyptology.

NATHANIEL REICH

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*The Lebanon in Turmoil: Syria and the Powers in 1860.*  
"Book of the Marvels of the Time concerning the Massacres  
in the Arab Country." By ISKANDER IBN YA'QUB ABKARIUS.  
Translated and annotated and provided with an Introduction  
and Conclusion by J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A., Ph.D.  
(Yale Oriental Series. *Researches*, Vol. VII.) New Haven:  
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1920.

Dr. Scheltema's attempt to provide English readers with a translation of a valuable as well as interesting Arabic source-document relative to the Civil War of 1860 in the Lebanon is one worthy of high commendation and special praise. The episode with which the document deals is one of the most important, tho least understood, in the modern history of Syria. Many old men and women still living to-day in Syria could tell from first-hand knowledge much about the events recorded in this work; and yet how hard it is, with the religious bias and personal equation of the narrators and chroniclers, to disentangle the facts from the web of traditions and to ascertain the truth as it really happened! Nor is it an unusual thing to

hear an old man in our present day, in Syria, dating the events of his life, and often determining the date of his birth, from the third *ḥaraki* (the Civil War of '60)—so great is the impression left by those events upon the minds of the subsequent generation.

Likewise should the acquaintance of Dr. Scheltema with the English and French literature on the subject be favorably commented upon. His mastery of many details connected with the subject is evident from a perusal of the Introduction and Conclusion he writes. Our only regret, however, is that his mastery of the intricacies and niceties of modern Arabic expression does not seem to have been such as to enable him to do justice to the Arabic original. In fact this is not to be expected from anyone, however scholarly and learned he may be, who has not spent a large part of his life in Syria.<sup>1</sup>

Our purpose in the following paragraphs is not so much to make a general review of Dr. Scheltema's work as to offer criticisms and make corrections which, we trust, will prove of value to those who wish to make use of the book. The criticism is based on a manuscript found in the possession of *khawāja Wadī*, the son of the author Iskander Ya'qūb Abkarius, a resident of Bayrūt. Whether the manuscript used by Dr. Scheltema, known as No. 759 of the Landberg Collection in Yale University, or the Bayrūt manuscript is the original one is hard to ascertain and is not of vital importance for our immediate object. What is more to the point is the fact that the two manuscripts seem so identical as to warrant the following criticism. The rhythm of the rhymed prose (*saḥf*) used throughout by the author, the context, and the kind of mistakes made by the translator, which in almost every case can be easily explained as we shall have occasion to see later, leave no doubt in our mind as to the identical wording of the phrases corrected in both the Yale copy and the Bayrūt copy. Aside from omitting certain sentences in the one copy or the other, the only noticeable variation that we could discover was in the title of

<sup>1</sup> The translator complains that "Abkarius' handwriting is in places hard to decipher" p. 6, and that his diction is "involved and consequently obscure" p. 7. The handwriting of the Bayrūt MS is perfectly clear, and to one familiar with modern Arabic literature the style is most simple and easy.



the book which the translator renders (p. 45): "Book of the Marvels of the Time Concerning the Massacres in the Arab Country." This evidently differs from our title only in the last word which in the former is: "'arabistan," and in the latter: "Iubnan."<sup>1</sup> And then follows the *basmalah* (in the name of God etc.) which, in the Yale MS., is according to the Muslim formula, but, in the Bayrūt MS., is according to the Christian formula.

In our criticism we shall desist from taking exception to certain statements made by the translator on his authority in the Introduction and Conclusion,<sup>2</sup> and from pointing out the abject, and in many cases as it seems to us unnecessary, dependence on the Arabic original,<sup>3</sup> often to the extent of sacrificing English clarity. We shall limit our criticism to the correction of (a) mispronounced and mistransliterated proper names of places and individuals, (b) faulty information given in the foot-notes, (c) mistakes in translation due to failure to comprehend the Arabic original. We shall not attempt to recast many sentences, which should be recast, nor to point out the variation in the shades of meaning rendered by the translation. The following corrections will serve only as an illustration.

(1) For "Malham" p. 19 F.N. 29, proper name of a person still in common use in Syria, read "Mulhim". (2) For "'Amād" pp. 39, 51, 53, 61, 96, 124, etc., name of a family still surviving, read: "'Imād". (3) For "Mutāwalies" pp. 47 F.N. 5, 76, 90, 93, etc., the Shi'ite sect of Islam, read: "Matāwilah". (4)

<sup>1</sup> In foot-note 3 p. 46, Dr. Scheltema notices that this word in his MS. is "half erased and rewritten".

<sup>2</sup> The original title we therefore take to be, *naẓādir as-samān fī malāḥim jabal Iubnān*, which we would rather render: "The Rare Events of all Time Relative to the Butcheries of Mt. Lebanon".

<sup>3</sup> Such as "the Maronites [during the Great War] did not belie their reputation for turbulence and disobedience to the law of the land" p. 180, and "Elias Huwayek, the patriarch of the Maronites, was removed from his official residence to a locality where he remained under close observation" p. 180, both of which statements are incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> Notice, for instance, his including each one of the first six chapters in one paragraph only, introducing fourteen consecutive sentences, pp. 52-54, with "and", ignoring the fact that Arabic *wa* is not always the equivalent of English "and".

For "Jabā'ah" p. 48, a village in southern Lebanon, read: "Jbā'"<sup>6</sup>. (5) For "Banu-l-'Ayd" pp. 46, 75, 104, etc., a family name still borne by many, read: "Banu-l-'Id". (6) For "al-Mukhtārah" pp. 53, 102, a well-known village in the Shūf district of Lebanon, read: "al-Mukhtārāh". For "Ḥamā" p. 77, a city in northern Syria, read: "Ḥamāh". (7) For "al-Buqā'a" pp. 53, 72, 165, etc., the plain between the two Lebanons, read: "al-Biqā'". (8) For "al-Munāṣil" pp. 53, 64 F. N. 77, 101, 104, 120, etc., a district in Lebanon, read: "al-Manāṣil". (9) For "ash-Shaḥār" pp. 53, 101, 107, another district, read: "ash-Shaḥḥār". (10) For "Ḥamādah" pp. 57, 102, 104, 109, etc., a distinguished Druze family with a number of modern representatives, read: "Ḥimadah". (11) For "Bayt Mary" pp. 62, 63, 67, etc., a village in the vicinity of Bayrūt, read: "Bayt-Miry". (12) For "Zukhūr" p. 75, a proper name still in vogue, read: "Zakhkhūr". (13) For "al-Qāsinīyah" p. 76 F. N. 99, a river, read: "al-Qāsimīyah". (14) For "Jorjas ar-Rays" p. 81, name of a person, read: "Jurjus ar-Rayyis". (15) For "Najam" p. 77, name of a person, meaning star, read: "Najm". (16) For "Ḥasan-ad-Dīn" p. 102, proper noun, read: "Ḥuṣn-ad-Dīn". (17) For "ad-Dawayk" p. 108, family name, read: "ad-Duwayk". (18) For "al-Judaydah" p. 115, a village in Lebanon, read: "al-Judaydah". (19) For "Ma'āṣir al-Fakhār" p. 115, another village, read: "Ma'āṣir al-Fakhkhār". (20) For "al-Haddār" p. 118, a name as common as its English equivalent—Smith, read: "al-Haddād". (21) For "Ḥamūd" p. 121, a familiar name among Muslims, read: "Ḥammūd". (22) For "Shihādah al-'Aky" p. 137, name of a person, read: "Shihādah al-'Akky", pertaining to, or coming from 'Akka—Acre. (23) For "Yūsuf al-Kakk" p. 138, proper name, read: "Yūsuf al-Kikk". (24) For "al-Inja" p. 155, a family name, read: "al-Anja".

Here are some of the corrections to be noted in connection

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted in this connection that the failure of the translator to distinguish in transliteration between Arabic *ḥammāh* and 'ayn and his use of the same sign ' for both is very confusing. Far'ūn Shā'ūl p. 107, for instance, should be: "Far'ūn (rather Fur'aun) Shā'ūl".

<sup>7</sup> We are following the system of transliteration used by the translator, although in such case we would prefer the "ḥ" for the "g" to represent the Arabic *ḥaf*.

with the comments made by the translator in his footnotes: (1) The Nakad family is neither "extinct" nor of "Maghrebine" origin, as stated in F.N. 31, p. 51. It is of Arab origin and is represented in our day by some thirty persons resident in 'Abayh, of whom two were last year students in the American University of Bayrūt. (2) Nasīb Bey Janblāt lived, before his death which occurred some two years ago, in Brāmiyah, a suburb of Sidon, and not in "Bayrūt" as stated in F. N. 39 p. 53. (3) The water brought by Amīr Bashīr to his *sarai* in Bayt-ad-Dīn came from 'Ayn-Zhaltah, and not from "Bārūk", as stated in F. N. 48 p. 55. (4) The famous Fakhr-ad-Dīn, credited in F.N. 81, p. 65, with the planting of the pine grove of Bayrūt, may have added a few trees to a grove already existing since mediaeval times. (5) For "an *ajāwīd*", an epithet given by the translator to as-Sayyid 'Abdallāh, and meaning a sheikh highly initiated in the Druze mystic rites, read: "a *jura'yīd*", in the singular.

We shall now proceed to correct some of the mistakes made in the translation: (1) *wahakama 'ala-a-l-o'māri bi-l-ājāl*, rendered, "and passed judgment upon the conduct of our lives at their appointed term" p. 45, should be: "and determines the lengths of all lives". (2) *wakānat ahlāhi min qadīmi-z-zamān min 'abadati-l-athān*, rendered, "and its inhabitants have their origin in the most remote ages, preceding the epochs and times of the peoples who clung to vain beliefs" p. 47, should be: "and its inhabitants in remote ages were heathen". (3) *inḡasamat ahlī-l-bilād ila janblāṭiyah wayazbakīyah nisbatan ila yazbak*, rendered, "The clans of the country branched off into Janblāṭites and Yazbakites, the latter of whom claimed descent from Yazbak" pp. 51-52, should be: "The population of the land divided themselves into a Janblāṭi and a Yazbaki party, the latter so called after one Yazbak". (4) *wakāna dhālīka min akbari-l-mughālaṭāt*, rendered, "in consequence of critical circumstances surprising him" p. 57, should be: "and that was one of the greatest mistakes into which he was made to fall". (5) *wakāna... 'adīma-d-durbah fi suluki ṭuruki-l-rī'āsah bakhīlan saftḥ al-lisān*, rendered, "he lacked training in travelling the ways of authority [conducting the affairs of government] with stinginess of levity of the tongue [with circumspect language]" p. 57, should be: "he lacked training in pursuing the



right path of leadership, was stingy and filthy of tongue". (6) *waṣāru ka'annahum hum aṣḥābu-l-ḥauli wa-l-amal*, translated "becoming companions [closely united] in words and deeds" p. 60, should be: "and they conducted themselves as if they were free to say and do whatever they pleased." *aṣḥābu-l-marāmat*, rendered, "companions of calamities" p. 62, should be: "those of evil designs." *ṣāḥib al-makrumah was-siyādah*, rendered, "the companion of high deeds and dignity" p. 141-2, should be: "the possessor of noble deeds and lordship". *ṣāḥib ad-daulah*, rendered, "the companion of empire" p. 143, literally means the possessor of power and corresponds to: "his excellency"<sup>8</sup>. (7) *jala'ibat bihimi-l-ḥamīyah*, rendered, "so their disdain [for a supposedly weaker enemy] had played them a trick" p. 63, should be: "so their enthusiasm was aroused".<sup>9</sup> (8) *min aṣḥaddi-n-nāsi ta'aṣṣuban fī-d-dīn*, rendered, "the most strenuous of men [a zealot] in the [Muhammadan] faith" p. 63, should be: "one of the most bigoted of all men in matters of religion". (9) *yuhaddi-l-ḥāl*, rendered, "and take the direction of the affair" p. 65, should be: "and quiet things down".<sup>10</sup> (10) *lija'li ka'l-i-l-asbāb*, rendered, "because of their cutting the lines of communication" p. 66, should be: "in order to remove the causes of provoking trouble".<sup>11</sup> (11) *wa'idh kāna 'inda ḍuruzi bayt-miry ghubnun min al-'āmi-l-mādī lam yasa'humu-l-iḥmāl wat-tagḥādi*, rendered, "And lo! the Druzes of Bayt Mary had practised deceit for a year past. Neither delay nor feigned indifference had made them swerve" p. 67, should be: "The Druzes of Bayt-Miry having received a bad deal [or bargain from the Christians] the year before, could neither let things go nor overlook [the grudge which they cherished]". (12) *akhadhu yuwazzi'una amti'athum wa'iyālahum ila bayrūt likay yatafarraghū lil-ḥidāl*, rendered, "each looking after his own family and belongings, they took these to Bayrūt in order to steer clear away of fighting" p. 67, should be: "they began to distribute their be-

<sup>8</sup> *aṣḥāb* has evidently caused the translator a great deal of trouble, and is rendered by him "companions" when it has the idea of possessing or having.

<sup>9</sup> The Arabic expression is an idiomatic one that is very often used. The translator was misled by the etymological meaning of *la'ibā*.

<sup>10</sup> The verb *yuhaddi* is derived from *ḥada'a* and not *ḥada*.

<sup>11</sup> The Arabic idiom is often used in the colloquial.

longings and families [among their friends] in Bayrūt in order to be free to carry on the fight". (13) *fa'ahraḡu khān jamhūr*, rendered, "and burned down a public inn" p. 68, should be: "and burned down the inn of Jamhūr."<sup>12</sup> (14) *wamin hunākā-nlashaḡa-l-ḡilālu fil-matn bayna-l-farīḡayn washta'alati-n-naru fi buyūti-l-ḡaraḡayn*, rendered, "and [spreading] from there, the hostilities between the [contending] bands involved al-Matn and the fire blazed up in the houses of the noble-born" p. 68, should be: "thence fighting between the two parties spread into al-Matn, and fire blazed up in the homes of both sides". (15) *waḡātalu-d-duruz biḡhajā'atin waḡamīyeh*, rendered "and the war between them and the Druzes was kindled with respect to matters of religion" p. 69, should be: "and they fought the Druzes with valor and enthusiasm". (16) *ḡatta idha ḡadatha 'aḡayhim amrun yudāfi'una sawīyatan 'ala-l-ḡmkan*, rendered, "until an order came instructing them to break up as evenly as possible" p. 70, should be: "so that in case something should happen they could defend themselves as much as possible conjointly".<sup>13</sup> (17) *wa'idha bimaḡjatin 'aḡīmalin saḡabathuma ḡla-l-umḡ*, rendered, "a huge wave came and carried them out of their depth" p. 72, should be "and behold, a huge wave came and carried them away into the depth [of the sea]". (18) *al-ḡfranḡ*, rendered, "French nation" p. 72, should be: "the Europeans". The same word is used later in different forms and rendered, "French consul" p. 94, "France" p. 98, "French Empire" p. 144; it should be: "European consuls", "Europe", "European Powers" respectively.<sup>14</sup> (19) *ḡla ma shā'al-lah mina-z-zamān*, rendered, "as long as it pleased the God of [all] time" p. 72, should be: "as long a time as it pleased God",<sup>15</sup> i. e., to the end of time, everlastingly. (20) *ḡaryat al-ma'marīyah*, rendered, "their larger villages"

<sup>12</sup> Jamhūr is a village still standing near Ba'albda, the scene of the events depicted in the preceding paragraph. It lies on the main route between Bayrūt and Damascus and has to-day a railway station. The translator took it for a common noun.

<sup>13</sup> The translator took *amr* and *yudāfi'an* in the wrong sense.

<sup>14</sup> Ever since the crusading times the people of Syria have applied the term *(franḡ)* (a corruption of Franks) to all Europeans indiscriminately.

<sup>15</sup> The Arabic expression is a very common one in classical as well as modern Arabic literature.

p. 74, should be: "the village of Ma'mariyah. *wakāna ḥad baḥiya jānibun minhum fi-l-ma'mariyah*, rendered, "And those that remained alive of them were only a few" p. 76, should be: "And some of them had remained in al-Ma'mariyah",<sup>16</sup> (21) *al-ḥarakah*, rendered, "proceedings" p. 74, "commotion" p. 91, "disturbance" p. 99, "agitation" p. 100 etc. is the word still used by the people of Lebanon to designate their Civil Wars of 1840, '44 and '60. These *ḥarakah's* are often referred to as the first, second and third, respectively. (22) *katabati-d-duruz ila wālī dimashk i'rādan ḥāfilan bil-khutūm wal-asmā'*, rendered, "then the Druzes wrote to the governor-general at Damascus fully and circumstantially with seals and names attached" p. 79, should be: "The Druzes wrote to the Wālī of Damascus a petition all full of seals and signatures", i. e., signed by many people.<sup>17</sup> (23) *al-ladhīna kānu yataḥāharūna bil-'iṣyān*, rendered, "who had supported the rebellion" p. 80, should be: "who openly arose in rebellion".<sup>18</sup> (24) *famtana'u an yusallimu silāḥahum dūna an yafkudu arwāḥahum*, rendered, "Now they would have refused to deliver their weapons if their spirit had not failed them" p. 85, should be: "But they refused to deliver their arms without losing their lives", i. e., while alive. (25) *rabatū wādy al-qarn*, rendered, "occupied Wady al-Qarn" p. 90, should be: "stationed themselves at Wādy-al-Qarn as highwaymen".<sup>19</sup> (26) *tafarraḳat aḥālī zaḥlah ba'da dhālika fi kullī fajjin 'amiḥ*, rendered, "And after this the inhabitants of Zaḥlah dispersed in all directions [taking] the mountain roads along the deep and long ravines" p. 98, should be: "And after this the inhabitants of Zaḥlah dispersed in all directions", or to all quarters of the earth.<sup>20</sup> (27) *allati lam*

<sup>16</sup> It is evident that the translator took al-Ma'mariyah, the name of a village in southern Lebanon and close by the scene of the battle described in the preceding lines, for a common noun, and derived it in the one case from 'amara=to populate a village or make it large, and in the other from 'amira=to live long.

<sup>17</sup> The translator was misled by the etymological meaning of *i'rādan* and *ḥāfilan*.

<sup>18</sup> The translator confused *tāḥara*=to make public show of, with *pāhara*=to support.

<sup>19</sup> A common colloquial idiom.

<sup>20</sup> *fi kullī fajjin 'amiḥ* is an idiomatic expression and should not be translated literally.



*tubkī walām tadhar*, rendered, "which was pitiless and did not [seem] to cease" p. 98, should be: "which did not spare [any one] nor leave [anything]".<sup>21</sup> (28) *kullu jā'ifah 'ala silāhiha wāqifah*, rendered, "the whole community stood under arms" p. 102, should be: "each community [i. e. both the Christian and Druze communities] stood under arms". (29) *wal'āna la aqdiru an 'u'ti-yakumu-dh-dhimama ma lam tadhhabu*, rendered, "and now I am unable to give you the assurance [which you demand]. Why do you not go etc." p. 107, should be "..... unless you go".<sup>22</sup> (30) *bihādha-ṣ-ṣadad*, rendered, "in that neighborhood", should be: "regarding that matter". (31) *fada-'āhuma bishārah-ṣ-ṣuṣa*, rendered, "and the teacher of the Gospel aṣ-Ṣuṣa invited them", should be: "and Bishārah aṣ-Ṣuṣa invited them".<sup>23</sup> (32) *irtābu min dhālika-l-amri-l-munkar*, rendered, "they thought that this thing was unknown" p. 113, should be: "their fears were aroused on account of that evil act". (33) *allatī arḍa biha rabba-l-barāya bitakdāmi-l-karābina waḍ-ḍahāya*, rendered, "which it had pleased the Lord of creation to confer upon him, by bringing offerings and sacrifices" p. 125, should be: "by which he won the favor of the Lord of creation thru the offering of offerings and sacrifices". (34) *wala khaṭara 'ala qalbi bashar*, rendered, "the heart had never been moved" p. 133, should be: "it never occurred to any human heart", i. e., mind—a very common Arabic expression. (35) *wakāna ba'du muslimi-l-madīnati 'ala mashrabihim*, rendered, "And some of the people of the city had been drinking", should be: "And some of the Muslim people of the city were of the same opinion."<sup>24</sup> (36) *wabālaghu fi hajwihim naẓman wanathran*, rendered, "they vigorously censured them restoring order and dispersing [the mob]" p. 141, should be: "and they went

<sup>21</sup> A common Arabic expression used to convey the idea of utter destruction.

<sup>22</sup> The translator considered the negative particle, *wa*, an interrogative particle, which is grammatically impossible.

<sup>23</sup> The translator, taking the first name of the gentleman for a common noun, tried to give some translation of it. The name is not an uncommon one in Syria.

<sup>24</sup> Literally, of the same drinking-taste, quite a common Arabic expression to indicate oneness of thought.

to an extreme in censuring them in both poetry and prose".<sup>25</sup> (37) *wayḥakum ma khiftumu sultānakum*, rendered, "and he will give judgment in what you fear from your Sultan" p. 142, should be: "woe unto you for not fearing your Sultan".<sup>26</sup> (38) *wafaṭwada ilayhi ijr'a aḥkāmīn fauka-l-'adati-l-khāriḳati-l-ḥawānīn*, rendered, "and he entrusted to him the wielding of power beyond the ordinary, breaking with custom" p. 143, should be: "and he invested him with plenipotentiary power". (39) *waja'alu yalūmūna ba'dahum 'ala-l-ḥudūr al-ladhi waḳa'u fihi fī-l-ghurūr*, rendered, "And some of them began to blame for having come those who had persuaded them" p. 157, should be: "And they began to blame one another for presenting themselves [before Fu'ād Pasha] and for being so fooled". (40) *bilād ṣafed*, rendered, "the city of Ṣafed" p. 52, should be: "the district of Ṣafed". *al-balad*, rendered, "country" p. 79 should be: "town".<sup>27</sup> *al-'ālim al-'allāmah*, rendered, "the learned among the learned" p. 55, should be: "the learned, the most learned". *shurakā'ihim*, rendered, "comrades" p. 103 should be: "tenants".<sup>28</sup> *fiḍḥat kabīdī*, rendered, "life blood of my liver" p. 119 should be "a piece of my liver".<sup>29</sup> *al-'usākīr al-manṣūrah*, rendered, "the troops sent for their succour" p. 122, should be: "the victorious troops". *mukḥā-marah*, rendered, "brotherly affection" p. 128, should be: "agreement to injure or destroy". *ar-rūm*, rendered, "Greek" p. 138, should be: "Greek-Orthodox".

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<sup>25</sup> The translator was misled by the etymological meaning of *naẓman* = to put in order, to organize (hence to compose words into poetry), and *nathran* = to spread, to disperse (hence to spread the words in the form of prose).

<sup>26</sup> The translator misread *wayḥakum* for *wayaḥkumu*, in which case the rhythm of the poem will of course be broken, and then he made the negative *ma* a relative pronoun, which is not grammatically possible.

<sup>27</sup> The translator misread *balād* for *bilād*, the reference being to Ḥaṣḥayya.

<sup>28</sup> Peasants who hold from, and till lands for, rich land-owners, receiving a certain part of the products.

<sup>29</sup> Not an uncommon expression of endearment used particularly by a parent in addressing his child.

## MINOR NOTICES

*The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma.* Translated by PE MAUNG TIN and G. H. LUCE. London: HUMPHREY MILFORD; New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH, 1923. xxiii+179 pp. Price \$3.35.

A translation of three chapters (those dealing with traditions of early Burma, down to 1287 A. D.) from the "Glass Palace Chronicle" compiled in 1829 by a group of Burmese monks and scholars on the basis of older chronicles (none, however, older than the 15th century according to our translator), inscriptions, and miscellaneous records. Judging from the present work, the Burmese seem to have a much greater flair for chronology than the Hindus: from about the time of Buddha this chronicle professes to record precise names and dates of Burmese rulers. Unfortunately for its credibility, it goes farther and names thirty-three pre-Buddhistic rulers (without precise dates, to be sure). Interesting is a notation (p. 23) under a king dated 60 B.C.-6 A.D.: "It was in the sixth year of his reign [*i.e.* B.C. 55-54] that great questions were asked and answered between Milinda, king of Sagala, and Shin Nagasena in the Middle Country." This dating of the events told in the Milindapanha can hardly be strictly accurate (see Cambridge History of India, page 699), but it is after all only about half a century wrong. Presumably it represents nothing but a late combination of Ceylonese with Burmese traditions, the figures in both cases being, we must fear, anything but certain. Of course the Burmese records are greatly dependent on the Ceylonese for early times.

*The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S. J., on his Journey to the Court of Akbar.* Translated from the Original Latin by J.S. HOYLAND...and annotated by S.N. BANERJEE...London: HUMPHREY MILFORD; New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH, 1922. xxi+220+xlvi pp. Price \$3.00.

Translation of the quaint and interesting record left by the scribe of the famous Jesuit mission to Akbar's court (discovered in 1906 and published in 1914). The notes are very helpful.



*Heber's Indian Journal.* A Selection, with an Introduction, by P. R. KRISHNASWAMI. London: HUMPHREY MILFORD; New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH, 1923. xiv+221 pp. Price \$ .75.

Selections from Bishop Heber's Journal in India (1823-6), arranged topically under headings such as "British Settlements", "Holy Places," "Architectural Antiquities," "Contemporary Personages," "Customs and Manners," etc.

*Lands of the Thunderbolt.* Sikkim, Chumbi & Bhutan. By the EARL OF RONALDSHAY. Boston and New York: HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY, 1923. xvii+267 pp. Price \$5.00.

At once an interesting record of journeys in the little-known borderland between India and Tibet, and a sympathetic and intelligent account of popular Buddhism in those regions in relation to historic Buddhism. The volume contains a map of the regions visited, as well as many beautiful illustrations, reproduced from photographs taken by the author, who is President of the Royal Geographical Society and Governor of Bengal.

*History of Jahangir.* By BENI PRASAD, M. A. (*Allahabad Studies in History*, ed. SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN: Volume I.) London: HUMPHREY MILFORD; New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH, 1922. xx+501 pp. Price \$5.85.

A very complete and detailed account of the turbulent reign of the son and successor of Akbar, based on original sources, including many not utilized heretofore. One of the most interesting and valuable chapters is the long one on "Mughal Government", which throws much light on the political machinery of the period. The author is anxious to bring out the best sides of his subject, which is very proper. It seems that he overdoes it at times, however; to attribute "strong family affections", a "burning hatred of oppression and a passion for justice" (p. 440) to Jahangir, after the facts recorded about him by the author himself, seems "a bit thick". After all

that can be said for Jahangir has been said, he appears as a rather pusillanimous, often a contemptible character; and he surely did not exhibit "strong family affections" in relation to his father. Nevertheless he was human, and it is well to remind us that nature does not produce exclusively villainous men.

*A History of Hindu Political Theories, from the earliest times to the first quarter of the Seventeenth Century A.D.* By U. GHOSHALL. London, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta: HUMPHREY MILFORD, 1923. xiii+296 pp.

Max Müller's dictum that "India has no place in the political history of the world", because it was wholly absorbed in other-worldly matters, has been shown by recent discoveries to be somewhat exaggerated. It is well to have gathered within the pages of one book the scattered evidences of political speculation in ancient Hindu literature. The book here noticed is a meritorious attempt in that direction. It leaves on the reader the impression that after all the speculative genius of the Hindus paid little attention to political matters. Such works as the now famous Kāuṭīliya Arthaśāstra are mainly realistic treatises on the art of government, and have little to say about theories of the state. And while suggestions of such theories—of various sorts—are found in both Brahmanical and Buddhist works, they appear only incidentally, as stray hints and offhand guesses, rather than as anything approaching systematic speculations. In some later works of the commentary class we find perhaps closer approaches to serious attempts at political theorizing; but even they never acquire anything like the well-rounded outlines of Greek and European theorists. Our author brings out very sanely the fundamental differences between what have been called the Hindu theories of the "social contract" and the "divine right of kings" and their European analogs. Despite some superficial resemblances, he seems to be quite right in maintaining that to emphasize the analogies is more apt to be misleading than helpful.

*The Rg-Vedaprātiśākhya, with the Commentary of Uvaṣa.* By MANGAL DEVA SHASTRI. Part of the Introduction. London: HUMPHREY MILFORD, 1922. 33 pp.

It is hard to review "part of the introduction" to such a work

as that planned by the author and indicated by his title. It is equally hard to understand why such a work should be issued at all in such piecemeal fashion. The thirty-three pages contained in this part deal with the manuscripts, the style, meter and grammar of the text, the "lack of unity in [its] authorship", and the form of the text adopted by the commentator Uvaṭa.

*Vāsavadattā*. Being a translation of an anonymous Sanskrit drama Svapanavāsavadattā [so misprinted on title-page] attributed to Bhāsa. By V. S. SUKTHANKAR. London: HUMPHREY MILFORD, 1923. v+94 pp.

This translation (with explanatory notes) is intended for the "general public". There is a brief introduction, and an abridged version of the Udayana-Vāsavadattā legend as found in the Kathāsaritsāgara, based on Tawney's translation. The translation of the play appears to be scholarly and accurate. The English does not always succeed in being smooth and idiomatic, but any one who has ever tried to translate a Sanskrit play must sympathize with the author on that score.

## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

By unanimous vote the Executive Committee has elected the following to membership in the Society:

Rev. John Wick Bowman	Rev. John M. Kelso
Rev. Thomas F. Carter	Dr. J. J. Obermann
Miss Lucy Cleveland	Dr. George L. Richards
Mr. Joel Hatheway	Mr. James R. Ware
Professor Arthur Jeffrey	

The Executive Committee has fixed April 22, 23, and 24, 1924, as the days of the next annual meeting of the Society.

President ADLER was empowered by the Executive Committee to appoint the Society's delegates to the Conference on the Philological Sciences to be held in Cincinnati on Dec. 31, 1923, in connexion with the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.



## PERSONALIA

Rev. Dr. **FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH**, Lecturer in Semitics in Columbia University, and a member of this Society since 1908, died on October 29, 1923.

Dr. **LOUIS H. GRAY** has been promoted from Associate Professor of Philosophy to Professor of Comparative Philology and Oriental Languages in the University of Nebraska.

Professor **H. C. TOLMAN** of Vanderbilt University, a distinguished Iranian scholar, a member of this Society and a frequent contributor to the *JOURNAL*, died on November 24, 1923.

## BABYLONIACA

THEOPHILE JAMES MEEK

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*The god, <sup>d</sup>E-ul*

THE GOD, <sup>d</sup>E-ul, appears, so far as I know, only in the personal name, En-<sup>d</sup>E-ul. This name is found in two places: in a date formula of Warad-Sin,<sup>1</sup> and in an inscription of Nabonidus.<sup>2</sup> In both the reference is doubtless to one and the same person despite the fact that in the date formula she is called *en* (usually translated "high-priest") of Nannar and in the other *nin* and *nin-dingir-ra* ("high-priestess") of Nannar. This is simply another of the many instances to show that Sumerian gave little heed to gender and both *en* and *nin* could be masculine or feminine as the context required.<sup>3</sup> According to the date formula En-<sup>d</sup>E-ul was invested high-priestess of Nannar by Warad-Sin, and according to the Nabonidus Inscription, Col. II, 1 f., she was the daughter of Kudur-mabug and the sister of Rim-Sin, who we know was the brother and successor of Warad-Sin. Nabonidus tells us further, Col. I, 24; II, 10 ff., that he dedicated his own daughter to be high-priestess to Nannar in the same temple in Ur over which En-<sup>d</sup>E-ul had presided, viz. E-gi-par, and on this occasion gave her as her official name, Bêl(en)-šalti-<sup>d</sup>Nannar. This would seem to be simply a fuller, Semitic form of the earlier name, En-<sup>d</sup>E-ul, and in view of the circumstances recorded in the inscription and the antiquarian interests of Nabonidus it would seem very probable that he should have given his daughter the name of her distinguished predecessor. In that case the god <sup>d</sup>E-ul must be identified with Nannar (Sin).

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<sup>1</sup> See Grice, *Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, No. 45, Col. II, 1.

<sup>3</sup> The classical example for *nin* is the god-name, <sup>d</sup>Nin-girsu, "lord of Girsu". There is no indication that Ningirsu was originally a female deity, as some have argued.

*Is there a root, erēšu, "to fashion"?*

In Sidney Smith's recently published *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, line 81, appears the phrase, "dalāti" <sup>1</sup> "šurmēni šī-ra-a-ti ša i-na pi-te-e u la-a-ri e-ri-eš ja-a-bu, which Smith believes fixes for the root 𐎶𐎵 in architectural descriptions the meaning of cutting and fitting a wooden object to its place. The passage he accordingly translates: "lofty doors of cypress, which were well cut for opening and revolving". At first sight the suggestion is very attractive, but the question immediately arises as to whether this meaning for *erēšu* is supported by occurrences of the root elsewhere, and this must always be the final test of the meaning of a word. In most instances *erēšu* occurs in a context that gives little or no indication of its meaning and it could as well signify "to fashion" as "to smell". The following, however, are some occurrences that assuredly permit only the latter meaning:

Nabonidus Cylinder, V R. 65, Col. II, 13 f.: "I anointed the threshold, the bolt, the lock and the doors with oil and for the entrance of their illustrious divinities I filled the beautiful temple with sweet perfume" (*i-ri-šu ja-a-bi*).

*Ibid.*, Col. II, 15 f.: "O Šamaš, illustrious lord, on thy entering Ebabbara may the gates, the entrances, the shrines and the sanctuaries be acceptable in thy sight; like the forest may they smell sweet to thee" (*ki-ma a-a-ri li-ri-šu-ku*).

Nebuchadrezzar Wadi-Brisa Inscription, B Col. IX, 13 ff.: "Lebanon, the cedar mountain<sup>2</sup> of the luxuriant forests of Marduk, whose odor is sweet (*ša i-ri-iš-su ja-a-bu*), whose cedars are tall".

The meaning "to fashion" for *erēšu* in these and similar passages is quite impossible and Smith's conjecture is therefore unsupported. His passage in Sennacherib ought accordingly to be translated: "lofty doors of cypress, which gave forth a sweet odor in opening and closing", and the generally accepted meaning for *erēšu*, "to smell", must stand.

*Names of Parts of the Doorway*

A frequent expression in the building inscriptions of both the Babylonians and Assyrians is some or all of the following

<sup>1</sup> According to Schroeder, *KAV*, No. 183, 10, *šad erini* = *mdt Hatti*, and Hatti in the late period came to signify Syria, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 269 ff.



terms in conjunction: *dalāti sippu šigaru hittu tallu kanakku*, all of them written both with and without the determinative of wood, *īšu*. The meanings of the first three are well known: *dalāti*, "door-leaves"; *sippu*, "threshold"; *šigaru*, "door-bolt". It is the last three that occasion difficulty.

An expression found in the Assyrian inscriptions runs with some variation as follows:<sup>3</sup> "I erected two pillars (*dimmē*) and set in place (*emid*) on them a beam (*dappu*) as the *hittu* (variant, *kululu*) of the gateway". The context suggests for *hittu*, variant *kululu*, the meaning, "lintel". This would exactly suit *kululu*, as suggested by its root *kalālu*, "to complete, finish off" (cf. *kilīlu*, "crown").<sup>4</sup> The meaning is furthermore supported by the significance of *hittu* in Syriac where it is found as a loan-word and rather interestingly appears in both its Babylonian forms, *hettā* and *heftā*. Its meaning is plank or beam, especially one resting on pillars, i.e., when part of a doorway, "lintel". To *hittu*, *hītu* one may accordingly assign the meaning "lintel". Another *hittu* appears with the determinative of vessel, *karpātu*, and must signify some kind of rectangular, box-like vessel, suggesting a lintel in shape.

A word evidently closely related to *hittu* is *tallu*. When signifying a part of the doorway it usually has the determinative of wood, *īšu*, but as in the case of *hittu* there is another *tallu* with the determinative of vessel, *karpātu*. In the Amarna letters it appears several times in lists of gifts, and in certain ritual texts<sup>5</sup> we find it listed as a votive offering. According to the description in a votive inscription of Ashurbanipal, Bu. 89-4-26, 209,<sup>6</sup> it had sides and bottom and was manifestly box-shaped, and was used to carry or hold a divine statue. A number of such caskets have been excavated in Babylonia and frequently are found with statues in them.<sup>7</sup> Another ref-

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e. g., Smith, *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, line 84; Rassam Cylinder of Ashurbanipal, V R. 10, Col. X, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *kululu*, which is mentioned several times in a Votive Inscription of Nabopolassar (King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, Plate C1). Here it appears in a list of priestly vestments that were given to Šamaš as votive offerings. Its meaning is clearly "turban, tiara, crown".

<sup>5</sup> E. g., Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, p. 66, l. 19; p. 72, l. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Published by the present writer in *JAOS* 38, 167 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See, e. g., Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, *passim*.

erence of some significance is Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, No. 8, 38 l.: *u amēla ša-na-a šu-ta-at-na ak-ka-a-a-u i-na tal-lim* (not *ri-ši*, as Knudtzon) *ki-i ul-zi-zu-šu*, "and after Šutatna of Akko had stood another man in a *tallu*-vessel". This would suggest that a *tallu*-vessel was taller than it was wide and in this instance as tall as a man or taller. All these references suggest for "*tallu*" as part of the doorway the meaning "door-jamb". Streck's rendering, "Türflügel",<sup>10</sup> is precluded by the fact that *tallu* often appears in conjunction with *dallū*, "door-leaves",<sup>11</sup> and so must refer to some other part of the doorway. The connection of *māšū*, "double", with *tallu*, noted by Streck, would seem to have reference, not to the double doors, but to the double doorjamb. The *tallē*, then, would be the two pillars (*dimmē*) on which the *hitu* or lintel was placed. "Doorjamb" agrees well with every context in which *tallu* is found and so can very well be accepted as its meaning.

The last word left in our list is *kanakku* or *kanaku*, and the only part of the doorway so far unmentioned is the hinge, which accordingly would seem to be its meaning. The Babylonian hinge was of course a pivot and socket arrangement. The two words meaning pivot and socket are evidently *yirru* and *nukušu*, but which means "pivot" and which "socket" is difficult to say. The presumption is that *nukušu* means "socket". It is usually found in the plural, showing that there was more than one connected with each door and the accompaniment of *elā* or *šaplā* indicates that there was an upper and a lower *nukušu*, and of course every door had its upper and lower socket in which the pivot-post revolved. *Nukušu* is a loan-word from Sumerian, where it appears as <sup>12</sup>*nu-kuš-ā* but this throws little light on its meaning. The expression *nu-kuš-ā = lā āniḫu*<sup>13</sup> "tireless, unfailing, imperishable"; it could very well apply to the socket. In the early period it was manifestly made of wood as implied by the determinative *giš* but later it was ordinarily made of stone. As in the case of the *nukušu* there was an upper and a lower *yirru*, but it is significant that unlike *nukušu* the word appears

<sup>10</sup> *Asturiani*, p. 290, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> E. g., Wadi-Brisa Inscription, A. Col. VI, 33 l.; East India House Inscription (I. R. 53), Col. III, 48.

<sup>12</sup> Br. 6587; CT XIX, 18, Rev. 8.

always in the singular. It would accordingly seem to have been a single post with upper and lower ends, and was manifestly the pivot-post that ran through the length of the door with both ends protruding slightly beyond the door to act as pivots in the sockets. The same word in Hebrew (פֶּזֶל) and other Semitic languages manifestly means "pivot",<sup>11</sup> and the verbal form *šardru*, "to vex, oppress, force a way", could well suggest for *širru* the pivot, grinding down into the socket. Closely connected with *širru* and *nukušu* is *kanakku*. That it is the opposite and complement of *nukušu* is implied by CT XVII, 35, 59 (cf. IV R. 16, 59a): *ša ina "ka-nak-ki u nu-ku-še-e i-šar-ru-ru*, "(the demon) who forces a way through door-pivot and sockets". The verbal form *kanāku*, "to seal, stamp", would likewise suggest for *kanakku* the meaning, "pivot". Like *širru* it is regularly found in the singular and so refers to the pivot-post and by this word it may best be translated.

<sup>11</sup> See Brown-Briggs-Driver, *Lexicon*, p. 852.



# 'GEBEN' UND 'NEHMEN' IM INDISCHEN

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1. WAHREND gr. *therós*, *statorós* im Ai. *hita-*, *sthita-* entspricht,<sup>1</sup> steht gr. *thorós* ai. *datta-* gegenüber, eine jedenfalls junge Neubildung aus dem Präsens-Stamm.<sup>2</sup> Diese Neubildung kann auch geographisch nur eine schmale dialektische Basis besessen haben, denn im Mittelindischen setzt sie sich nicht fort.

Vielmehr haben sämtliche mittelindischen Dialekte, Pāli und alle Prakṛts, *dinna-* (*dinnya-*). Auch dies ist jedenfalls eine junge Neubildung und auch sie kann nicht, wie die mi. Ueberlieferung zunächst glauben lässt, das ganze indische Gebiet umfasst haben, denn die neuindischen Sprachen haben ausser den lokal beschränkten Nachformen von *dinna-* noch eine Reihe von anderen Typen, von denen einige alt sein müssen.

2. Die *nī*-Sprachen bieten nämlich für das Particip von *dā-* in grossen Linien das folgende Bild:

Der ganze NW, d. i. der ganze Panjab östlich bis zum Ghaggar mit beinahe sämtlichen anliegenden Hindukuš- und Himalaya-Dialekten, hat scharf abgegrenzt den Typus panj. *dittā*. Daran schliesst sich östlich in der Ganges-Ebene von (inclusive) Umballa bis (excl.) Cawnpore, in den nördlich anliegenden Himalaya-Landschaften und den südlich anstossenden Gebieten von Rajasthan und Bundelkhand der Typus hindöst. *diyā*. Dieser wird in Oudh, im Bhojpuri, Bhaghelkhand und teilweise Chattisgarh abgelöst durch *dih-* (bzw. bhojpuri *dih-al-*), woneben in Oudh und Bhaghelkhand noch *dīn(h)* steht. Östlich von diesem *dih*-Komplex hat die Gruppe Maithili-Magahi-Oriyā, noch übergreifend auf das östliche Bhojpuri und Bagheli und grosse Teile des Chattisgarhi, *dēl*, eine Neubildung zum Präsens-Stamm.

<sup>1</sup> Das Iranische dagegen hat *dāta-*, *stāta-*.

<sup>2</sup> Die alte Form hat sich nur in der Komposition, in der dort lautgesetzlichen Gestalt, in *dāta-* erhalten, und so noch pāli *atta-danḍa-*.

Dagegen verbinden sich die Formen des östlich anschliessenden Bengali-Assamese (beng. *diya*, *dilā*) wieder unmittelbar mit den centralen und ebenso die des südwestlich an Chattisgarhī-Orīyā anschliessenden Marāṭhī (*dilā*). An letzteres schliesst sich, während das im äussersten Süden isolierte Singhalesische *dun* < *dinna*- hat, im NW das scharf umrissene *dīthā*-Gebiet, mit Gujarat als Centrum und einem umliegenden concentrischen Streifen von Rājasthānī- und Bhīl-Dialekten. Darüber nördlich ein *dinna*-Gebiet, das scharf ausgeprägt in Sindh einsetzt und sich von hier aus einerseits etwa der Haidarabad-Jodhpur-Agra-Bahn folgend fleckenartig in das *diyā*-Gebiet von Rajasthan und noch Braj bis gegen Agra fortsetzt, ohne indes heute das in Cawnpore einsetzende *dinna*-Gebiet von Oudh-Baghelkhand zu erreichen; andererseits in einem mehr südlichen Bogen wieder fleckenartig nach Khandeś und Malva führt.

Zu den einzelnen Typen:

3. (1) *dittā* eignet nur dem NW, vereinigt aber dessen sämtliche Dialekte, abgesehen von einer kleinen *dinā*-Enklave im Puncī (nordöstl. Lahndā) und einem den inneren, *dittā*-Dialekten des nw. Himalaya-Abhanges aussen (gegen das Tibetische) anliegenden *dīn*-Streifen, der im Jaunsārī (bei Kalsī) in der Ebene einsetzend nordnordwestlich gerichtet über den Tehrī-Dialekt des Garhvālī, das Kōcī und die oberen Satlaj-Dialekte zum Kulū führt.

Sonst gilt aber *dittā* im ganzen Lahndā und Panjābī (nur das Bhaṭṭiānī, Südost, Staat Bikaner, das schon regelmässig Doppelkonsonanz mit Ersatzdehnung vereinfacht, hat *dūā*) und ebenso im anliegenden Berglande: So Tōrvālī (Svat-Kohistan) *dīl*, Kaśmīrī *dyut* (< \**dittu*, wie *dyūth* 'gesehen' < \**dīṭhu*), gleiche Form die Kaśmīrī-Dialekte von Kīstvar und Pogul; ebenso *dittā*, selten (Maṇḍeālī und Haṇḍūrī) *dītā*, in den Pahārī-Dialekten des Himalaya-Abhanges, so weit östlich reichend wie das *dittā* der Ebene (d. h. etwa bis auf die Höhe von exclus. Umballa); endlich haben *dittā* auch die Gujurī-Dialekte des Panjab-Tieflandes und -Kohistans.

4. *dittā*, allen diesen Dialekten gemeinsam, ist zugleich das einzige Element, das sie alle vereinigt. Denn sonst sind Panjābī (und östliches Lahndā) und die westlichen Pahārī-Dialekte stark central überschichtet und das Gujurī sogar reines Rāja-

sthānī (Mēvātī); in *dittā* (gujurī *dittō*) aber haben sie alle das ursprüngliche NW-Element.

Also bilden Panjābī und Lahndā hier gegenüber den centralen Dialekten eine Einheit wie für die andern alten NW-Elemente des Panjābī (Gen. nw. -*dā*: centr. *kō*; Pron. 1 u. 2 Ps. Pl. nw. *aśī*, *tusī*: centr. *ham*, *tum*; Part. Präs. nw. -(n)*dā*: centr. -*tō* usw., vgl. Grierson *LSI* Panj. 616ff.).

5. Und die westlichen Pahārī-Dialekte, alte NW-Sprache durch Rājasthānī überschichtet, haben—während im Gen. durchwegs das rājasthānī -*rā* usw. siegte und das centrale *ham*, *tum* nw. *āssē*, *tūssē* auf den Raum westlich des obern Satlaj beschränkte—in *dittā* das NW-Element östlich bis Kalsi erhalten, so dass nur ein NW-Element, das auch auf das Garhvālī, Kumauni und Naipālī ausgedehnte Part. Pass. auf -*dō*, noch weiter nach Osten reicht.

Das Gujurī schliesslich ist sonst, wie gesagt, reines Rājasthānī (Mēvātī), vgl. Gen. *kō*, Pron. *ham*, *tum*, Part. Pass. -*tō* usw., und *dittō* ist in W. sein einziges wesentliches NW-Element.

Aus all dem erhellt, wie fest *dittā* im NW verankert ist.

6. (2) Aehnlich scharf begrenzt umfasst der SW-Typus *ḍiḍhō* mit dem Centrum Gujarat<sup>1</sup> noch einen Bogen aus den benachbarten Rājasthānī-Dialekten (Sīrōhī und Mēvārī von Udaipur [*ḍiḍō*]), den Bhil-Sprachen (*ḍiḍō*) und dem westlichsten Mālvi (Staat Rutlam *ḍiḍō*); auf ihm beruht auch marāṭhī *ḍiḍhlā* (selten).

7. (3) Der Typus *dinnā* findet sich in den verschiedensten Teilen des nī. Sprachgebietes:

1. Im NW (Enklaven im *dittā*- Gebiet):

a) das schon besprochene West-Pahārī-Gebiet am obern Satlaj (Jaunsāri *dīnō* usw.);

b) nō, Lahndā von Punch (*dīnd*).

2. In der Mittelzone:

a) Sindhī (*ḍḍinō*);

b) daran östlich anschliessend die *dīnō*-Enklaven-Reihe im *ḍiḍō*-Gebiet (in Palanpur und Malva auch mit *ḍiḍ(h)ō* in Föhlung), bezeichnet durch das südl. Marvārī von Palanpur (*dīn-*)

<sup>1</sup> Doch ist im Gujarātī nicht *dē*, sondern—einzig im Nī.—*āp* (< *arpayā*—das übliche Wort für 'geben').



und das westliche von Jodhpur (*dīnā*), Jaipurī (*dīnā*) und Dāṅgī-Dialekt des Braj (*dīn[h]au*);

- c) Mālvi im Staate Devas bei Indore (*dīnā*), und d a r a u f beruhend *dinnalā* im Altmarāthī;
- d) das ostcentrale Gebiet von Oudh (mit Cawnpore und Hardōi) und Baghelkhand, wo *dīn* (*dīnh*) in allen Mundarten neben *dih-* steht (*dīnh* aus *dīn* + *dih-*),—und zwar so, dass *dīn(h)* mehr als reines Particip, *dih-* mehr mit Endung (*dihis* wie *kahis*, *dēkhis* usw.) üblich ist;<sup>4</sup> doch kommt auch *dīnh* mit Endungen vor (Typus *dīnhis*).<sup>5</sup>—Mar. *dīnhalā* beruht auf *dīnh* des nō. anstossenden Baghēli wie mar. *didhlā* auf *dīdhō* des nw. anstossenden Gujarātī.<sup>6</sup>
3. Im äussersten Süden: Singhalesisch (*dun* < *dinna-* wie *sun* < *chinna-*, *bun* < *bhinna-*).

8. Dieses Auftreten in den verschiedensten Gegenden deutet auf hohes Alter des Typs und wahrscheinlich einstige weitere Ausbreitung und gibt so seiner Alleingeltung im Mi. eine gewisse Berechtigung.

Andrerseits ist der Typus geographisch am wenigsten scharf begrenzt. Erstens hängen seine Gebiete nicht zusammen: Nicht nur die NW-Enklaven und das Singhal. sind isoliert, sondern auch in der Mittelzone ist das Westgebiet (Sindh-Agra) von dem Ostgebiet (Oudh-Baghelkhand) durch das reine *diyō*-Gebiet des Kanauji und Bundēli getrennt. Zweitens hat der Typus nur im Sindh in einem grösseren geschlossenen Gebiet Alleingeltung; sonst bildet er entweder Enklaven (im NW im *dittā*-, in der Haidarabad-Agra-Zone und Malva im *diyō*-Gebiet) oder neben ihm steht in denselben Mundarten in teilweiser funktioneller Differenzierung ein zweiter Typus (*dihis* neben *dīn* nicht örtlich, sondern im selben Dialekt funktionell geschieden im Avadhī-Baghēli); wobei dieser letztere Verteilungstypus klar aus dem ersteren entwickelt ist.

9. (4) Der Typus *dih-* ist herrschend in Avadhī, Baghēli, Chattisgarhī (*dihis* wie *kahis*, *dēkhis*, *lagis*, *bolāis*, *gaīs*, *bhaīs*) und, mit *-al*, in Bhojpuri (*dihles* wie *kahles*, *dēkhles* usw.); doch hat er, wie gesagt, im Avadhī-Baghēli *dīn(h)* neben sich; und im

<sup>4</sup> Z.B. Allahabad (LSI Eastern Hindi 101): *d'n*, *līnā*; *kīhīs*, *dīhīs*, *kahīs*.

<sup>5</sup> Baghēli (ebd. 154) *dīnhesi*, (157) *dīnesi*, (172) *dīnhis*.

<sup>6</sup> Unklar Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, S. 140.

östlichen Bhojpuri und Bagheli und im ganzen Chattisgarhi findet sich auch schon *dēlas*, bzw. *dēis* (östl. bagh. *dēis*: standard bagh. *dihis* = östl. bhojp. (Šahabad) *dēlas*: standard bhojp. *dihlas*).

10. (5) Die Neubildung aus dem Präsens-Stamm *dē-l-* hat Alleingeltung in der Gruppe Maithili-Magahi-Oriyā, greift aber, wie gesagt, auch auf die anstossenden Gebiete des Bhojpuri (*dēl-*), Bagheli und Chattisgarhi (*dē-*) über. So maith. *dēlhinh* 'er gab' wie kahlthinh 'er sagte', mag. *dēlak* wie kahlak, or. *dēlā* wie kahlā, *pālā* usw.

Dieser Präterital-Stamm East. Hindi *dē-*, Bihāri u. Oriyā *dē-l-* ist klar auf dem Präsens-Stamm aufgebaut nach Proportionen wie bhojpuri *dēkhab*: *dēkhat*: *dēkhal* = *dēb*: *dēt*: *x*. Sein Vorläufer war zweifellos \**dī-*, \**dil-*, das heute das *dih(al)-* und *dē(l)-*-Gebiet im Westen, Süden und Osten umgibt.<sup>1</sup>

11. (6) Das ganze übrige ni. Sprachgebiet umfasst der Typus *diyō*. Er ist der alleinherrschende im Gangesland von (inclus.) Umballa bis (exclus.) Cawnpore (hindöst. *diyā*, braj *diyau*, kanauji *daō*), in den angrenzenden Himalaya-Dialekten (garh-vāli [mit Ausnahme des Tehri *dīn-*], kumauni und naipāli *diyō*) und im Bundelkhand (*daō*); ist vorherrschend in Rajasthan (*diyō*) und Malva (*diyō*); zu ihm gehören, bzw. auf ihm beruhen bengali Ptc. *diyā*, Prät. *dilā* und assām. Ptc. *diyā*, Prät. *dile* und die Hauptform des Marāṭhī, *dilā*.

Er war zweifellos auch der Vorläufer der Eastern Hindi-, Bihāri- und Oriyā-Typen *dih(al)-* und *dē(l)-*, die heute sein Gebiet unterbrechen; wie er auch tatsächlich noch heute neben *dih-*, *dē-* im Chattisgarhi steht (*diye*).

### Formgeschichte.

12. Da sich ai. *datta-* direkt überhaupt nicht, mi. *dinna-* nur in dem im Vergleich zu seiner mi. Alleingeltung stark eingeschränkten Typus *dīn-* fortsetzt, so ist letzterer vom Gesichtspunkte der überlieferten alt- und mittelindischen Formen zunächst der einzige historische ni. Typus.

<sup>1</sup> Die einzelnen Sprachen der Eastern Hindi-, Bihāri- u. Oriyā-Gruppe haben also, im Ueberblick, die folgenden Typen: Avadhī *dīn(h)* und *dih-is*; Bagheli *dīn(h)*, *dih-is*, selten, im Osten, *dē-is*; Chattisgarhi *dih-is* und *dē-is*, im reinen Ptc. auch *diye*; Bhojpuri *dih-l-as* und, im Osten, *dē-l-as*; Magahi, Maithili, Oriyā nur *dē-l-*.

Doch ist auch *diyā*, der ni. Haupttypus, altererbt, älter selbst als das überlieferte ai. *datta-* und mi. *dinna-*.

Denn wie hindöst. *hūā*, *mūā*, *gayā*, *kīyā* auf *vorāurasēnī* \**hūta-*, \**muta-*, *gata-*, \**kita-* zurückgehen, so offenbar *diyā*—da irgendwelche Analogiebildung ausgeschlossen ist—auf \**dita-*. \**dita-* aber ist unmittelbar gleich gr. *δοτός* wie *hita-* = *θετός* und *sthita-* = *στατός*.

Keiner der bisherigen Fälle von im Ni. erhaltenen, während dem überlieferten Ai. fehlenden altindogermanischen Sprachgut\* kann sich mit diesem an Bedeutung vergleichen.

Die völlige Verdrängung von \**dita-* aus der alt- und mittelinischen Ueberlieferung kann—wenn sie auch (worüber gleich) eine gewisse geographisch-historische Berechtigung hat—doch keine wirklich sprachgeschichtliche Tatsache, sondern nur ein Ergebnis der Grammatiker-Konvention sein.\*

13. Mit der Erschliessung von ai. \**dita-* ändert sich nun die Beurteilung der überlieferten Formen. Denn hat \**dita-* im Ai. bestanden, so muss es in sämtlichen Dialekten die älteste Form gewesen sein; und als—nur in manchen Dialekten—dialektisch verschiedene—Neubildungen aufkamen, müssen diese sämtlich neben \**dita-* aufgekommen sein.

Diese Neubildungen waren Bildungen aus dem Präsensstamme *dad-*, und zwar mit *-la-* oder *-na-* Suffix, wobei ersteres durch das alte \**dita-*, letzteres durch die allgemeine Neigung der *d-* Stämme unterstützt wurde. (Vgl. übrigens *ritta-* und *vinna-*; *vid-* 'finden'.) So entstanden—in verschiedenen Dialekten—einerseits *datta-*, die überlieferte ai. Form, andererseits \**danna-*. Da aber neben beiden zur Zeit ihres Aufkommens noch das alte \**dita-* gestanden haben muss, wurden sie mit diesem zu \**ditta-* und *dinna-* ausgeglichen, wovon ersteres die Vorform des heutigen NW-Typus, letzteres die überlieferte mi. Form ist.\*\*

\* Vgl. Wackernagel *As. Gr.* XIX ff.

\* Diese hat bekanntlich *dita-* auf die Bedeutungen 'geteilt' und 'gebunden' eingeschränkt.

\*\* Damit hat sich mi. *dinna-* im Zusammenhange natürlich erklärt. (Analog sind die Ausgleichungen von \**lahia-* und *laddha-* mit \**dia-* zu *lih-* und *lidh-*, worüber unten.)—Die flüchtige Erklärung Kieckers' (*IF* 24.289ff.) hat Wackernagel *KZ* 43.291A. leicht genug widerlegt und die Stützungsversuche Kieckers' *IF* 32.88ff. sind vergeblich. Kieckers hat aber in einem Punkte recht: nichts berechtigt im Indoiranischen zu Pischel's Annahme eines



In der überwiegenden Menge der ai. Dialekte aber haben entweder überhaupt keine Neubildungen stattgefunden oder sie haben sich nicht durchgesetzt; und \**dita-* blieb ungestört erhalten.

14. Ai. *datta-* ist also eine litterarisch fixierte Durchgangsform. Andererseits ist seine dialektische Fortsetzung in \**ditta-* zu sehen, das *datta-* neben \**dita-* voraussetzt. *datta-* ist also für ältere Zeiten dort zu lokalisieren, wo heute \**ditta-* gilt. Damit ergibt sich aber bei der scharfen Begrenztheit dieses Typus im Ni. ein sicheres Lokalisierungselement für die dem überlieferten Ai. zugrunde liegende Mundart: diese ist ein NW-Dialekt.

15. Im Gegensatz zur -*ta*-Neubildung (*datta-*) ist die auf -*na-*, entsprechend ihrer späteren Fixierung, schon in ausgeglichener Gestalt (*dinna-*) überliefert. Die Umfangsdifferenz des mi. und ni. *dinna-* ist zum Teil wohl wirklich eine historische Tatsache. So machen z. B. altmarāṭhī *dinnalā* und die ursprünglich offenbar zusammenhängenden mālvi *dīnō* und singhal. *dun* es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die Māhārāṣṭrī wirklich ursprünglich *dinna-* hatte und *dilā* (auf \**dia-* beruhend) erst später eingedrungen ist. Für die Dialekte des Ganges-Landes (Śaurasēni usw.) aber ist kaum anzunehmen, dass sie das alte \**dia-* zur Zeit der Fixierung der Prākṛts schon verloren hatten und das heutige \**dia-* auf späteren Neueinbrüchen beruht; vielmehr dürfte \**dia-* in den Schriftsprachen durch Konvention eliminiert worden sein, wozu vielleicht gerade die Māhār. viel beigetragen hat.

Damit sind die ni. Typen \**dia-*, \**ditta-*, und *dinna* erklärt. Zur Erklärung der restlichen (guj. *dīlhō* und avadhī *dih-is*) ist es notwendig, auf die indischen Wörter für 'nehmen' einzugehen.

16. Für 'nehmen' zerfällt das Ni. in zwei grosse Gebiete: Centrum und Osten haben den Typus *lē-*, Westen und Süden *grabh-*.

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ai. \**didāmi* = *diḍoṃi* (BB 15.126). Das Pāli hat wie das Ai. nur *dadāmi*; und im Iran. haben, von dem unsichern Awestischen abgesehen, das Altpers. *daddūw*, das Westoset. *dit-*, das Sīryni *ḍōḍ-*, das NW Turfan (wo Defectiv-Schreibung nicht wahrscheinlich) *dah-*. Np. *dihlō* beruht auf Ausgleich von nwT. *dahlō* mit echtpersisch (swTurfan) *dīyō* (vgl. Verf. *Dialektologie* §255 gegen Andreas-Wackernagel GN 1911.10).

*lā-* selbst hat wieder drei Haupttypen:

1. *la-*, reimend mit *ka-* 'sagen', in Assam und Ost-Bengalen;
2. *lē-* reimend mit *dē-* im ganzen Centrum und SW (Rajasthan, Gujarat);
3. *lē-* nicht reimend mit *dē-* im NW.

17. Also (1) Assam. *la-* 'nehmen' wie *ka-* 'sagen' gegen *dī-* 'geben'; Prät. *lāle* wie *kāle* gegen *dīle*. Ost-Bengalen, z. B. Dacca-District (LSI Beng. 207) *lailā* 'er nahm' wie *kailō* 'er sagte' gegen *dilō* 'er gab'. Maimensingh (ebd. 391, 234-5) *la* 'nimmt' gegen *dī* 'gibt'.

Das mittlere Bengalen (Calcutta, Bardvān, Santhal Parganas, Dinajpur, Rājbaṅgā) hat *nē-*, *nīl-*, immer reimend mit *dē-*, *dīl-*. Da nun sogar westlich von der *nē-*, *nīl-*-Zone die Formen mit *l*-Anlaut wieder nicht mit *dē-* reimen (Midnapur *layā*, Dhalbhum *laye*; *laila* gegen *dila*), so ist, solange sich nicht Formen wie \**nāil* finden, beng. *nē-* wahrscheinlich zu sindhi *niānu* 'wegnehmen' und westpahārī *nē-* 'nehmen' <sup>11</sup> zu ziehen und nicht lautlich aus *lē-* entstanden. Dieselbe Möglichkeit besteht trotz des dort häufigen Wechsels von *n* und *l* für oriṣā *nē-*, *nēlā* 'nehmen'.

18. (2) Erst im westlichen Bengalen, im Uebergange zum Bihārī, reimt *lē-* mit *dē-*: im S (Manbhum *lilek* wie *dilek*), in der Mitte (Malda *liya*) und im N (Purnea *lil-* wie *dil-*).

Von da an westlich reimt *lē-* immer mit *dē-*: maithilī-magahī *lāl* wie *dāl*, bhojpuri *līhal* wie *dīhal*, avadhī *līh-is* 'er nahm' wie *dīh-is* 'er gab' (vgl. *kah-is* 'er sagte') und *līn(h)* wie *dīn(h)*, kanauji und bundeli *laō* wie *daō*, Braj *liyau* wie *diyau* und *līn(h)au* wie *dīn(h)au*, hindost. *liyā* wie *diyā*. Ebenso nördlich anliegend naipālī, kumaunī und garhvālī *liyō* wie *diyō*. Schliesslich im SW rājasthānī *liyō*, bzw. *līnō* und *līd(h)ō* wie *dīyō*, bzw. *dīnō* und *dīd(h)ō* und gujarātī *līdhō* wie *dīdhō*.

19. (3) Im NW westlich vom Ghaggar—dem \**dittā*-Gebiet—dagegen reimt *lē-* im Präter. nur vereinzelt mit *dē-*: nur im östlichen Teile dieses Gebietes steht panj. *littā* und *lītā* (: *dittā*) neben *liyā* und (in den Himalaya-Dialekten) sirmaurī *littā*; *dittā*. Die westlicheren Him.-Dial.—vom Baghātī bis zum Pādārī—haben durchwegs *lēd* (mit *gēd* 'gegangen', *pēd* 'gefallen' reimend)

<sup>11</sup> Paṅgvālī *nē-*, *nīō*, bhadravāhī *nē-* gegen sonstiges Westpahārī *lē-*.

oder *lā* gegenüber *dittā*; und ebenso hat das *lē*- des Lahndā, das— in den Districten Šahpur, Jhang, Lyallpur—bis an den Jhelum und vereinzelt—in dem Stadt-Dialekt von Pešavar und dem damit zusammenhängenden Hindkō von Hazara—selbst darüber hinaus in den äussersten NW reicht, immer *lā* (wieder wie *gā*, *pā*) und *liyā* gegen *dittā*.

20. Da nun in diesen Gebieten das alte Wort für 'nehmen' offenbar *ghin*- war—denn dieses ist es noch heute in den centralen Einflüsse abliegenden Gegenden des Lahndā und hat sich in der Bedeutung 'kaufen' auch im Pahārī erhalten (§51)—, andererseits das nordwestliche *lē*- geographisch mit dem centralen zusammenhängt,—so ist *lē*- im NW nicht ursprünglich, sondern aus dem Centrum eingewandert.<sup>12</sup>

Im östlichen Teile dieses NW-Gebietes, wo *lē*-, *liyā* schon früher eingedrungen war und damit zugleich das centrale innersprachliche Prinzip der Reimung von 'nehmen' und 'geben', wurde *liyā* teilweise nach *dittā* umgeformt. Der tiefere Westen aber, in den *lē*- später eindrang und dem die Reimung von 'nehmen' mit 'geben' fremd war (er hatte früher *ghinn*-, *ghiddā*; *dē*-, *dittā*), liess *liyā*—nur als *lā* einer seiner Gruppen, *gā*, *pā*, angepasst—unausgeglichen neben *dittā* stehen. (*lē*- ist also das weitest nordwestlich vorgedrungene Central-Element.)

#### 21. Entstehung des Typus *lē*-

Das rein mit *ka*-( <*kah*-) 'sagen' reimende *lā*- des Assamese und östlichen Bengali geht klar direkt auf *lah*- zurück. Bei dem mit *dē*- reimenden centralen *lē*- und seiner Vorstufe, dem mit *dē*- reimenden apabhraṃśa *lē*- 'nehmen', vgl.

*lēhi leppīṇu lēviṇu lēvi lai lījīai* zu

*\*dēhi deppīṇu \*dēviṇu \*dēvi dai dijīai*—,

ist dies aber lautlich nicht möglich, wie schon aus apabhṛ. *lah*- 'erlangen' neben *lē*- 'nehmen' und central *kah*- 'sagen' folgt.

22. Vielmehr ist *lē*- eine Reimbildung zu *dē*-. Nach dem Gegenwort *dēi* 'gibt' wurde *\*lahai* 'nimmt' zu *lēi* umgeformt.

Im Präsens siegt so bei dem Ausgleich der beiden Gegenwörter stets *dā*-. Im Präteritum gewöhnlich ebenso *liyō* für *\*lahiō* nach *dīyō*, dann auch *līnō* nach *dīnō* usw. Doch hat hier, da (Ost) *\*lahia*- und (West) *laddha*- gegenüber *\*dia*- die volleren

<sup>12</sup> Das wird sich später (§§22 und 32f.) noch durch zwei Indizien bestätigen.



Formen waren, *lak*-sich in manchen Gebieten, nur mit Uebernahme des *i* von \**dia*-, behauptet und seinerseits \**dia*- umgeformt: Dáher der südwestcentrale Typus *lādhō dādhō* aus *laddha*+\**dia*- und der ostcentrale *lih-is dih-is* aus \**lahia*+\**dia*-.<sup>12</sup>

Erst damit sind alle ni. Ptc.-Bildungen von *dā*- erklärt. Ist *lē*- als Reimwort von *dē*- entstanden, so muss es, wo es nicht mit diesem reimt (NW), sprach-ursprünglich sein. Das stimmt auch zu den historischen Verhältnissen (§20).

23. Die lautliche Entstehung von *lē*- ist damit so weit klar; Schwierigkeit macht aber, was noch nie beachtet wurde, die Bedeutung. Denn die Ost- und centralen Dialekte setzen ein *labh*- mit der Bedeutung 'nehmen' voraus, im Ai. bedeutet *labh*- das aber nie, sondern nur 'erlangen, finden', 'nehmen' dagegen nur *grabh*- (und *ā-dā*-).

24. Dieses ai. *labh*- 'erlangen' setzt sich auch im Ni. fort. Denn im Westen—dem zusammenhängenden Gebiete des Kašmīri, Lahndā-Panjābī, Sindhī und westlichen Rājasthānī—und im Süden—im Singhalesischen (weit weniger im Guj. und Mar.)—ist *labh*- das herrschende Wort für 'erlangen' (bzw. 'erlangt werden').<sup>13</sup>

25. So hat das Kašmīri— aber nicht seine Dialekte östlich und südlich vom Marbal- und Banihal-Pass—*lab*-, *lobu* 'erlangen', also das ursprüngliche Passivthema (<*labhya*-) in aktiver Verwendung und im Ptc. Neubildung. Das südlich anschliessende Gebiet des ganzen Panjab, Sindh und des anliegenden Rajasthan hat geschlossen *labbh*-, *laddh*-(oder Neubildung) 'erlangt werden': lahndā *labbh*-, *laddh*-, panj. *labbh*-, *labbhā*, sindhī *labh*-, *ladhō*, westl. rājasthānī thālī *ladhō* 'gefunden', bāgṛī *lādḥō*, mārṇvārī *lāḥō* (aus dem Präsens) und östlich überreichend bis ins Jaipurī (*lād*-) und vereinzelt selbst bis ins Mālvī (so Jhallavar *lādō*). In *labbh*- hat also wieder das Panjābī

<sup>12</sup> Der Gujar.-Typus \**dhō* schien richtig zu mi. *laddha*- gezogen bei Beames Comp. Gr. 3.142; ganz irrig dagegen Hoernle Comp. Gr. 141f., richtig aber hier *lih*- zu \**lahia*-.

<sup>13</sup> Prüfunkt für die geogr. Verteilung die Stelle 'er war verloren und ist wieder gefunden' der 'Verlorenen-Sohn'-Parabel.

das alte NW-Element erhalten (§4; nur das Pōvādhi, sein östlichster Dialekt, hat schon das centrale *mil-* und ebenso seine N-Mundarten Dōgri und Kāngri, zusammen mit den benachbarten südl. und östl. Kašmiri-Dialekten) und ebenso in weitem Umfange das sonst schon fast rein centrale Rājasthānī. Sindhi hat neben *labh-* 'erlangt werden' auch noch das Aktiv *lahayū* 'erlangen'.

26. Das südwestl. anschliessende Kacchī hat für sindhi *labh-*, *ladhō* auch *lajh-*, *laddho* (LSI Sindhi 190), womit es Jaina-Māhār. *lajjhai* neben *labbhai* fortsetzt, das also nicht mit Pischel §541 'verlesen', sondern nach Analogie der Dentalstämme (*bajjhai*: *baddha-*) auf *laddha-* aufgebaut ist.<sup>14</sup> Diese charakteristische Koincidenz ergibt zugleich ein wichtiges Lokalisierungselement für die Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī: Diese beruht wohl auf der der centralen Ueberschichtung vorhergehenden ursprünglichen West-Süd-Mundart Gujarat's, die dann durch jene nach Kacch zurückgedrängt wurde.

27. Der anschliessende SW, Gujarāṭi und Marāṭhī, hat ebenfalls guj. *labhvā* 'erlangen', mar. *lābhṇē* 'erlangt werden' und *lāhṇē* 'erlangen' (also ganz wie Sindhi); doch ist in Gujarat *jaḍ-* (dem Guj. eigentümlich), in Mar. *mil-* und daneben im Dekhan *sāpaḍ-*, im Koṅkan *gār-* das wirklich übliche Wort (nur bisweilen im Koṅkan auch *lāb-*). Schliesslich hat das Singhal. *lab-* (<*labha-* oder *labhya-*), *lad-* 'erlangen'.

Also hat sich *labh-* 'erlangen', dessen ursprüngliche Ausdehnung über das Gebiet der ganzen West-Süd-Gruppe durch die beiden Eckpfeiler des Kašmiri und Singhal. markiert wird, im Westen in weitestem Umfange erhalten, ist dagegen im SW (Guj. und Mar.)—sekundär—zurückgedrängt.

28. Im Centrum und Osten dagegen, wo wir für *labh-* die Bedeutung 'nehmen' voraussetzen mussten (§23), findet sich *labh-* 'erlangen' tatsächlich nie. Dafür haben diese Dialekte vielmehr *prāp-*, *mil-* und *bhēṭ-*.

<sup>14</sup> Dieses analogische Entwicklungsprinzip, schon von Jacobi, KZ 28.249ff., erkannt, steht trotz des Widerspruchs Pischel's (§§535,540 und sonst) durch das Nl. als zweifellos fest.

Und zwar ist, wie der Prüfpunkt zeigt, *mīl-* heute der üblichste Ausdruck, vor dem *pār-* (dieses z. B. in Braj, Avadhī, Chattisgarhī, Magahī, Beng. und Assamese) und *bhēl-* (dieses vor allem östlich: Nagpurīā Bhojpurī, Maithilī, Beng., aber andererseits auch im Westpahārī [Sirmaurī und Inner Sirājī]) zurücktreten.

29. Das ost-centrale *mīl-* hat sich auch stark ausgedehnt: n a c h N W.—wo es das Westpahārī und selbst die östlichen und südlichen Kašmīrī-Dialekte (*kaštavārī myul-*, *pogulī mīl-*, *rāmbanī mīl-* gegen hoch-kašm. *lab-*) umfasst, so dass die nw. Hügeldialekte (das eigentliche Kašm. ausgenommen) *labh-* 'erlangen', während es sich in der anliegenden Ebene weit nach Osten gehalten hat, überhaupt nicht kennen; und

n a c h S W.—wo es vom Mālvī (*mīl-*) aus auch nach Gujarat (Ahmadabad *mal-*) und vielfach in das Dekhan- und Kōṅkan-Marāṭhī vorgedrungen ist.

[30. Während sich aber das westliche *labh-* 'erlangen' im Ost-Centralen nicht findet, finden sich die ost-centralen *prāp-* und *mīl-* auch im west-südl. *labh-* Gebiet. Ersteres scheint nach *sindhī pā-*, *pātō*,<sup>11</sup> *mar. pāvṇē*, *pātlā* und *pāvilā* im West-Süden gleichfalls altheimatberechtigt und nur ausser Gebrauch gekommen; und letzteres hat nicht nur, wie gezeigt, in weiten Parteen des West-Süd-Gebietes *labh-* 'erlangen' verdrängt, sondern findet sich in der Bedeutung 'vereinigen' auch im *labh-* Gebiet selbst (*sindhī milāṇu*, *lahndā mēl-*), wohl eingewandert.]

31. Dadurch nun, dass, während der Westen übereinstimmend mit dem Ai. nur *labh-* 'erlangen' hat, der Osten, für den \**labh-* 'nehmen' vorauszusetzen, *labh-* 'erlangen' tatsächlich nicht kennt, ergibt sich die dialektische Differenzierung der Bedeutung von *labh-* als alt.

Und dass die Ost-Bedeutung 'nehmen' ebenso alt, nämlich urindogermanisch, ist wie die—schon durch das überlieferte Ai. markierte—West-Bedeutung 'erlangen', zeigt das Griechische.

Denn griech. λαμβάνω bedeutet nicht nur—wie ai. und West-Süd *labh-*—'erlangen', sondern auch—wie vor-ost-centrales *labh-*—'empfangen', 'nehmen' als Gegenwort zu 'geben', und 'kaufen', in welch letzteren Bedeutungen ihm im überlieferten Ai. und heutigen West-Süd durchaus *grabh-* entspricht.

<sup>11</sup> Für \**pātō* nach dem Präsens, s. Note 45, unten.



Also λαμβάνω (1) 'erreichen, erlangen' (κλέος λαβεῖν, κτήμα ἦς νίκης) = ai. und West-Süd *labh-*; aber

(2) 'empfangen' (παρ' οὐπερ ἔλαβον τάδε τὰ τόξα, μισθοὺς λαμβάνειν) = vor-Ost-Central \**labh-*, hindi *lê-* usw., dagegen 'ai.' *grabh-*, lahndā *ghinn-*, mar. *ghê-*;

'nehmen' als Gegenwort zu 'geben' [ἡδέως ἂν λάβοιμι χρήματα, εἰ διδοίη (Xen. Cyr. 3,2,28); λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ διδόναι (Thuc. 2,97); οὐχ ὥς τι δώσουσι ἄλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται (Ar. Eccl. 783)] = hindi usw. *lê-*, aber 'ai.', lahndā, marāthī usw. *grabh-* usw.;

ferner λαμβάνω 'etwas um etwas kaufen' (λαμβάνειν τι ὀβολοῦ) = hindi usw. *lê-* (vgl. LSI Western Hindi 604-5, 240), aber ai. usw. *grabh-*;

schliesslich der so häufigen Wendung λαβὼν τι 'etwas genommen habend, mit etwas' entsprechen die gleich häufigen hindi usw. *lēkar*, aber ai. *grhītva* (oder *ādāya*), mar. *ghēun* usw.<sup>13</sup>

32. Von den ursprünglichen Bedeutungen von *labh-*, 'nehmen' und 'erlangen', hat also früh das Ost-Centrale 'nehmen', das West-Süd — dieses schon im überlieferten Ai. — 'erlangen' verallgemeinert.

Da nun das Indische für die Bedeutung von *labh-* in zwei Gebiete zerfällt: West-Süden mit *labh-* 'erlangen' und Ost-Centrum mit \**labh-* 'nehmen', und sein geographisches Komplement in der ersten Bedeutung ost-centr. *mil-(prāp-)*, in der zweiten west-süd *grabh-* ist, so muss die 'nehmen'-(*grabh-*: *labh-*) und die 'erlangen'-(*labh-*: *mil-*) Isoglotte ursprünglich identisch sein; d. h., wo *grabh-* 'nehmen', muss *labh-* 'erlangen', und wo \**labh-*, *lê-* 'nehmen', muss *mil-* 'erlangen' gegolten haben (und umgekehrt).

Tatsächlich hat heute das reine West-Süd-Gebiet *grabh-* 'nehmen'—*labh-* 'erlangen', das reine Centrum-Ost-Gebiet \**labh-* *lê-* 'nehmen'—*mil-* (oder *prāp-*) 'erlangen'.

33. Doch liegen entlang der ganzen Grenze Uebergangsgebiete, die einen W-S-Ausdruck mit einem centralen konjugieren, also *lê-* 'nehmen' und *labh-* 'erlangen' oder *grabh-* 'nehmen' und *mil-* 'erlangen' haben.

<sup>13</sup> Diese völlige Uebereinstimmung der Bedeutungen sichert neuerdings, trotz der Auslautdifferenz *ḍ:hḥ*, die Zusammengehörigkeit von gr. λαμβάνω und ai. *labh-*.

Dem die ursprünglich koincidenten 'nehmen'- und 'erlangen'-Isoglotten sind dies heute nicht mehr. Sondern die — auf der Höhe von Gujarat durch das Meer unterbrochene — 'nehmen' (*grabh-*: *lē-*)-Isoglotte zieht im Westen westlich, im Süden nördlich von der 'erlangen' (*labh-*: *mil-*)-Isoglotte, die sie etwa in der Gegend von Surat schneidet.

Durch diese Divergenz schneiden nun die beiden Isoglotten zwei Uebergangsgebiete aus: ein westliches mit *lē-* 'nehmen'—*labh-* 'erlangen' im Ost-Lahndā, Panjābī, West-Rājasthānī und Gujarātī—und ein südliches mit *ghē-* 'nehmen'—*mil-* 'erlangen' im Dekhan- und meist auch Koṅkan-Marāṭhī.

Diese Konjugierungen sind nun — besonders im Westen, wo heute *lē-* 'nehmen', das selbst schliesslich auf \**labh-* zurückgeht, neben *labh-* 'erlangen' zu stehen kommt—sicher unursprünglich und es fragt sich nur, ob in den beiden Divergenzgebieten das centrale (*lē-*, bzw. *mil-*) oder das West-Süd-Element (*labh-*, bzw. *ghē-*) das neueingedrungene ist—anders gesagt, ob die Divergenzgebiete ursprünglich dem West-Süd-Gebiet oder dem centralen angehörten.

34. Da nun der nördliche Teil des West-Divergenzgebietes, Ost-Lahndā und Panjābī, zweifellos ursprüngliches Westgebiet ist (sein *lē-* hat sich schon vorher als aus dem Centrum eingewandert ergeben, §§20 und 22) und ebenso das südliche (Marāṭhī-) Divergenzgebiet zweifellos ursprüngliches Süd-, nicht centrales Gebiet (sein *mil-* ist also aus dem Centrum eingewandert): so ist—da überhaupt allgemein die centrale, nicht die West-Süd-Sprache expansiv ist—auch für den Rest des westlichen Divergenzgebietes, das *lē-* 'nehmen'-*labh-* 'erlangen'-Gebiet von West-Rajasthan und Gujarat, wahrscheinlich, dass *lē-* auch hier eingewandert, *labh-* aber (höchstens mit Ausnahme des Ost-Rājasthānī von Jaipur und noch wahrscheinlicher Jhalkavar) alt-bodenständig ist; dass also das durch *labh-* 'erlangen' markierte Rājasthānī- und Gujarātī-Gebiet ursprünglich der West-Süd-('Outer Circle') Gruppe angehörte;<sup>14</sup> dass demnach dann nicht nur im Ost-Lahndā und Panjābī, sondern auch im West-Rājasthānī und Gujarātī *grabh-* das ursprüngliche Wort für 'nehmen' war.

<sup>14</sup> Ursprüngliches West-Süd-Gebiet lässt sich natürlich nach diesen Isoglotten nicht bestimmen, wenn beide Centralelemente, *lē-* und *mil-*, eingewandert sind: so im westlichen Pahārī, ursprünglichem NW-Gebiet (§5).

Ist also *lē-* dann im Ost-Lahndā—Panjābi und West-Rājasthāni—Gujarātī letzten Endes gleich unursprünglich, so ist doch seine Stellung in beiden Gebieten grundverschieden: In ersterem ist es—relativ spät—als einzelnes Central-element in noch heute fast reines NW-Gebiet eingedrungen; in letzterem gehört es der Sprach-hauptmasse an und *labh-* 'erlangen' seinerseits ist ein fast vereinzelter Rest der ursprünglichen West-Süd-Sprache in einem heute schon fast rein centralen Gebiet.

35. *labh-* lebt also in diesem westlichen Divergenzgebiet in zwei Gestalten: *labh-* und *lē-*, und zwei Bedeutungen: 'erlangen' und 'nehmen' fort; als nämlich das centrale \**labh-* 'nehmen' schon in seiner ausgeglichenen Gestalt, als *lē-*, in den Westen einwanderte, wurde dort ein Zusammenhang mit dem bodenständigen *labh-* 'erlangen' nicht mehr gefühlt und die beiden Wörter konnten unabhängig nebeneinander fortbestehen.

Die—ursprünglich eine— 'nehmen' (*grabh-*; *labh-*), und 'erlangen' (*labh-*; *mil-*)-Isoglotte ist also heute im Westen durch die 'erlangen' (*labh-*; *mil-*), im Süden durch die 'nehmen' (*ghē-*; *lē-*)-Isoglotte gegeben, jedesmal also durch die inneren Isoglotte-Stücke.

36. Es sollen nun die überlieferten indischen Frühdialekte auf ihre Einstellung zu dieser Hauptisoglotte geprüft werden.

Das überlieferte Ai., mit *grabh-* 'nehmen' und *labh-* nur 'erlangen', fällt klar in das West-Süd-Gebiet, in dem es durch *datta-* weiter auf den NW eingeschränkt wird (§14). Wie auch die heutigen West-Süd-Dialekte (§30), hat es neben *labh-* für 'erlangen' auch *prāp-*; *mil-* dagegen noch nie in Rigveda, Epos und Kālidāsa (nach Boehtlingk, Kleines Wb. 80), während es später, offenbar als sich die Verlegung des 'Ai.' ins Centrum geltend machte, sehr häufig wird. Ein gleicher Einfluss des Centrums auf die Bedeutung von *labh-* findet sich — worin sich die Stärke der schriftsprachlichen Tradition zeigt — meines Wissens nicht; fände sich *labh-* 'nehmen' in einem ai. Texte, so würde dies dessen centralen (östlichen) Ursprung beweisen.

37. Dagegen hat die spätere Schriftsprache aus der centralen Volkssprache die Wurzel *lā-* 'nehmen' neu eingeführt, die, nach Muster von *dā-* aus \**lei.dēi* abstrahiert, bereits den Reimausgleich von *labh-* mit *dē-* voraussetzt.<sup>17</sup> Doch ist, wie die über-

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. dazu Edgerton, JAOS 38.206f.



lieferten Formen (*lāti, latur, alāsīt, lātā*) zeigen, die Neubildung keine lebendige — denn diese hätte nach volkssprachlichem *lāi: dēi* Reimbildungen zu *dā-* ergeben —, sondern eine theoretisch-abstrakte: Man hat die aus *dē:lē=dā:x* abstrahierte 'Wurzel' *lā-* künstlich nach der denkbar einfachsten Art (*lā-ti, lā-twā*) flektiert.

38. Auch das Pāli hat in der Regel *gah-* 'nehmen': *lah-* 'erlangen' (und *mil-* bei Childers nur im Ptc. *milā-*) und fällt so gleichfalls wesentlich ins West-Süd-Gebiet. Doch kenne ich (aus Childers) auch einen zweifellosen Fall von *labh-* 'nehmen': *laddhā samatthapurisē* 'taking with him competent men' (Mah. 220) wo *laddhā*=hindī *lē-kar*=gr. λαβών ist und sonstigem pāli *gahetvā* (z. B. im selben Text *gahetvā sinēhakē* [Mah. 227] 'taking with him his friends'), ai. *grhītvā* entspricht. Dies ist zugleich der einzige mir derzeit bekannte frühindische Beleg für *labh-* 'nehmen'.

Im Pāli haben sich also, bei vorwiegend west-südlicher Grundlage, auch centrale Einflüsse geltend gemacht (Ujjain?).<sup>11</sup>

39. Ebenso fällt die Māhārāṣṭrī — mit *gah-* 'nehmen', *lah-* nur 'erlangen' (aber schon häufig *mil-* 'zusammenkommen') — rein ins West-Süd-Gebiet, wie für die Basis des heutigen Marāṭhī (*ghē-* 'nehmen', *lāh-* 'erlangen') zu erwarten war.

Ob die übrigen Prakṛts (z. B. Māgadhi und Śaurasēni) in diesem Punkte ost-centrale Verhältnisse reflektieren, kann ich derzeit nicht untersuchen. Doch lässt der starke Einfluss der Māhārāṣṭrī und des Sanskrits und der überhaupt künstliche Charakter dieser Sprachen kaum viel erwarten.

40. Das Apabhraṃśa hat *lah-* 'erlangen' und *lē-* und *gah-* (*geyha-*) 'nehmen'. Nun könnte man das Nebeneinander von *lē-* 'nehmen' und *lah-* 'erlangen' noch auf das westliche Divergenzgebiet (§33) als Basis deuten, das Noch-hinzutreten von *gah-* 'nehmen' aber beweist, da *gah-* und *lē-* für 'nehmen' in keinem lebendigen Dialekte nebeneinander auftreten, dass hier zweifellos Mischsprache vorliegt, die sämtliche West-Süd- und centralen Elemente vereinigt.

41. Bei dieser Lokalisierung der Altdialekte nach der 'nehmen'- und 'erlangen'-Isoglotte ist indes zweierlei zu beachten: Erstens

<sup>11</sup> Geiger, *Pāli* S. 3; Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit* S. 138f.

ist es ungewiss, wie weit die Differenz der beiden Gruppen alt ist. Das System *grabh*-‘nehmen’, *labh*-(*prāp*-) ‘erlangen’ des West-Süd ist, da die alten West-('Ai.') und Süd-Dialekte (Māhārāṣṭrī) darin völlig mit den modernen übereinstimmen, sicher sehr alt. Für das Vor-Ost-Centrale aber steht nur so viel fest, dass es *labh*-, und zwar jedenfalls häufig, auch in der Bedeutung ‘nehmen’ hatte; nicht aber, ob deswegen *labh*-‘erlangen’ und *grabh*-‘nehmen’ schon früh aufgegeben waren. Denn die Durchführung einer Bedeutung bei einem Verb und die Eliminierung der Synonyme ist oft ein junger Vorgang.<sup>11</sup> Doch macht das hohe Alter der Durchführung einer der beiden Urbedeutungen von *labh*- im Westen das Analoge auch für den Osten wahrscheinlich.

42. Zweitens ist zu beachten, dass die Lage und ursprüngliche Ausdehnung des Vor-Ost-Centralen unbekannt ist. Das Vor-West-Süd war jedenfalls einmal im NW (Panjab), wo das *grabh-labh*-System noch heute am reinsten ausgeprägt ist, ansässig und hat sich von da aus allmählich Indus-, später küstenabwärts (Westl. Rajasthan, Sindh, Gujarat, Mahārāṣṭra, Ceylon) ausgebreitet, wobei aber neben kontinuierlicher Stoss-Schiebung auch mit Uberspringung (so sicher Singhalesisch) und übrigens auch mit sekundärem *κωρη*-Ausgleich ursprünglich verschiedener Altdialekte zu rechnen ist. Für das Vor-Ost-Centrale ist zunächst wahrscheinlich, dass es — von Anfang östlich vom Vor-West-Südlichen geschichtet — zur Zeit dessen Etablierung im Panjab an der oberen Jumna sesshaft war und von hier aus durch einfache Ausbreitung gegen O und S vordrang. Doch kann es auch durch Uberspringung des West-Süd in seinen Altsitz gelangt sein und ferner bei seiner Ausbreitung auch andere Ost-Dialekte, darunter vielleicht auch ursprüngliche *grabh*-‘nehmen’—*labh*-‘erlangen’-Dialekte, verdrängt haben.

Nach dem Gesagten wird die Lokalisierung z. B. des Pāli nach der ‘nehmen’-Isoglotte ungewiss. Aber da hier *lah*-, wie es scheint, nur selten ‘nehmen’ und gewöhnlich ‘erlangen’, ‘nehmen’ aber *gah*- heisst, so scheint trotz allem — wenn man nicht eben eine untergegangene Ost-Gruppe mit ebenfalls dieser Konju-

<sup>11</sup> Andererseits sind wohl alle Alt-Literatur-Sprachen mit ihrer Mehrheit von Bedeutungen desselben Verbs und Mehrheit von Verben für dieselbe Bedeutung eben wesentlich Gemeinsprachen.

gierung annimmt — doch zumindest seine west-südliche Basis zunächst wahrscheinlich.

43. Dem ganzen Centrum, so weit *lê-* mit *dê-* reimt, ist der Ausdruck *lê ānā* 'genommen habend kommen' für 'bringen' eigen. So<sup>20</sup> hindöst. *lā-*, *braj lā-*, *kanauji lāv-*, *bundēli lā-*, *rāj. lā(v)-*, *guj. lai āv-, lāv*; <sup>21</sup> *avadhī lai āv-, li āv-, lāv-*, *baghēli lai āv-*, *chattīg. lāv-*; *bhojp. lai āv-*, *maithili lā-*.

44. Der Ausdruck ursprünglich des ganzen 'outer Circle's dagegen ist *ān-* (ai. *ā-nī-*).<sup>22</sup> Dieser ist noch heute der übliche in Marāṭhī (*āṇ-*), Oṛiyā (*āṇ-*), Beng.-Assam (*ān-*), östl. Maithilī (*ān-*), teilweise in West-Pahārī (Satlaj-Gruppe, *kuṭūi*, *bhadravahī āṇ-*; wogegen das östl. Pahārī [Naipālī, Kumaunī, Garhvālī] schon immer, das westl. häufig [z. B. *Haṇḍūrī*, *Maṇḍālī*, *Camēālī*] das centrale *lê āv-* hat<sup>23</sup>), — wieder ganz im Kašmīrī (*an-*) und seinen Dialekten, teilweise im angrenzenden nō. Lahndā (*cibhālī* und *Salt Range āṇ-*) und im Swat-Kohistān (*tōrvālī an-*).

45. Im ganzen Westen dagegen ist *ān-*, obzwar das Panjābī, Lahndā und Sindhī und selbst das völlig central überschichtete Gujarātī das Wort noch haben (*panj.*, *lahndā*, *sindhī āṇ-*, *āndā*, *guj. āṇ-*), nicht mehr der übliche Ausdruck. Sondern in fast dem ganzen von *lê-* überlegten NW-Gebiet (§19), d. i. meist im Pahārī, im Panjābī und östl. Lahndā, soweit es *lê-* hat, ist mit *lê-* auch das centrale *lê āv-* eingedrungen.

46. Als Bedeutungs-Lehnwort hat es sich sogar noch darüber hinaus in das *ghinn-*-Gebiet fortgesetzt. Denn *ghinn āv-* im westl. (Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Mianval) und nordwestl. Lahndā (Dhannī), bzw. *ghinn ach-* im nordöstl. Lahndā (Pōthvāri und [hīnī ach-] Pūnchī) sind klar Abbildungen

<sup>20</sup> Prüfpunkt für 'bringen' die Stelle 'bringt schöne Kleider' der Verlorenen-Sohn-Parabel.

<sup>21</sup> Wohl nur Versehen ist es, wenn Bloch, *Langue Mar.* S. 399, *guj. lāvā* und *hindī lāvnā, lānā* 'bringen' zu ai. *lāgaya-* stellt.

<sup>22</sup> Ebenso im Nordiranischen: buddh. soghd. 'n' y 'bringe' (Vess. Jāt. 1248); kurd. *ānā* 'bringen' (<*ā-nīta-*).

<sup>23</sup> Camēālī, Gādī and Curāhī, die statt *āṇd īṇd* haben, haben auch in dieser Verbindung *lāi īṇd*; ebenso mit *īch-*: *curāhī lāi īchā* 'bring' (LSI Pahārī 835).



des centralen *lê âv-*. Ebenso im SW *kacchî gîni ac-* und *tharêli* (Sindhî) *gînhî ac-*; und auch die im restlichen Sindhî (Haidarabad, Lāsî, Lāṛî) übliche Wendung *khaṇî ac-(khaṇaṇu 'aufheben')* kommt dem — wenn sie auch, da centr. *lê-*, lahdā *ghinn-* im Sindhî *vajh-*entsprache, nicht völlig homolog ist — doch sehr nahe.

47. Im Gegensatz zur 'nehmen'- und 'erlangen'-Verteilung scheint also die von 'bringen' tatsächlich für einen 'Outer Circle' zu sprechen. Da aber *ānî*- 'bringen' ursprünglich gemein-indoiranisch<sup>22</sup> und *lê âv-* jedenfalls Neubildung ist, wird auch das Vorcentrale *ānē-* gehabt haben und die Uebereinstimmung von Ost und West-Süd beruht auf blosser gemeinsamer Erhaltung des Alten.

48. Nun zum *grabh-* 'nehmen'-Gebiet. Dieses, den ganzen Süden und Westen umfassend, führt vom Singhalesischen (*gaṇi-, gal-*) über das Orīyā von Cuttack (*ghēnî* 'genommen habend' [LSI Or. 386], wofür im Or. vom Kalahandi-Staat *nēi* [ebd. 401]) und das Marāṭhî (*ghē-, ghēt-lā*) — mit einer Unterbrechung durch centrales *lê-* im Gujārātî — zum Sindhî von Kacch (*gîn-, gîdō*) und weiter — nach einer neuerlichen Unterbrechung im Sindhî von Haidarabad usw., wo *rathāṇu* der übliche Ausdruck ist — zum Lahndā, wo, so weit nicht im Osten von Jhelum (Šāhpur, Jhang, Lyallpur) und in Pešavar *lê-* eingedrungen ist (§19), *ghinn-* wieder herrscht: Multan *ghinn-, giddhā* (LSI Lah. 305), Dera Ghazi Khan *ghinn-, ghid(h)ā* (345), ebenso Dera Ismail Khan und Mianval; ebenso nō. Lahndā (Salt Range und Pōṭh-vārî) und nw. (Dhannî) *ghinn-, ghiddā*. Doch geht *ghinn-, ghiddā* in den Murree Hills in *ghin-, ghindā* und dieses im Chibhālî und Punchî in *hin-, hindā* über; dies bildet den Uebergang zu Kašmîrî *hē-* (Inf. *hyon\**), Ptc. *hyot\**, das formantisch marāṭhî *ghē-, ghēt-lā* (worüber 458) am nächsten steht.<sup>23</sup>

49. Mit diesem *ghinn-* bildet das Lahndā nicht nur das centrale

<sup>22</sup> Anlautendes *h < gh* des Punchî und Kašmîrî ist wegen *ghara* 'Haus' > *kašm. gar* schwierig. Anlaut. *h* entspricht sonst in Kašm. ai. *ḥ* (ai. anl. *h* fällt). Doch gehören punchî *hin-*, kašm. *hē-*, weil zwischen nō. lahdā *ghinn-* und pogulî-westpahārî *gî-* stehend, wegen punchî *hinî ac-* = nō. lah. *ghinn ac-*, und schliesslich wegen der formantischen völligen Deckung des kašm. Wortes mit mar. *ghē-, ghēt-*, zweifellos etymologisch hierher. Offenbar wurde in manchen kašm. Dialekten (Typus pogulî) *gh* zu *g*, in anderen zu *h*; später Mischung.

Kompositum *lē āv-* durch *ghinn āv-*, bzw. *ghinn ach-* ab, sondern auch centrale Verbal-Umschreibungen mit hilfszeitwörtlichem *lē-*, so dass Jhelum *vēkh liyā* 'er sah' (396), Hindkō von Pešavar *vēkh littā* (558) in Dera Ismail Khan *ḍēkh giddā* (399), im Dhanni *vēkh ghiddā* (547) entspricht. Oder dhanni *rakkh ghinn* 'halte' (547) usw.

50. Ueberall, wo *grabh-*'nehmen' bedeutet (Marāṭhī, Kacchī, Lahndā, Kašmīrī), ist es auch das übliche Wort für 'kaufen' (so schon Apabhraṃśa und Skt.) und genau so *lē-* (allein oder mit *mōl* und anderem zusammengesetzt) in seinem Gebiete (so schon gr. λαμβάνω 'kaufen').<sup>22</sup> Nur der Osten (Assamese, Bengalī, Oriyā, Magahī, östl. Bhojpuri, Maithilī, Naipālī) hat geschlossen ein eigenes Wort für 'kaufen', *kin-* = mi. *kiṇa-* < vor-mi. \**krīṇāti*, das sich zu ai. *krīṇāti* wie späteres *dhunōti* zu ved. *dhūnōti* verhält (wozu Wackernagel *Alt. Gr.* S. 96 unten f.; nicht recht klar Pischel §511).

51. Doch erscheint *grabh-*'kaufen' auch ausserhalb seines 'nehmen'-Gebietes, nämlich im westlichen Oriyā (Bhatrī) *gēn-*, und Bhulīā (Uebergangsdialekt vom Chattisg. zum Or.) *ghēn-*, im Standard Sindhī (Haidarabad usw.) *gginh-*, *ggidhō*, und, nicht in geographischem Zusammenhange untereinander, in mehreren Westpahārī-Dialekten, nämlich im nördlichen Sirmaurī (*gīn-*), Simla Sirājī und Sorācolī (*gīn-*), Paṅgvāḷī und Bhadravāhī (*ghīn-*), während der Rest dieser Dialekte *mōl lē-* und *mōl āṇ-* hat.

Für 'nehmen' haben diese Mundarten heute der Reihe nach: Bhatrī *māg-*, Bhul. *lē-*, Si. *vaṭh-*, nō. Sirm. *ōrū kar-*, Simla Sir. *āṇ-*, Sor. *ōr kor-*, Paṅg. *nā-*, Bhadra. *ḥā(-?)*, also mit Ausnahme des Mischdialektes Bhulīā nie *lē-* und gewöhnlich ganz unklare, offenbar junge Wörter.

52. Es ist daher für das Sindhī — wegen kacchī *gīn-*, lahndā *ghīnn-* — sicher, für das übrige \**gīnh-*'kaufen'-Gebiet<sup>23</sup> wahrscheinlich, dass \**gīnh-* dort ursprünglich auch das Wort für 'nehmen' war. Dadurch wird das west-südliche *grabh-*'nehmen'-Gebiet, mit Ausnahme der relativ jungen centralen Unterbrechung im Gujarātī, geschlossen und im NW und SO erweitert. Wegen seines Auftretens an den verschiedensten Punkten des West-

<sup>22</sup> Prüfpunkt für 'kaufen' No. 240 der vergleichendenartverzeichnisse Wös des LSI.

pahārī kann \**ginh-* für dessen ganzes Gebiet, also auch die heutigen *lê*-Dialekte, als das ursprüngliche Wort für 'nehmen' gelten, was zu der schon erschlossenen Ursprünglichkeit von *lê-* in diesem ursprünglichen NW-Gebiet stimmt (§§20,22).

53. **Formgeschichte.** Während im Iranischen aw. *garəwnā-* ganz selten und aw. *gaurvaya-*, ap. *grbhāya-*, fortgesetzt in mittel-nwir. Turfan *gīr-* und minjānī *γər-*, yaʔnōbī *γīriw-*, die herrschende Form ist (vgl. Verf. *Dial.* §25γ), tritt im Indischen umgekehrt der *-aya-*(*-āya-*)Stamm zurück und der *-nā-*Stamm siegt. So setzt sich vedisch *grbhāya-* (einmal *grbhayantas*) neben *grbhñā-* nur möglicherweise in Dhātup. *grhaya-*, seltenem apabh. *grha-* neben *grñha-*, *geñha-*, vielleicht dem seltenen hindī *gahnā* 'ergreifen' fort (pāli *gahē-* ist anders zu beurteilen, §77, und vielleicht ebenso die späteren Formen).

54. Die herrschende Form dagegen ist ai. *grhñāti*, fortgesetzt in pāli *gañhāti* (*\*hātī*), M. JM. (AMg.) Ś. Mg. Apabh. *gñhai*, JM. JŚ. AMg. *gīnhai* (Pischel §512). Im Vocalismus schliessen sich nun an das Pāli singh. *gañi-*, an Mg. und M. oriya *ghēn-* und mar. *ghē-*, an JM. und JŚ. (die also wohl etwa in die Gegend von Gujarat fallen [§26]) kacchī *gin-*; weiter sindhī *gginh-*, lahndā *ghinn-* und die Pahārī-Formen.

Schon früh wurde in den West-Dialekten (markiert durch Lahndā, Sindhī, Mar.) wahrscheinlich noch zusammenhängend *nh* > *nh* entcerebralisiert, während einfaches *n* umgekehrt zu *ŋ* wurde (Bloch S. 140). Erst nachher wurde das *h* umgesetzt und \**ginh-* zu *ghin-* usw. Letzteren Wandel hat das Sindhī mit *gginh-* und das Kacchī mit *gin-* (gegen *suñ-* 'hören', *hañ-* 'schlagen') noch nicht; aber or. schon *ghēn-*, mar. *ghē-*, lah. *ghinn-*, westpahārī *ghin-* und *gin-*. Doch zeigt lah. *ghinn-* gegen z. B. *āy-* 'bringen', w. pahārī *g(h)in-* gegen *āy-*, dass auch hier die *h*-Versetzung erst nach *nh* > *nh* fällt.

55. Im Ptc. haben sich im W und S alte, aber nicht auf mi. *gahī(t)a-* zurückgehende Bildungen erhalten; Or. und Pahārī haben Neubildungen aus dem Präsensstamm.

Von den alten Bildungen gruppieren sich zunächst die Süd-Formen mar. *ghēt-lā* und singh. *gat-*, die durch mi. \**ghetta-*, bzw. \**ghatta-* auf ai. \**ghṛpta-* zurückgehen.<sup>24</sup> Dieser Stamm

<sup>24</sup> Mit Unrecht hält also Bloch S. 226 mar. *ghēllā* für eine Neubildung. Beames 3.143 weist dagegen schon richtig auf mi. *ghett*<sup>o</sup>.



findet sich schon im südlichen Mi., aber nur im (im Gegensatz zum Ai.) schwundstufigen Inf.M. *ghettum* und -*tarya*-Ptc. AMg. *ghettava*-<sup>27</sup> und dem irgendwie zu \**ghṛpta* gehörigen M.JM. AMg. *ghettūna*, während im Ptc. das altüberkommene *gahia*-\**ghetta*- nicht aufkommen liess. Formal stellt sich \**ghṛpta*- zu *grbh*- wie -*ḍhatta*- in M. *samāḍhatta*- usw. zum Präsensstamme *dadh*- (Pischel §565; und das Passiv *gheppai* ist darauf analogisch aufgebaut; anders Pischel §212).

Ebenso wie die Süd-Formen gruppieren sich die West-Formen: *sindhī ggidhā* und *lahndā ghiddā* setzen ai. \**gr̥dha*- voraus.

Sowohl \**ghṛpta*- wie \**gr̥dha*- sind zweifellos alte, von den überlieferten ai. und mi. Formen *grhita*-, bzw. *gahi(t)a*- unabhängige Bildungen; sie verbinden sich mit den iranischen Formen aw. *garapta*-, np. *girift* usw.

56. Schwierigkeiten macht noch die Bildung des Marāṭhī Präsens *ghē*-. Dieses m u s s eine Neubildung sein, denn M. *gēghai* zusammen mit den heutigen Nachbarformen or. *ghēn*-, singh. *gani*-, *sindhī ggink*- erweisen mit Evidenz, dass die ursprüngliche Marāṭhī-Form \**ghēn*- (<\**genh*-<*gēyha*-) gewesen ist.

Dieses vor-mar. \**ghēn*- 'nehmen' war nun Gegenwort zu *dē*- 'geben', genau wie im Centrum \**lah*-(*lē*-) zu *dē*-, und wie dieses wurde es mit *dē*- reimend ausgeglichen, wobei es seinen Anlaut behielt, sein *n* aber verlor; denn *ghē*- — und dies ist eben der Schlüssel zu seiner Entstehung — reimt durchwegs mit *dē*-. Es heisst Ptc. *ghēt* wie *dēt*, Absol. *ghēūn* wie *dēūn*, *ghyāvā* wie *dyāvā*, *ghēin* wie *dēin*. Ausgegangen ist diese Ersetzung von \**ghēn*- durch *ghē*- von gegenwärtlichen Wendungen wie Marāṭhī-Sukasaptati<sup>28</sup> S.70, Zeile 13: *tyājārūn mī dēt hōlō tē ghēt nāh* 'deswegen g a b ich ihm was, aber er n a h m es nicht'; S.71,8: *nantar vāyī yāṇē dēvās kavāi dēūn dravy ghēūn gharājval gālā* 'da g a b der Kaufmann dem Gott die Kauri und n a h m das Geld und ging nach Hause'; S.38,21: *tuḥlā sahasr mōhōrā*

<sup>27</sup> Das -*tarya*-Ptc. hatte im jüngeren Mi. wohl gewöhnlich, so weit es nicht vom Präsensstamm gebildet war, durch Einfluss des Ptc. Prät. schwachstufige Wurzel: vgl. *sindhī kibō* <\**kṛtarya*- zu *kiō*, *thibō* <\**sthītarya*- zu *thiō*, *pibō* <\**pītarya*-. Diese Neuerung wird im überlieferten Mi. durch Einfluss des Sanskrit verdeckt, kommt aber bei Formen ohne Anschluss im Ai. wie *ghet-lava*- zum Ausdruck.

<sup>28</sup> R. Schmidt, *Abh. Kunde Mgl.* 10, No. 4 (citirt nach Sep. Abdr.).

*dēin*,...*tujpāsūn duppaṭ ghēin* '...g e b e ich dir tausend Goldstücke,...n e h m e ich dir das Doppelte'.<sup>22</sup>

57. Im Ptc. war mar. \**grabh-*, wie \**labh-* im Centrum, widerstandsfähiger; Hier hat sich *ghēllā* neben *dilā* behauptet. In literarisch nicht festgelegten Uebergangsdialekten aber, wo durch Wegfall der Hemmungen der Tradition sich die Entwicklungstendenzen rein ausprägen konnten, kam es auch im Präter. zum Ausgleich: In den Katiā-Dialekten von Chindvara (LSI Mar. 322) und Narsinghpur (327), die den Uebergang vom Mar. zum Bundēlī bilden, heisst es in Chindvara *dēllēn* (322, 9) nach \**ghēllēn* und (mit einer diesem Dialekt eigentümlichen *l*-losen Prät.-Bildung, vgl. *bōlan* 'er sprach') *dētan* 'er gab' nach *ghētan* (323, 3) 'er nahm', also wieder, wie in central *dādhō* *lādhō* und *dihis* *lihīs*, mit Sieg von 'nehmen' über 'geben' im Präteritum. In Narsinghpur dagegen umgekehrt *ghille* 'er nahm' nach *dille* 'er gab'.<sup>23</sup>

58. Mit mar. *ghē-*, *ghēt-lā* deckt sich, vom unsicheren Anlaut (§48, Note 24) abgesehen, kašmīrī *hē-*, *hyot*<sup>24</sup> vollkommen. Denn kašm. *hyot*<sup>25</sup> (Fem. *hēts*<sup>26</sup>) geht auf vor-kašm. \**hēttu* (fem. \**hētti*) = mar. *ghēt-* zurück. Also setzt das Kašm. g e g e n Lahndā und Sindhī (\**grbdha-*) m i t Mar. und Singhal. \**ghrpta-* voraus.

[59. Es ist dies eine der frappanten Uebereinstimmungen des äussersten NW g e g e n den mittleren Westen mit dem Süden. Ebenso findet sich z.B. das Wort für 'kommen' singh. *ē-* (reimend mit *dē-* 'geben'), Prät. *ā-* = mar. (y) *ēṇē* (: *dēṇē*), *ālā* in Kašmīrī *yī-* (: *dī-*), *ā-v* wieder, und ebenso in einem Teil der nw. anstossenden Dard-(Pašai, Šin, Maiyā [Grierson *Pii. Lang.* 66]) und der sō. anstossenden Westpahārī-Dialekte (paṅgvālī, curāhī, gādī, camēālī *īyā*, kuṭui *ēṇā*), während zwischen dem Mar.- und dem nw. *ē*-Gebiet Sindhī und nō. Lahndā *ac-*, bzw. *ach-* (= kašm. *ats-* 'enter') und das übrige Lahndā (wie das Centrum) *ā-* hat; nur das suppletive Ptc. Präs. zu sindhī *acayn*; *indā* (Trumpf

<sup>22</sup> Bloch's Erklärung von *ghē-* als Bildung aus dem Ptc. Mäh. *gahia-* (S. 229 und mehrfach) ist lautlich und morphologisch gleich schwierig und ohne Anhalt.

<sup>23</sup> Freilich kann hier die Tendenz zur Reimausgleichung auf innersprachlichem Einfluss des benachbarten Bundēlī beruhen, wo ja *lē-* und *dē-* reimen.

207; mit *ḍḍindō* 'gebend' reimend wie singh. *ē-* mit *dē-*, mar. *yē-* mit *dē-*, kaśm. *yi-* mit *dī-*) vermittelt die Verbindung.<sup>11)</sup>

60. War aber das Ptc. Prät. im Vor-Kaśm. \**hēttu*, so war die Angleichung des ursprünglichen Präsens \**hen-* an *dī-* im Kaśmīri noch leichter als im Marāṭhī. Denn zu dem Gegensatz der Bedeutungen kam hier noch hinzu, dass im Prät. hier \**hēttu* von jeher \**dittu* gegenüberstand, so dass die beiden Wörter im Prät. von Anfang reim-ähnlich waren.

So wurde aus \**hēttu*:\**dittu* gegenüber dem Präsensstamm *dī-* ein Präsensstamm *hē-* abstrahiert und *dī-* analogflectiert; so Absol. *hēth:dīth*, Ptc. Präs. *hēvān:divān*, 3. Sg. u. Pl. Fut. *hēyi:hēn:diyi:dīn*.

61. Da also das Systempaar *ghē-*, *ghēllā* im Marāṭhī ursprünglich ist, so war offenbar dieses der Ausgangspunkt der Systemreihe *dhuyē*, *dhūllā* 'waschen',<sup>12)</sup> *baghyē*, *baghillā*, 'sehen', *māgyē*, *māgillā* 'verlangen', *mhayyē*, *mhayillā* und *sāngyē*, *sāngillā* 'sagen'. Denn keines der andren Systeme ist historisch und nirgend anderswoher hätte *-llā* als Prät.-Endung für beliebige Präsensstämme abstrahiert werden können.<sup>13)</sup>

Auffallend ist noch das *i* von *māgillā* usw. Zwar die phonetische Notwendigkeit eines Hilfsvokals in diesen Formen ist klar; unklar aber, warum dieser *i* und nicht *a* ist. *i* kann nur aus der Präsensflexion der 2. Klasse stammen. Offenbar wurde *ghēllā* neben *uḥllā* als *ghēt*-(Part. Präs.) + *llā* empfunden. Dann musste zu den Part. Präs. der *i*-Konjugation auf *-it* das Prät. *-illā* lauten.

Nun haben allerdings diese Verba m. W. eigentlich keine *i*-Flexion (*mhay-* und *sāng-* gehen in Mar. nach der *a*-Klasse und *māg-* entspricht im Sindhī, trotz ai. *mārga-* und *mārgaya-*, nur Imper. *maṇu*), aber bei dem Durcheinanderfließen der *a-*

<sup>11)</sup> Dieses *ē-* geht übrigens zwar auf mī, *ēi*, ai, aber nicht *ēi* (wie Bloch 226 meint), sondern wegen des Ptc. *ā-<āgata-* und weiterhin gemeinran. *dy-* (mp. *dyēḍ* usw.) auf *aiti* zurück.

<sup>12)</sup> So Bloch S. 226; LSI Mar. 31 hat *dhulā*. (Mar. *dhū-<Māh. dhuaṇi*; aber sindhī *dhuaṇu*, Präs. *dhū-* (Trumpp 272) <JM., Ś. usw. *dhō(v)a-*, Pischel §482 Ende.)

<sup>13)</sup> Die Erklärung Bloch's S. 226 geht offenbar nicht an: nach *ghāyē*, *ghāllā* und *pāyē*, *pāllā* hätte *-llā* sich nur zu Präsensstämmen auf *-ā* und *-ē*, nicht zu beliebigen, stellen können. Ersteres ist auch tatsächlich geschehen: So steht gegenüber *bāllā* im Konk.-Mar. von Kolaba (LSI Mar. 95) *bāllā* zu *bāl*-sprechen im Konk.-Mar. von Bombay (86).



und *aya-* Flexion im Marāṭhī<sup>14</sup> ist es sehr möglich, dass ein oder das andere dieser Verba einmal in irgend einem Dialekte *aya*-Flexion hatte oder hat (vgl. Thana *mhanilā* [LSI Mar. 114] neben *mhanlā* [98]) und daher mag sich der Komplex *-illā* festgesetzt haben. (Die entsprechende *a*-Form zu *mhan-illā* scheint übrigens im *mhanṣlā* des O und SO vorzuliegen, worüber §63.)

62. Wie das jüngere System *ghē-*, *ghēllā* konnte natürlich — vorher — auch sein Vor-system *\*ghēn-*, *ghēllā* der Ausgangspunkt einer Neubildungsreihe werden. Daher scheint die Systemreihe *mhan-*, *mhanlā*, *khan-*, *khanlā*, *han-*, *hanlā*<sup>15</sup> zu stammen. Denn da *l* in diesen Präteriten nur auftritt, wo das Präsens *ṅ* hat, in den Gebieten des Konkan und der Central-Provinzen aber, wo *ṅ* entcerebralisiert wurde, dem Präsens *mhan-* im Präter., obwohl altes *l* sonst erhalten ist, gewöhnlich *mhanlā* entspricht [Konkan-Mar. von Janjira (LSI Mar. 108) *mhan-*, *mhanlā*; von Ratnagiri (129) *mhan-*, *mhanlā*; Centr.-Prov.-Mar. von Betul (247) *mhan-*, *mhanlā* (aber benachbart Ellicpur, 245, *mhan-*, *mhanlā*)], — so kann *l* in diesen Präteriten nicht alt, sondern muss von dem *ṅ* des Präsens abhängig sein. Nach *ghēllā*:*\*ghēn-* wurde offenbar in dem *n*-Gebiet von Konkan und Central-Provinzen — bei Entcerebralisierung des *ṅ* v o r der Form-Uebertragung — direkt *mhanlā*:*mhan-* gebildet, in dem *ṅ*-Gebiet dagegen proportional *mhanlā*:*mhan-*. Bei dialektischer Entcerebralisierung des *ṅ* erst n a c h dieser Form-Uebertragung entstand der Typus von Ellicpur: *mhanlā*:*mhan-* (vielleicht auch durch Uebertragung von *mhanlā* ins *mhan*-Gebiet).<sup>16</sup>

63. Neben den besprochenen Bildungen *mhanṣlā* und *mhanlā* bildet *mhan-* noch in der Hochsprache (Poona) in der Regel

<sup>14</sup> LSI Mar. 25 *ṅ karī* 'she does' gegen 27 *ṅ karīl*. In der Jñānēśvari (nach Bloch) *ḍēkhatāri* (Bloch 244) gegen *ḍēkhilāri* (253), *karī* (245) neben *karīl*, *karī* (246).

<sup>15</sup> So Bloch S. 226; LSI Mar. 31 dagegen *hān-*, *hān-*.

<sup>16</sup> Doch haben zur Entstehung des Systemtypus *mar. khan-*, *khanlā* jedenfalls noch andere, bisher noch unklare Einflüsse mitgewirkt. So findet sich im Mi. auffällig oft ein Ptc. auf *-lā-* neben nasalem Präsensstamm: JM. *ḥita-* zu *ḥipai* (dazu guj. *ḥitvā* 'conquer'), *ḥatta-* (Deśin.) zu *ḥapāi* (Pischel §194). AMg. JM. *khatta-* zu *khāpāi* (Pischel §90); schliesslich findet sich der ganze Stamm von *mar. khat-lā* in *lahndā* von Dera Ghazi Khan *khat* 'graben' wieder (LSI Lahndā 343).

*mhaṇālā*, im *n*-Gebiet: Konk.-Mar. von Thana *mhaṇlā* (98) und *mhaṇilā* (114), Raipur (Centr. Prov.) *mhaṇlā*.

Schliesslich ist im Osten und Südosten, Canda (315) und Bijapur (50) sehr häufig *mhaṇtlā* (analog LSI Mar. 31 *khaṇtlā*). Dieser Typus ist entweder eine Kreuzung von *mhaṇlā* und *mhaṭlā*, oder er verhält sich von Anfang an zu *mhaṇtlā* wie (Thana) *mhaṇlā* zu *mhaṇilā*, nur dass das *t* dem *ṇ* zu *ṭ* assimiliert wurde. Jedenfalls steht in Canda cerebrales *mhaṇtlan* dentalem *sāṅgillan*, *ghēṭlan*, *māṅgillan* gegenüber, in Bijapur aber wurde *ṭ* auch auf die andern Formen übertragen, so dass es auch *sāṅgiltā* und *ghēṭlā* heisst. (Das beweist jedenfalls, dass das Sprachbewusstsein von Bijapur *mhaṇtlā* mit den *-tlā*-Part. Typus *dhutlā* gruppierte; also wird die Form wahrscheinlich *a*-Form zur *i*-Form *mhaṇtlā* sein.)

64. Ausbreitung der Präterital-Bildungen von *dā*. Wie centrales *lā*- reimt auch *kar*- im Prät. sehr oft mit *dā*-, und zwar, soweit nicht Neubildung aus dem Präsensstamm eintritt — so Kaśmīrī, teilweise Westpahārī (Kuṭui und Gādī), Mittel- und Ost-Pahārī, teilweise Braj, Jaipurī, Mālvī, regelmässig Kanaujī und Bundēlī und schliesslich, im Osten, Bengālī und Assamese —, fast durchwegs im Westen und Centrum, im Osten und Süden aber nicht:

65. So Kaśmīrī (nur mehr als Dativ-Postposition, das Verbum hat die Neubildung *kor*<sup>6</sup>) *kyn*<sup>6</sup>, Pl. *kiṭ*<sup>6</sup>, fem. *kits*<sup>6</sup>, Pl. *kitsa* wie *dyut*<sup>6</sup>, *diṭ*<sup>6</sup>, *dits*<sup>6</sup>, *ditsa*;<sup>17</sup> im Westpahārī *curāhī* und *camēālī* (und ebenso das anstossende Bhaṭēālī-Panjābī [LSI Panj. 794]) *kittā* wie *dittā*, *maṇḍēālī* und *kaṇḍūri* *kittā* wie *dittā*; in den centralen Dialekten *kiyō*, *kīyō*, *kīn(h)au* wie *diyō*, *dīyō*, *dīn(h)au*, guj. und rāj. *kīd(h)ō* wie *dīd(h)ō*, avadhī-bagh. *kīnh* wie *dīnh* und av.-bagh.-chatt. *kīhīs* wie *dīhīs*.

Dagegen im Osten und Süden — Assam. und Beng. haben

<sup>17</sup> Bloch's Zurückführung von kaśm. *kyut* auf *kṛtya*- (S. 207) statt auf \**kṛtā*- ist nicht richtig; auch die Kaśm. Absolutive auf *-it*, auf die er sich beruft, sind nicht nach Grierson KZ 38.480 Absolutive auf *-tya*, wobei, abgesehen von den lautlichen Schwierigkeiten, nur ganz wenige Formen (wie *yīth* = *-itya*) historisch sein könnten, sondern Absol. auf *-i-trā*, mī.-*ittā* (Pischel §582), also *gūṭhīth* = AMg. *-gacchittā*, *lkhīth* = ai. *lkhina*, *maṅgīth* = ai. *mārgitā*, *dīth* = \**dītvā* (zu \**dīta*-), ebenso *kurīth*, *maṣīth* usw.

*kāril-*, bzw. *karil-* — maithilī, magahī, bhojpurī *kail* gegen *dēl* (bzw. bhojp. *dīhal*), oṛiyā *kalā* gegen *dēlā*, mar. *kēlā* gegen *dīlā*.

66. Nicht ganz rein reimen 'gemacht' und 'gegeben' im Lahndā-Panjābī, indem durchwegs *kilā dītā* gegenübersteht. Doch ist *kilā* offenbar von *camčālī* usw. *kittā* nicht zu trennen, sondern lautlich daraus hervorgegangen. Denn wenn auch Grierson (*LSI* Lahndā 237f., Panj. 615) mit Recht das Fehlen der Vereinfachung von Doppelkonsonanz unter Ersatzdehnung des vorhergehenden Vokals als ein Hauptcharakteristikum der West-Dialekte bezeichnet, findet sich doch dieser Vorgang im Lahndā-Panjābī in einzelnen Wörtern, und zwar durchwegs, und dabei gerade in ausschliesslichen NW-Wörtern, wo also centraler Einfluss nicht möglich ist: So nicht nur *dēkh*- 'sehen' = centr. *dēkh*- (<mi. *dēkkha*-<sup>14</sup>), sondern auch (heute nur nw.) *vēkh*- 'sehen' (<*vēkkha*-<*vīkṣa*-), ebenso (heute nur nw.) *ākh*- 'sagen' <*ākhyā*-, also mit śaur. *pacākhā*- gegen pālī, AMg. *akkhā*- (Pischel 188<sup>15</sup>), schliesslich *punchī dīnā* <*dinna*-. Warum allerdings im Gegensatz zu fast immer erhaltenem *\*dīta*-*\*kitta*- im NW regelmässig zu *\*kita*- geworden ist, ist nicht klar.

67. Die angeführten Bildungen, die also *\*kitta*-, *\*kinna*- usw. voraussetzen, sind bei *kar*- zweifellos unursprünglich und von *dā*- her übertragen. Der Ausgangspunkt der Uebertragung war darin gegeben, dass im Westen und Centrum, wo *r* zu *i* wurde, die ältesten Ptc.-Formen von *dā* und *kar*-, *\*dī(t)a*- und *\*kī(t)a*-, reimten. Als daher neben *\*dīta*- die Neubildungen *\*ditta*- und *\*dinna*- traten, konnten die entsprechenden (*\*kitta*- und *\*kinna*-) zu *\*kita*- treten. Diese Basis der Reim-Angleichung von 'gemacht' an 'gegeben' erklärt zugleich ihr Auftreten im Westen und Centrum (*r* > *i*-Gebiet), Nicht-Auftreten dagegen im Osten und Süden (*r* > *a*-Gebiet).

68. Nun mögen die Angleich-Bildungen teilweise jünger sein — so sicher *guj.kīthō* und av.-bagh.-chatt.*kīh*-is, die schon den Ausgleich von *dē*- mit *lah*- voraussetzen —, jedenfalls aber können sie, da die Reim-Koinzidenz *\*dī(t)a*-, *\*kī(t)a*- Bedingung ist, nur zu einer Zeit und in einem Gebiet stattgefunden haben, wo *\*dīta*- selbst oder in der Nachform noch bestand.

<sup>14</sup> Pischel S. 378 unten; Bloch 45.

<sup>15</sup> Vielleicht durch Restitution des Präfixes ā-. Lahndā-panj. *ākh*- ist mit der Ersatzdehnung auch ins Sindhī übergegangen (*ākh*-).



Tatsächlich muss \**dia-* im Guj. erst spät durch *dīdhō* ersetzt worden sein, neben av.-bagh.*dīn(h)* setzt *dihis* ebenso ein noch spätes \**dia-* voraus und *rājasth. dīd(h)ō* und *dīnō* bilden noch heute nur Enklaven im *dīyō*-Gebiet. Hier war also die Koïncidenz *kia-*\**dia-* noch bis in späte Zeit gegeben.<sup>40</sup>

Im Sindhi dagegen, wo 'gemacht' und 'gegeben' nicht reimen (*dīnō*: *kiō*), hat sich tatsächlich \**dia-* nicht erhalten. \**dita-* scheint also hier schon sehr früh völlig durch *dinna-* verdrängt worden zu sein, wodurch die Koïncidenz mit *kia-* entfiel.<sup>41</sup>

Andrerseits beweist die Tatsache der Reimangleichung (\**kitta-*: \**ditta-*) trotz heutiger Alleingeltung von \**ditta-* im Nordwesten, dass die Reimangleichung hier in sehr alte, vielleicht älteste mi. Zeit zurückgehen muss (als auch hier noch \**dia-* neben \**ditta-* bestand).

69. Weitere Ausbreitung. Als die Neuformen von *dā-* neben \**dī(t)a-* und (später) die damit reimenden von *kar-* neben \**ki(t)a-* standen, konnten gleiche Neuformen auch neben andre mit \**dī(t)a-*, \**ki(t)a-* koïncidente Participia treten. So zu *pīa-* oder vielleicht auch \**pīa-* = *porōs* nordwestlich *pītū* wie *kūtā*, gujar. *pīthō* wie *kīlthō* (aber East. Hindī *pīyis* gegen *kīhis*).

70. Besonders weite Ausdehnung gewann diese Neubildung im Lahndā-Panjābī, das also für diesen Punkt wieder eine Einheit bildet (44). So lahndā (von Dera Ghazī Khan [LSI Lahndā 344]) *nūtā* 'weggenommen': *kūtā*, während sindhi *nīō* (= M. *nīa-*, AMg. *nīya-*<sup>42</sup>): *kiō*. Weiter lahndā-panj. *sūtā* 'genäht',

<sup>40</sup> Als also z. B. im Guj. neben \**dia-* das mit *liddha-* ausgeglichene \**diddha-* trat, trat ebenso neben *kia-* \**kiddha-*.

<sup>41</sup> Neben sindhi *kiō* steht *kayō*, das, da sich analoges bei echten *i*-Wurzeln nicht findet, wahrscheinlich nicht sekundär lautlich auf *kiō*, sondern direkt mit *ɛ > a* auf *kīa-* zurückgeht. *kayō* wäre dann ein Rest der dem aus NW eingedrungenen Sindhi vorhergegangen SW-Sprache, die nach Ausweis von Aśoka-Ed. Gīrnār und einiger Altelemente des Gujarātī (Bloch S. 48) *ɛ > a* hatte.—In jüngerer Zeit ist noch *kūō* = lahndā *kūtā* aus dem NW ins Sindhi eingedrungen. (Uebrigens finde ich es im LSI in keiner Mundart.)

<sup>42</sup> Diese Form ist nicht nach Pischel §81 lautlich entstanden, sondern *nīa-*: *nī* = *cia-*: *cī* (Pischel §502), päli *jīta-*: *jīti* usw. Noch häufiger natürlich *āyīa-*: *āyēi* = *kāyīa-*: *kāyēi* usw., weil *āy-* schon als Wurzel gefühlt wurde; daher dann auch schon Präsens JM. *āyaru* (unrichtig Pischel §474) und mar. *āyēz* (*nīa-* neben *n'a-* kann dann \**pīa-* neben *pīa-* gestellt haben; siehe oben).

das aber nicht wie *pīlā*, *nīlā* durch interpräteritale Proportion (\**nīlā*:-*nīa* = \**kīlā*:-*kīa*-), sondern durch intersystemale (*sīlā*: Präs. *sī* = *pīlā*: Präs. *pī*-) entstanden ist.<sup>42</sup>

Aus *pīlā*: *pī*-, *sīlā*: *sī*- wurde dann *-lā* als Präterital-Formans vokalischer Wurzeln abstrahiert und mit Ausnahme einiger fest im Sprachbewusstsein wurzelnder Formen (*pīa*- 'gelegen', *ggīa*- 'gegangen', *mōā* 'gestorben', *jjāyā* 'geboren' [Dera Ghazi Khan, LSI Lah. 344-5] und des centralen *lāā*) allgemein, auch bei andern Vokalen, durchgeführt: So *lahndā*-panj. *dhā*-, *dhātā* 'waschen' (gegen *sindhī dhōyō*: ai. *dhānta*-), l.-p. *nahā*(u)-, *nahātā* 'baden', ferner in jungen Wörtern *lahndā*-panj. *khalō*-, *khalātā* 'stehen', panj. *parō*-, *parātā* 'Perlen auffädeln' usw.

Dera Ghazi Khan *jō*-, *jōtā* (gegen Mūltānī *jō*-, *jūtā*) 'jochen' dagegen kann ai. \**yōgati*, *yukta*- voraussetzen, womit sich noch ein zweiter Ausgangspunkt des nordwestlichen *-lā*-Präteritums ergibt. Wegen panj. *nahān*-, *nahātā* ist auch das Mitwirken von *p*-Nebenwurzeln (Kausativ) nicht ausgeschlossen, unwahrscheinlich dagegen das von rein lautlichem Längenwechsel (*pīlā*->\**pīlā*->\**pīlā*-) nach Pischel §90.

71. Immer *-t*-Prät. hat in *Lahndā*-Panj. und *Sindhī* die Wurzel \**gen*- 'kennen': lah. *jāy*-, *jātā*, panj. *jāy*-, *jjātā*, *sī* *jjāy*-, *jjātā*, während \**gen*- 'geboren werden' nie *-t*- hat: panj. *jāid*-, *lahndā jam*-, *jāyā* und *jamiā*, *sindhī jāp*-, *jāō* und *jāyō*.

Dieses Verhältnis ist wohl jung dissimilatorischen Tendenzen entsprungen und \**jātā*- neben \**jāa*- nach \**kīlā*- neben *kīa*- usw. getreten. (Einfluss des *p*-Stammes, im Kaus. ai. *jñāpaya*-*jñāpta*- und Passiv Dera Ghazi Khan *jjap*-, ist unsicher wegen der stark abweichenden Bedeutung des Kausativs und gleichen *p*-Stammes o h n e *-t*-Präteritum in *sindhī jāp*- 'geboren werden'.) Vornordwestlich \**jāa*- gegenüber pālī *ñāta*-, Mäh. *ñān*- ist entweder (durch das Präsens *jānai* unterstützte) lautliche Entwicklung (Pischel §276) von *jñāta* = γνῶτος oder altes \**jāla* = gotisch *kunþs*.

Ebenso in den Kompositis: *sindhī suñāy*-, *suñātā* 'erkennen' (<*xam-jñā*-), lah. *siñāy*-, *siñātā* und (mit dissimil. Schwund des *ñ*) *señāy*-, *señātā*, panj. *siñāy*-, *siñātā*.

<sup>42</sup> Das allgemein-indische Präsens *sī*- setzt ai. \**sivati* voraus, während sich ai. *sivati* nur in *sindhī sīḍayā* fortsetzt.

72. Ausser mit *si. jātō* = *nw. jātā* hat das nordwestliche -*t*-Präteritum auf das Sindhī noch mit *pītō* = *nw. pītā* und *kītō* (Nebenform zu *kiō*) = *nw. kītā* übergegriffen. Diese sind also, besonders klar *kītō*, im Sindhī unursprünglich.<sup>44</sup> Sindhī *pā-*, *pāto*<sup>45</sup> dagegen, das das Lahndā-Panjābī nicht hat, ist ein historisches System und danach gebildet *lā-*, *lātō* oder *lāyō* 'apply' (<*lāgaya-*), das im L.-P. immer regelmässig ist. (Si. *lā-* und *pā-*, aus *lāgaya-* und *prāpaya-*, beide nach der *i*-Konjug., reimen durchaus: *lāē*, *lānē*, *lāindō* wie *pāē*, *pānē*, *pāindō*.) Sindhī *pū-*, *pūtō* 'string beads' dagegen ist, da *pū-* wie *pī-* nach der *a*-Konjug. geht, nach *pī-*, *pītō* gebildet.

73. Das nordwestliche -*t*-Präteritum ist also jedenfalls analogischen Ursprungs mit wahrscheinlich mehreren Ausgangspunkten. Jedoch zeigt die völlige Homologität des NW-Typus auf -*tā* mit dem SW-(Gujarātī-) Typus auf -*dhō* (*kūtā*: *kūdhō*) und dem nicht weiter ausgebreiteten centralen Typus *kīndō* (*kīnh*), dass auch im NW das Prät. von *dā-* das Hauptmoment war, wie sich denn tatsächlich, obwohl die andern Momente auch anderswo zugetroffen wären, ein *ni-t-* (mi.\**-tta-*) Prät. nur im \**ditta*-Gebiet entwickelt hat. Dass sich das -*tta-* und -*ddha*-Prät. ausgebreitet haben, das -*na*-Prät. aber nicht (*pītā* und *pīdhō*, aber kein \**pīnō*, \**pīnh*), liegt, da alle drei Bildungen gleich stark fundiert waren, nur daran, dass das Prinzip der Scheidung von Präsens- und Prät.-Stamm sich nur im Westen (\**ditta*- und \**didha*-Gebiet) lebendig erhalten hat, im Centrum (*dinna*-Gebiet) aber nicht mehr.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> 'Ausdehnung zweckmässiger Formen über das ursprüngliche Berechtigungsgebiet.'

<sup>45</sup> Im Sindhī ist Vereinfachung von Doppelkonsonanz ohne Ersatzdehnung Regel. Doch hat das Prät. vor ursprüngl. Doppelkonsonanz Länge, wenn das Präsens diese hat: *pī-*, *pīhō* 'grind' (*pīnya-*, *pīṣa-*), *pē-*, *pēhō* 'enter' (*praviṣati*, *praviṣṭa-*) usw., [entweder durch sekundären Ausgleich (\**pīhō* nach *pī-* zu *pīhō*) oder] indem noch zur Zeit der Doppelkonsonanz nach dem Präsens Dehnungswechsel statt sonstiger blosser Vereinfachung eintrat (*pīthō* nach *pī-* zu *pīhō*). Dieselbe Erscheinung, auch bei der Passiv-Bildung, auch im Lahndā.

<sup>46</sup> Grierson's Ansicht, dass in lahndā-panj. *pītā* usw. ursprüngliches *ai. t* erhalten sei (Pii. Lang. 4 unten, *ESI* Sindhī 6, Lahndā 235), muss ich ablehnen. Denn wie *kālm. ā-v* < *āgata-*, *ā-v* < *jāta-*, *ga-uv* < *gata-*, lahndā *gā* < *gata-*, *pā* < *patita-*, *jāē* für \**jā* < *jāta-* usw. zeigen, ist intervok. *t* auch im NW laut-



74. Der Präsensstamm *dē-*.

Die Erschließung von \**dīta-* gibt einen neuen Gesichtspunkt zu Beurteilung des *mi.* und *nī.* Präsensstammes *dē-* (*ai.* *dadā-*, *pāli* *dadā-*, *dada-* und *dē-*, *prākṛt* und *nī.* nur *dē-*), *dē-* ist wahrscheinlich nach *ēti: ita-*, (*pāli*) *jetī: jita-*, weiter *kathēti: kathita-*, *dassēti: dassita-* usw. auf dem—ursprünglich allen Dialekten zukommenden (§13)—Particip \**dīta-* aufgebaut<sup>17</sup>.

75. Seit im *Pāli* das Perfektum, im *Prākṛt* schon jedes Präteritum durch das Particip Präteriti ersetzt war, standen Präsens und Particip in engster funktioneller Systemverbindung. Aus Präsens und Ptc. Präteriti besteht schon im *Prākṛt* wie im Neuindischen wesentlich das ganze Verbsystem. Die Wechselbeziehung dieser beiden Hauptstämme musste daher die Basis aller Neubildungstendenzen bilden.

Daher die weitreichende Bildung des Ptc. aus dem Präsensstamm, aber ebenso auch umgekehrt der Aufbau von Präsensstämmen auf dem Ptc. Hierher gehört—abgesehen von Einzelfällen wie *mi.* (Hc.) *simpa-* für *sīnca-*, das ich mit Jacobi KZ 28 252 gegen Pischel §286 aus *simpa-: limpa- = sitta-: littā-* erkläre—die Ausbreitung von *-ē-* im Präsens (*hasēi: hasia-* usw., Pischel §472, Geiger §139.2), die nur in der Analogie nach *kahēi: kahia-* ihre ratio findet. Der Vorgang ist also der, dass auf den Präsensstämmen die Participialstämme auf *-ita-*, auf diesen aber wieder die Präsensstämme auf *-ē-* aufgebaut wurden.

76. So steht schon *pāli* *radēti* (neben *radati*) zu *ai.* (und jedenfalls also auch früh-*mi.* Dialekten) *radita-* (*pāli* noch *udita-*); ferner *prākṛt* *ś. sumarēdi: sumarida-*, *°ciṇēdi: °ciṇida-* usw.

gesetzlich gefallen (so auch im Baṅgali, Konow JRAS 1911, 14). (Die Beispiele für erhaltenes intervok. *i*, *Pāli* Lang. 104, besagen nichts, da baṅgali *tor* Lallwort, *ṣōvār* *ṣatan* iranisch ist.) Der Typus ist also nicht lautlich, sondern morphologisch zu beurteilen und den Schlüssel geben eben die Proportionsreihen: *nw. kīlā: dīlā = guj. kīdhō: dīdhō = avadhī hīk: dīk* und *kīkī: dīkī*; bzw. *nw. pīlā: kīlā, dīlā = guj. pīdhō: kīdhō, dīdhō*.

<sup>17</sup> Geiger's Ableitung von *dē-* aus dem Imp. *dēhi* (§143) ist, abgesehen davon, dass der Einfluss des Imp. kaum so stark gewesen sein kann, schon deswegen schwerlich richtig, weil der ältere Präsensstamm *dadā-*, *dada-* schon die neugebildeten Imperative *dada* und *dadāhi* hat, *dēhi* also wahrscheinlich schon aufgegeben hatte, so dass *dēhi* nicht (nach Geiger §125) wirklich historische Form (= *ai.* *dēhi*), sondern selbst erst auf Grund des Stammes *dē-* gebildet ist.

Standen so erst bei einer Reihe von Verben -ē- und -a-Stämme nebeneinander, so konnte später natürlich ein -ē- neben -a- Stamm auch ohne Ptc. auf -ita- auftreten.

77. Wie der Präsensstamm bauen sich auch die anderen Systemglieder oft auf dem Ptc. auf -ita- auf. So pāli Aorist *vadēsi*: \**vadīta-*, *vadēti* wie *kathēsi*: *kathīta-*, *kathēti* usw.; prākṛt Absol. *hasēūna*: *hasīa-*, *hasēi* usw. Das Eindringen des -ē-Stammes in die einzelnen Systemglieder ist indes oft ein verschieden schnelles. So pāli Aor. *maññēsi*: *maññīta-*, aber Präsens noch *maññati*; *gaḥēsi*, *gaḥetvā* usw.: *gaḥīta-*, Präsens aber nur *gaṇhāti* (<sup>o</sup>*ati*); \*\* andrerseits umgekehrt *dēti*: \**dīta-*, Aor. aber noch *adāsī*, dagegen bei dem analogen *pīdhēti*: *pīhīta-* auch schon Aorist *pīdhēsi* (§165.2).

78. Das so im Früh-Mi. entstandene System *dēti*: \**dīta-* war nun von eminenter formantischer Bedeutung.

Denn *dēti*: \**dīta-*: *dāpayati* war mit *jēti*, *jīta-*, *jāpayati* der ursprüngliche Ausgangspunkt des mi. Kausativs auf -āpaya-, indem dieses danach sowohl zu jedem Präsens auf -ēti als zu jedem Ptc. auf -ita- treten konnte. So nicht nur pāli *kathāpēti*: *kathēti*, *kārāpēti*: *kārēti* usw., sondern auch *pucchāpēti*: *pucchīta-*,

\*\* *maññēsi* beruht also nicht auf \**maññēti* neben *maññati* (Geiger §139.2), sondern auf *maññīta-*, *aggahēsi* nicht auf \**gaḥēti* (nach Geiger ebd. "häufig gebraucht", aber im Präsens mir nicht bekannt und, nach freundlicher Mitteilung, auch in H. Prof. Geiger's Sammlungen nicht enthalten), sondern auf *gaḥīta-*.

*gaḥīta-*, als einzige Form mit nach-stammsylligem langen i, ist nach *kathīta-*, *dassīta-* usw. zu *gaḥīta-* geworden. Darauf wurden nach *kathītum*, *kathetvā* usw.: *kathīta-* *gaḥētum*, *gaḥetvā* usw. aufgebaut, doch reicht, weil *gaṇhāti* (<sup>o</sup>*ati*) \**gaḥēti* letzter stand als \**gaḥītum* usw. *gaḥītum* usw., der -ē-Stamm nicht bis ins Präsens. Umgekehrt hat sich auch der Präsensstamm auf alle übrigen Systemglieder ausgedehnt, nicht aber auf das Ptc.: ein mi. \**gaḥīta-* gibt es nicht.

Wir haben also folgende zwei Systemreihen:

<i>gaṇhāti</i> ( <sup>o</sup> <i>ati</i> )	
<i>gaṇhissāmi</i>	<i>gaḥessāmi</i>
<i>gaṇhi</i>	<i>aggahēsi</i>
<i>gaṇhītum</i>	<i>gaḥītum</i>
<i>gaṇhitvā</i>	<i>gaḥetvā</i>
	<i>gaḥīta-</i>

Pāli *gaḥē-*, Dhātup. *gaḥaya-* haben also wahrscheinlich mit zw. *gaṇhaya-* wirklich geschichtlich nichts zu tun (§53).

*icchāpēti: icchita-*, *muñcāpēti: muñcita-*, *saddahāpēti: saddahita-*, *himsāpēti: himsita-* u. andere (Geiger §181 u. 196). Durch Beziehung von *pucchāpēti* auf *pucchati* statt auf *pucchita-* konnte *-āpēti* dann zu jedem Präsens treten.

79. Dasselbe System ist aber auch der Ausgangspunkt des *mi.* Passivs auf *-īya-* usw. (s. *bhāṇīadi: ai bhāṇyātē*). Dieses kann nicht (nach Pischel §138) lautlich aus *-ya-* hervorgegangen sein—langer anaptyktischer Vokal ist phonetisch unmöglich—, sondern ist wie das Kausativ-Formans *-āpaya-* aus den *ā*-Wurzeln übertragen. Wieder erlaubte *dēti: \*dila-: dīyatē* zu jedem *-ē*-Präsens and *-ita*-Particip ein *-īya*-Passiv zu stellen, das umso leichter noch weiter ausgebreitet werden konnte, als daneben von Anfang aus *-ya-* lautlich entstandenes *-īya-* stand, das im Pāli noch das häufigere ist.

80. *dēti* beruht also wohl auf *\*dita-*. Wenn es im überlieferten *Mi.* stets *dinna-* gegenübersteht, so ist es entweder älter als die Verdrängung von *\*dita-* durch *dinna-* oder die schriftsprachliche Eliminierung von *\*dī(t)a-* entspricht nicht den wirklich sprachlichen Tatsachen (§15).

*dē-* findet sich auch im Iranischen: afγ. 3. Sg. *ā* and *balūci* Inf. *dēag*, 1. Sg. *dēn*. Da sich aber *dē-* im Iranischen nur in diesen beiden stark vom Indischen beeinflussten Randsprachen findet und überdies im Iran. ohne ratio ist, ist es hier wohl aus dem Indischen entlehnt (Verf. *Dialektologie* §25β).



# ADVERBIAL *KŪLLA* IN BIBLICAL ARAMAIC AND HEBREW

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It is a matter of common remark that כָּלָא, translated "the whole", whenever it occurs in Biblical Aramaic is *mil'el* in accent. Kautzsch, *Gramm.* § 17, 2, notes this as unique: "Eine Zurückwerfung des Tones wird durch die Pausa nur in einem Falle bewirkt", and cites כָּלָא, Ezr. 5,7, with *silluk*, and Dan. 2, 40 with *zakef kaṭon*. כָּלָא further occurs only in Dan. 4, 9, 18, כָּלָא-כָּלָא and 4, 25, כָּלָא קָא (Ginsburg, while Bār has כָּל with *dag. conj.*, cf. his note). For the recession of the tone in these cases, otherwise exemplified and following Massoretic use, see Kautzsch, § 17, 1. The three latter cases may be satisfactorily explained, but not so the first two, which are contrary to the universal rule of the Massora that the emphatic ending -ā has the tone. (This remains true whatever may have been the actual state of the tone in Aramaic, cf. Kautzsch, *l. c.*, Duval, *Grammaire syriaque*, c. 28.) Actually then all instances of כָּלָא are *mil'el*. The current commentators and lexicons note the fact of the accent but offer no explanation.

One of these cases invites initial attention, Ezr. 5, 7, in the epistolary address to Darius, כָּלָא קָא. This appears to be wellnigh universally translated "all peace", e. g. by Meyer, Torrey; so שׁ in 2 Esd. "all" is construed with the next sentence. But we should expect in normal Aramaic usage כָּל שְׁלָמָא, or כָּלָא שְׁלָמָא, like the Hebrew use of כָּל. The most recent commentator, Batten (p. 135), appears to feel the actual difficulty: he remarks that "there is a textual error", and in his reconstruction of the text of vv. 6,7 (p. 139) manages to delete כָּלָא. But in Sachau's Elephantine Papyri, which

appeared two years before Batten's Commentary, this use of כלא is corroborated, although the point has not, so far as I know, been remarked.

In the address of a letter, Pap. 13 (*APÖ* p. 60) we read: אל אחי שלם, יא כלא ישאל (?)—שני. Comparing Pap. 1 ll. 1.2 (p. 3), מראן אלה שמיא ישאל שניא, and Pap. 12 (addressed to a woman) l. 1 (p. 58): אלהיא כל ישאלו שלמבי, we can restore the form of address in Pap. 13. Sachau gets this translation from his reading of the manuscript: "To my brother X: After thy health the God of heaven כלא asks much." Sachau confesses he does not know what to do with כלא and suggests (*coeli*) *totius*. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, more acutely remarks that the papyrus is not certain, as Sachau thinks, as to the character preceding the defective: יא—; this word he would identify as אלהיא, reading the verb as a plural ישאלו, which gives: "The gods of heaven all (altogether?) ask", etc. Here again not כלהן, nor אלהיא כל; the form is not grammatically related, but is evidently adverbial, "altogether". It may be noted that in one case (Pap. 12) כל appears in place of the customary כלא.<sup>1</sup>

Applying this parallel to *Ezr.* 5, 7, we have "Peace wholly (be yours)". And pursuing the parallelism still closer, שלם כלא may simply be abbreviation of the well known terms of epistolary address.<sup>2</sup>

But this adverbial use of כלא can be pursued still further in the papyri. The word occurs 15 times in Sachau's collec-

<sup>1</sup> Sachau's most extensive note on this obscure word is at Pap. 1, l. 30 (p. 20).

<sup>2</sup> The use of an abbreviation here is parallel by the obscure ממי in place of the address in Artaxerxes' letter to Ezra, *Ezr.* 7, 12, followed as it is by ובען which introduces the subject matter of the letter. It is not at all necessary with Torrey, followed by Batten, to emend to שלם וני, "perfect peace". ממי is the gerundive, *explendum*, "to be filled out", and corresponds to the Rabbinic מומס. I am interested to observe that the admirable Jewish Version so renders it: "and so forth".

tion (see his Index, p. 284). In Pap. 2, ll. 22, 26 (pp. 22f.) *כלא יהודיא* occurs twice, parallel to *כלא* *אלהיא* above. In the *Abīkar* papyri it again is found twice in an identical phrase: Pap. 51, l. 12 (p. 153): *על עטתה וסלוחי הוה אתור כלא* = Pap. 52, ll. 12f. (p. 155): *על עטתה וסלוחי חיל [אתור] כלא הוה*; i. e. "To his counsel and words Assyria (the army of Assyria) *wholly* was inclined." The remaining cases appear in Pap. 1 and 2 and in the very obscure Pap. 8 (ll. 13.17). In the following cases *כלא* as "*wholly*" suits best:

Pap. 1, l. 12: *וסנרעפתא זי הוה באטרא זך כלא לקחו*: "and the things which were (הוה, 3d fem. pl., not recognized by Sachau in his list of verb forms, p. 271) in this sanctuary *wholly* they took."

Ib. l. 29: *אף כלא מליא באנרת הרה שלחן*: "moreover *wholly* we have sent a message in a letter". Ib. l. 30: *אף בונה זי עביר*: "also of that which has been done by us (so better than Sachau: to us) Arsham does not know *at all*." There are some cases where it is uncertain whether the adverb or the emphatic *כלא* was intended. In Pap. 2, a first draft to Pap. 1, l. 29 (p. 24), the sentence just presented appears thus: *בכלא זי עביר קן ארשם וט'*: "about all that, "etc. In Pap. 1, l. 11 *כלא זי עם שירית אשרנא* can best be translated in the dubious connection: "all that was along with the  $\frac{1}{2}$  (?) of the sanctuary;" but in the following line, *כלא באשה שרפו* can be rendered "*wholly* they burnt with fire." The parallel to l. 11 in Pap. 2, l. 10 places *כלא* in an earlier connection: *ומסלל* *אטורא זך כלא עקקו*: "and the roof of that sanctuary *wholly* their (its?) timbers, " etc.

In Syriac *כלא* is found, apparently, as the emphatic. I have noted its occurrence in Thomas of Marga's Book of Governors, ed. Budge, vol. 1, p. 81, l. 24: *ברא דאלהא סנדר סן כלא*: "the Son of God be praised by all!"; also in a Palestinian Syriac text in the *Studia Sinaitica*, in a passage which I am not able



at present to verify. But in the majority of cases in the papyri the adverbial use כלא in the sense of "altogether, wholly", with negative, "not at all", is preferable. It defies the usual construction of כל. As an adverb the form is to be explained as a survival of the ancient accusative in -a, sc. *kulla*, not *kullā*. In addition to EZE. 5, 7 this sense would be possible in Dan. 2, 40, חשל כלא, "smashing wholly", and in 4, 25, כלא בטא, "wholly it came upon". The papyrus spelling of כל for כלא might be explained if the final vowel were unaccented. And we may suppose the unconscious identification of the adverb with the emphatic form, cf. the possible accusative form of לילה, so explaining the ambiguity of use. The puzzling Masoretic accentuation would accordingly be justified and, after all, accent is one of the most permanent phenomena in language, a fact frequently illustrated in the Biblical Aramaic. Consequently correction is to be made of Kautzsch, *Gr.* § 50, in his denial of the occurrence in Biblical Aramaic of such accusative forms; to קלא Dan. 6, 3, and ארעא Kt. Dan. 2, 40 (i. e. 'ār'a), forms which have already been recognized, must be added כלא.<sup>3</sup>

May a similar adverbial form be found in Hebrew? I would note briefly the obscure קלה in Gen. 18, 21, Ex. 11, 1, where adverbial *kulla* would suit best. (We may however compare the Akkadian *kališ* "insgesamt, etc.," Delitzsch, *Ass. Hb.* p. 329.) Also the occasionally awkward use of קלה קלו may be considered (in BDB p. 481 b, inf.). E. g. in Jer. 48, 38, ברתבמיה קלה, the adverbial sense of כלה, which otherwise has no

<sup>3</sup> I find I have been long ago anticipated in this thesis. Von Lengerke in his Commentary, at Dan. 2, 39, cites Winer's edition (ed. 4, 1828) of J. Simon's *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum*, s. v., as giving the form as an adverb, *prorsus, omnino*. So Winer has it, but calls it a *Status Emphaticus*. Looking into the 3d edition of the lexicon, edited by Eichhorn, 1793, I find this more complete statement: "cum \* Paragogico (quod responderet Heb. ה Paragogico). Non est \* Emphaticum, ut Cocceius alique putant, quia tonus mansit in penultima. Simile occurrit in קלא Dan. 6, 3." I am not able to pursue this acute observation further back: it is not found in Buxtorf, who recognized the adverbial character of ארעא.

grammatical relation, would suit capitally. Similarly in Ex. 14, 7: "he took 600 chariots and all the chariots of Egypt and captains" על כלו, this phrase is without relation. May we suppose the orthographic כלו changed from original כלה and so understand 'al kulla, "over all", or, "to the whole extent"?

## HINDĪ RĀGMĀLĀ TEXTS

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THE Hindī *Rāgmālā* texts which are often found on Rajput (Rājasthānī) paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, representing Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs, are of great interest. Like the pictures, they represent given situations and associations, or in other words, a given character in a given psychological environment, corresponding to the *ethos* of the several Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs. These emotional situations are similar to those recognized by the rhetoricians, so that in the *Rāgmālās* the classification of heroines (*Nāyikā bheda*), phases of love in union (*samīyoga*) and love in separation (*viraha*), and times and seasons play a large part: and some of the pictures, e. g., the *Ābhisārikā* type of Madhu-mādhavī Rāgiṇī referred to below, could at the same time be used in illustration of the works of the rhetoricians. As literature, the *Rāgmālā* poems are in fact related to such poetry as the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dās and *Satsāiyā* of Bihārī: and like these works, they are far more than descriptions. Paintings and verses alike are traditionally and profoundly imagined pictures of human passion, and the more they are studied the more they reveal their content of experience. Their style is allusive and their vocabulary is rich in associations of both classical and folk origin. The Tertiary Prakṛts at this time have lost the greater part of their inflections, so that the poems consist to all intents and purposes of a series of words reduced to their bare roots. At the same time the poet wastes no words that can be spared: the consequence is that while the language is highly expressive, and is used to express the deepest emotion, the meaning of the lines must be grasped as a whole rather than word by word, and can be grasped only by one familiar with, and sympathetic to, Hindu modes of thought.

It is proposed here, and from time to time, to publish text and literal translation of several *Rāgmālā* poems and other



Hindī texts which have been found on Rajput paintings. Apparently, no printed texts of *Rāgmālā* poems exist. The picture texts here discussed are derived from three incomplete sets of *Rāgmālā* paintings:

- S. 1. A series of very brilliantly colored late sixteenth<sup>1</sup> century pictures represented in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by M. F. A. 22. 684 (reproduced C. P. pl. LXII) and in the Fogg Art Museum by another example. A few others of this series are known. All have complete texts on the reverse sides.
- S. 2. A series of closely related, and only slightly less vivid, pictures, also of the sixteenth century, or perhaps ca. 1600, represented by fifteen examples in the Museum of Fine Arts (M. F. A. 17. 2371-2385, some reproduced in C. R. P., others in C. P.), two in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, one in the Freer Gallery in Washington, one belonging to Dr. R. Meyer-Riefstahl, and four still in my own collection. All of this series have the *dohās* only, of the same text as S. 1, inscribed on the reverse sides. It will appear later that the (identical) texts of S. 1 and S. 2 are by a poet of the name of Lachiman.
- S. 3. A series represented by two examples only, of early seventeenth century date, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (M. F. A. 15. 51 and 15. 53, both reproduced in C. P.). Here the texts are superscribed, and can be studied in the reproductions.

The exact spelling of the originals is retained in the transliteration. The nasalization of a vowel by *anusvāra* is indicated by the sign<sup>2</sup>; in all other cases, *anusvāra* is represented by *m̐*. A precise identification of *b* and *v* is in most of the texts difficult; *b* is often written with or without a bar across the circle, and *v* is usually distinguished by a dot<sup>3</sup>; but the three forms may occur together in one and the same text. In the same way, *y* is distinguished from *p* by a dot. *r* (consonant) is always represented by *ṛ*. *kh* is often represented by *ḥ*, a peculiarity which I have not reproduced in the transliteration. The forms of single and conjoint letters are sometimes archaic.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. Goetz has argued that the *Rāgmālā* series S. 1 and S. 2 should be dated about 1700 ("Studien zur Rajput-Malerei," *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, X, 1922-3). I have sent in reply an article maintaining the view that they cannot be later than about 1600, and this may be expected to appear in the next volume of the *OZ*. A further reply will appear in the Burlington Magazine. Dr. Goetz has since written me that he now regards these series as of about 1610-20 (letter dated December 5, 1923).

I take first the *Rāgiṇī Madhu-mādhavī* of S. 3 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (M. F. A. 15. 53, reproduced in color, showing the text, in C. P. pl. LXVIII). The picture represents a palace terrace, and garden: a princess, attended by two maids holding dishes, is offering a dish of food to a peacock, which is perched on the cornice of the palace; there are more peacocks in the trees, the sky is overcast with monsoon clouds, and two female musicians stand on the right hand. The superscribed text reads:

*Rāgaṇī madhu-mādhavī: copai:  
Madhu-mādhavī rūpanīdhinā nārī  
harita barana pahairai tana sārī:  
Bhāvai bheda bhuṣaṇa aṁga nīke  
dekhi koṭi muni saji hoi phike:  
Nikasī mahala bārī mahi thādhi  
nīla jalada umagi ghaṣā gādhī:  
Madhura madhura dhuvī garajata āvai  
dāminī camakī raba jhalāvai:  
Kuralahī khag' ānamda sura vāṇī  
dekhi surījhī rahī tihī rāṇī.*

*Dohā:*

*Pīya mīlāpa kī phula tana, thādhi karata vīnoda  
Nīpahim ḍola kai manavasī, tāthai mana mahī moda. 18.*

The following words may be remarked upon:

1. 1: *rūpanīdhinā*: more usually, *rūpanīdhānā*.
1. 5: *kuralahī* equals *kṛīḍahīm*, 'are sporting,' as in the *Padumāvatī* of Muḥammad Jaisī, stanza 33 (ed. and trans. Grierson and Dvivedi, Calcutta, 1896-1911);  
*sura* equals *svara*. The use of *avagraha* marking the elision of an *a* is unique in the *Rāgmālā* texts known to me.

*Translation:*

Madhu-mādhavī, a woman that is a treasury of beauty,  
wearing a green garment over all her body,  
Many kinds of jewels adorn her limbs,  
and seeing her, a myriad sages pale and faint.  
Coming from the palace she stands in the garden;  
heavy black clouds are gathering joyfully,  
The sweet sweet rumbling of thunder is heard,  
flashes of lightning light up the sky,

Birds are sporting with merry notes,  
the princess, seeing (all this beauty) stands there de-  
lighted.

*Dohā:*

Her body blossoms like an open flower<sup>2</sup> for the meeting  
with her lover, she stands entranced,  
Enthralled by the thought of her lord's embrace, there  
is bliss in her heart.

An almost identical picture and text are found in British Museum Ms. Or. 2821, the principal variations being that in l. 1 we find *rūpanidhinā* and in l. 5 *kurahī*.

A very different, but still related (both as to the picture and the text), version is found in the Rāgiṇī Madhu-mādhavī of S. 1 and S. 2 (the latter reproduced in color in C. R. P. pl. 1). Here we see an *abhisārikā*, accompanied by a *sakhī* (S. 1) or alone (S. 2), in the dark night, just arrived at her lover's house, and startled by a peacock's cry. The text of S. 1 reads as follows:

(*Aitha*) *madhu-mādhavī rūpa barnanam:* (*copai:*)  
*Madhu-mādhavī rūpanidhi nārī,*  
*nīla subhaga tana dūmaka sārī:*  
*Bhāu bheda bhūṣana atī nīke*  
*dekhi-durasu rati-gana mana phike:*  
*Nīla tamāla tilaku takī calī*  
*prīṭama biraha jabahī dālamālī:*  
*Piya milāpa kahaṁ jīya anurāgīnī*  
*baraṣata ghana nikasī bhara jāminī:*  
*Capalā camakī ujyārī karī*  
*lāja gāta lagi trīyā tarakharī:*  
*Tihī chīna moru uṣhyau kaharāī*  
*barajati bhāminī bhujā uṣhāī*

*Doharā:*

*Bhāirava bhūpa anūpa paha, calī trīyā abhisāra*  
*Na hisāira khaga dekhi driga, bhai citta bikarāra. 2.*

It will be observed that the *copai* begins as in S. 3; in the picture, too, we have the palace and the peacocks, but the circumstances and the hour are changed.

<sup>2</sup> It will be recalled that in Hindī poetry the lover is often compared to the bee in search of honey.



The following words may be remarked upon:

l. 3: *takī* probably from *takanā*, to look, watch, seek.

l. 5: *china* equals *kyina*.

*doharā*: the last line is rather obscure. I have understood *hisāira* (*hisāura* in S. 2) as equal to *hisāra*, castle, palace. Although she has reached the end of her journey, she does not see the house she seeks, being blinded by the lightning and startled by the peacock *khaga*, 'bird', may also represent *khadga*, 'sword', with reference to the lightning.

Translation:

Thus the description of Madhu-mādhavi:  
 Madhu-mādhavi, a woman treasury of beauty,  
 dark complexioned, all her body dusky,  
 With her many kinds of jewels, very lovely, pale of mien  
 by reason of her many desires.  
 With blue-black garment, going seeking, torn asunder  
 by her longing for her darling,  
 Her heart attached to union with her lover.—  
 Heavy rain is pouring down and black night fallen;  
 The flickering lightning flashes out (betraying her) and  
 then for shame she staggers,  
 And in that moment a peacock rises screaming,  
 and with a startled gesture the impassioned woman  
 lifts her arms.

*Doharā*:

To Bhairava her noble lord, she goes afoot on *abhisāra*,  
 Seeing but the bird, and not his palace, her glances show  
 her heart's distraction.

I take next the *Rāgiṇī Vibhāsa* (S. 3) of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (M. F. A. 15.51: reproduced, showing the text, in C. P. pl. LXIX). The picture represents the terrace of a palace, where a woman is asleep on a bed, a maid is looking through the open window, and Love standing in the doorway is aiming a flower-arrow at his beloved. The text reads:

*Rāgiṇī Vibhāsa: copāi*:

*Megha-malāra kāma gati kinhi*  
*megha vibhāsa anika bhari linhi*;  
*Pauhaupa dhanukha bāna kara liyan*  
*rati samgrāma bicārañi liyan*:

Vaha neha ura hālā lagāvai  
 badana morī pīya pema upāvai:  
 Dou balīvanīta don juḥakārī  
 rahe samāna kou nahī hārī:  
 Sughara rūpa doū unihārī  
 navala trīya pīya jobana vārī.

*Dohā:*

*Suṇiyata kathā ju kāmā kī, rīti bīnoda pada saṅga*  
*Sarasa naina karī nīrakṣīe, sara sai sarasahī raṅga* 29.

In this text, the following words may be remarked on:

- l. 1: *megha-mālāra*, name of the *rāga* to which Vibhāsa belongs; literally, 'autumn clouds.'  
*megha vibhāsa*; either the name of the *rāgīnī*, or taken literally, 'cloud glory.'
  - l. 2: *Pauhaupa* equals *puṣpa*.
  - l. 3: *morī*: probably from *morānā*, to turn: Love turns her face to his to kiss her mouth. *Morī* could also be taken as *merī*, 'my', or *morī*, 'peahen', or from *muṇḍnā*, 'to coax', 'win'.
  - l. 4: *jobana-vārī*, i. e. *yauvana-vālī*. *Vārā* also signifies husband and has many other meanings.
- dohā*: *rīti* equals 'way, going', but here more likely represents *bīti* from *bītanā*, 'to arrive, happen, pass.'  
*pada saṅga* I render 'station of union.' Another possible, but improbable, reading is *pada taṅga*, for *pada tak*, '(from head) to foot.'  
*sara sai* equals 'from love, passion.'  
*sarasahī* equals 'beyond measure', or 'impassioned'.

Translation:

Megha Mālāra has prepared the path of love,  
 and the body is filled with the glory of the clouds  
 (or, 'the bodily vessel is filled to the brim by Megha  
 Vibhāsa').  
 Flower-bow (Kāmadeva) takes an arrow in his hand,  
 Rati is considering in her heart the battle of love.  
 He lays a loving hand on her breast,  
 and turning her face (to his), he wins love's answer.  
 Both are hardy and valiant fighters,  
 both are well matched and neither yields.

Both are alike in beauty of form,  
the tender girl and the lusty youth.

*Dohā:*

Hearing all the tale unfolded by love,  
there ensues the blissful station of union (or per-  
haps 'with foot set on the path of pleasure').  
With swimming eyes she gazes,  
deeply dyed in the tincture of love.

A similar composition occurs with almost identical text,  
in the *Rāgmālā* of British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 2821 f. 29, of  
somewhat later date. Apart from changes in the quantity of  
some of the vowels, the only important textual variants are:

l. 3: for *pema upāvai*, *pemaba upābai*.

l. 4: for *dou*, *eka* ('each'): for *unihāri*, *unahāri*.

*dohā*: for *nirakhie*, *nirakhiye*.

The poet of S. 3 and British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 2821 remains  
unidentified. But the *dohā* to Vasanta Rāgiṇī in British Museum  
Ms. Or. 2821 corresponds to the *dohā* of the Vasanta Rāgiṇī  
of S. 2 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); and we have  
noted elsewhere the partial correspondences in the texts for  
Madhu-Mādhavī Rāgiṇī, and those for Gandhārī Rāgiṇī.

A very different Rāgiṇī Vibhāsa is represented in the picture  
(S.1) recently given to the Fogg Art Museum by Dr. Denman  
W. Ross, and in the Vibhāsa Rāgiṇī (S.2) of the Museum of Fine  
Arts, M. F. A. 17. 2382. Here the theme is a phase of love  
in union (*samyoga*): it is the cool dawn of a night of delight,  
and the two lovers are seated in a chamber; the hero is again  
shooting a flower-arrow, but in this case not at the beloved, but  
at a cock which is crowing loudly on a nearby tree. It may be  
remarked that the motif of the hero who shoots some animal—  
lion, rat or bird—which disturbs the lovers, occurs elsewhere in  
Indian literature and art, especially in the *Hamir Hath*<sup>3</sup> and  
corresponding illustrations, e. g. in M. F. A. 17. 2421. The  
text of the Fogg Art Museum Rāgiṇī reads:

*Atha Bibhāsa: (savaiyā):*

*Lachiman baranai rūpa bibhāsa,*

*sakhī urbasī rāmbhā jāsu:*

<sup>3</sup> In Sastri, H., "The Hamir-Hath, or the obstinacy of Hamir", *Journal of London Art*, vol. 17, London 1916, the reproduction of the love scene where the hero is shooting at a lion, has been considerably edited.



Pritama biraha caṭapaṭi bhaṭ,  
 sumisama bāgana bāna tanahaṭ:  
 Avā tāpa jaba taṭi sarira,  
 pī samādhi kinī dhari dhāra:  
 Pritama dhyāna magana hoī gaṭ,  
 krīṣa bhṛṅga kī nāī bhaṭ:  
 Tāsan surata samaru nisi kīai,  
 koka kalāni lūṣi sukhu līai:  
 Adhara sadhara rasu pīau oghāī,  
 biraha aginī saba gaṭ ju dāi:  
 Makara dhuju pūjyau bahu bhāti,  
 bhayau prabhāta sirānī jāta:  
 Ālasu bahutu bishbhāsaī bhayau,  
 nidrā sukhu prajamka mai thayau:  
 Deha caṭaka hāṭaka kau āhi,  
 pāga svāha siru upamā kāhi:  
 Sirī sāpha kau bāgau sōhai,  
 cūrā mauṭī iyyāra manumohau:  
 Phaiṭā kaṭi jarakasi bandū  
 dekhai rūpu lajai rati-rāu:

Do(harā):

Saba nisi gaṭ surata rasa, krīṣlata koka bilāsa:  
 Ekā-kī parajamka pai, nidrā karatī bishbhāsa. 35.

The following words may be remarked upon:

- I. 1: *Lachiman*: the author of the Rāgmālā here names himself. The name is also found in the *dohā* text of the *Pañcama Rāgiṇī* of Series S. 2.  
*Urbasi* and *Rambhā*, famous apsaras of Indra's heaven.
- I. 2: *sumisama* equals *sumasama*, flowery (or possibly *suṣamaya*, 'a happy time'): *bāgana* equals *bāmgana*, 'crowings'. The crowing cock is a natural enemy to Kāmadeva, inasmuch as love making by day-light is tabu.
- II. 3,4: We are familiar in Indian literature with the use of the language of human passion to express spiritual experience. In these magnificent lines, on the other hand, the technical language of *yoga* is used to describe the intensity of human passion.  
*tāpa* equals 'heat', 'grief': *taṭi*, from *tapanā*, 'to glow,' also represents *tapasvī*, 'a female devotee.'

*saṁādhi* and *dhyāna* are technical terms of *yoga*. 'As the worm becomes the ichneumon' is a phrase often used in Hindi literature to express a contemplation or regard so profound as to result in identification with the object of contemplation (such an identification being the goal of worship). The ichneumon lays its eggs in a living caterpillar, and the larvae feed upon its flesh, become pupae, and emerge as new ichneumons. Unaware of the precise details of this life history, Hindus have imagined that the caterpillar is thrown into a trance by the pain of the sting, and is so completely preoccupied by the thought of the ichneumon that it becomes the ichneumon itself. Cf. the *Padumāvātī* of Muḥammad Jaisi, ed. and trans. by Grierson and Dvivedi, Calcutta, 1896-1911, p. 49 (footnote to translation).

1. 7: i. e. when the god of love has been worshipped by the performance of the whole ritual of love; *pūjyau*, from *pūjanā*, to perform the office of worship. The standard of Kāmadeva has the device of a *makara*.
1. 8: The peculiar form *Bisbhāsai* occurs twice, the normal *Bibhāsa* also twice.
- II. 9-11: These lines above the usual eight, especially in the case of l. 11, are rather obscure.  
*sāpha?* equals *sāpa* equals *sarpa*.  
*ijyāra*, for *ujyāra*, 'brightness'.  
*phaiṭā* equals *phayṭā*, 'girdle'; *kaṭi*, 'waist'; *jarakaṣī*, 'adorned with gold thread' (*Hindī Śabda-sāgara*).  
*ratī-rāu*, i. e. Kāmadeva.

Translation:

Lachiman describes the form of Vibhāsa,  
 like Urvasī or Rambhā,  
 And when she trembles with longing for the best-  
 beloved, he aims his flower arrow at the crowings  
 of the cock.  
 Her body glows with furnace-heat, like a devotee,  
 most intently centered on the thought of the beloved,  
 Sunk in the trance of considering the loved one,  
 as the worm becomes the ichneumon.  
 Fighting a joyful battle with him by night,  
 taking the pleasant spoils of the battle of love,

Drinking the nectar of his lips abundantly,  
 all the burning fire of her desire is assuaged.  
 When many a rite has been paid to Dolphin-banner  
 (Kāmadeva),  
 the morning dawns and it grows cool,  
 Now is Vibhāsa wearied out,  
 sweet sleep steals upon the bed.  
 Lo, the golden body in its fulness of power,  
 and to what may be likened the turban upon the  
 dark head?  
 The head-snake (braid) adorned like reins,  
 with bright seed pearls enchanting the heart.  
 The girdle of her waist is adorned with gold thread,  
 the Lord of Love (Kāmadeva) is abashed at the sight  
 of such beauty.

*Dohā:*

The whole night passed away in love's delights, and  
 enjoying of amorous dalliance,  
 United on the bed, Vibhāsa sleeps.

The third and last Rāgiṇī presently to be discussed is the  
 Gandhāra Rāgiṇī of S. 1 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
 (M. F. A. 22. 684, reproduced C. P. pl. LXII). The picture  
 represents a yogī seated on a tiger-skin beneath a tree beside a  
 lotus-lake. He has two disciples fanning him. On the ground  
 at his side sits a female devotee. The text reads:

*A(tha) gamdhāra rūpa barnanam: (sacaiyā):*

*Biraha laharita mai na samhāra*

*tapasī rūpa bhai gamdhāra;*

*Jaṭā māmḍalī mālhai sohai*

*aṁga vibhūti malayakṣa vikohai*

*Kṣīna sarīra kaṣāye cīra*

*kānana basata sarovara fīra,*

*Joga paṭā juna dṛiḍha padmāsana*

*sohatu subhaga baghammaru dāsana,*

*Tārī lagī sumudrita naina*

*hai parama pīya pekhyau aina.*

*Doharā:*

*Tihī chabi bibi samśaha calī, rahī praima pada pūri*

*Swāmi nīsa(n)ga joginī bhai, aṁga caḍhāi dhūri.*

*Iti Gamdhāra. 6.*



The following words may be remarked upon:

- l.1: *saṁhāra* equals *sambhāra*, from *sambhāraṇā*, to support. We might translate 'unbearably tossed about by the waves of viraha'. But the correct reading is probably *lahari tana mai* as in B. M. Or. Add. 2821, 'enduring the surge of love-longing in her flesh'. It is clear in any case that here, as in many other places (cf. Grierson and Dvivedi *Padumāvati*, p. 13, footnote) that *viraha* means 'unhappy love', rather than 'love in separation': or, if we adhere to the usual rendering, we must understand that the separation may be psychic, and need not be spatial.
- l.2: *vibhūti* equals *babhūta*, smeared. Cf. Ratan Devi, *Thirty Indian Songs*, London 1913, p. 12.
- ll.3, 4: describe the *svāmi* upon whom the *yoginī*'s gaze is 'sealed'. *Joga paṭā*, the ribbon or braid used by yogis to support the right knee in certain *āsanas*. *Juna* equals grass; probably *kūśa* grass is intended.
- l.5: *baghaṁmaru*, more correctly *baghaṁbara*.
- dohā*: the first line is very obscure. There is a word *bibi*, meaning 'two or 'double': it occurs also in the *dohā* of B. M. Ms. Or. Add. 2821, fol. 14, Bilāval Rāgiṇī. The doubtful character could be *ga*; we could then read *saṁgaha* (*saṁgraha*), 'grasping'. On the other hand, *śaha caṭi* may represent *sahacārī*, 'wife,' as in B. M. Or. Add. 2821, fol. 17: the earlier part of the line would still be obscure. For a similar case (although feigned, showing that heart-broken women sometimes 'took the veil'), cf. the description of the false *yoginī* in the *Padumāvati*, canto 40, 646:

"A *yoginī* is at the door and beggeth like one who has lost a beloved. Though still in her first youth, she is living in austerity. She hath torn her veil and hath put on a beggar's blanket. She hath the ashes of separation, and matted hair, a skin over her shoulder, and a rosary round her neck. Her voice is wild, and her very footsteps burn the earth."

(Grierson, *Analysis of the Padumāvati*, JASB 62 pt 1, No. 2, p. 199: 1893.) Indian literature offers us many examples of wives following their husbands in the adoption of a religious vocation. In the present case the situation recalls the story of Pārvatī, practising austerities with the object of regaining her husband's love.

## Translation:

Thus the relation of the form of Gandhāra;  
 Tossed in the sea of love-longing, unable to support (her grief),  
 the form of Gandhāra is of one devoted to *tapas* (austerity).  
 Lovely her head with its mass of tangled locks,  
 and brightly shines the sandal-paste smeared on her body.  
 With wasted frame in russet garb,  
 dwelling in the forest by a lotus lake,  
 Supported by a *yoga paṭṭā* of (*kuśa*) grass, firmly  
 lotus-seated, fair and pure, seated on a tiger skin,  
 Gazing fixedly, she seals her eyes  
 upon the utter darling of her heart.

## Dohā:

That beautiful woman (?), fully resting in the road of love,  
 Divided from her Lord, becomes a Yoginī, and smears the dust (of ashes) on her body.

Just as in the case of Madhu-Mādhavī Rāgini, so here that of Gandhāra, British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 2821 (folio 17), offers us a picture and poem with some correspondences and some differences. The picture represents an emaciated male figure seated on the terrace of a palace with one female attendant with a peacock fan, behind him, and a male visitor before him. The poem reads:

*Rāgini Devagandhārī: caupai:*  
*Tapasī rūpa gandhārī nārī*  
*biraha laharī tana mai aī bhārī*  
*Biracī lathaim durbala dehi*  
*pala pala mai trita caṭhai sanehī*  
*Mukulate kesa bhesa bairāgī*  
*piya ke nāma jāpa jīpa lāgī*  
*Joga jāṭā āsana dṛidha kīyai*  
*bhabana chāḍī baiṭhī maṭha līyai*  
*Manasā yahai dhyāna jīya dharaī*  
*sāim mohī-mayā naika karaī*

## Dohā:

*Karata jahala saṅga sahacari, son nipaṭa bairāga*  
*Mōnaku muratī citra kī, rahī pema laba lāgī. 17.*

The whole of ll. 3 and 4 continues the description of the female devotee. I take *mukalata* = *mukulita*, which with reference to the eye or a flower means closed or half closed or in bud, to mean dishevelled, when applied to hair. 'Like a *rairāgi*', she makes *jāpa jāpa* upon the name of the beloved. *Jāpa jāpa* is a repetition of sounds, intensifying the sense of *jāpa*, just as in the case of *jap tap*, in Ratan Devi, *Thirty Indian Songs*, p. 12. To 'make *jap*' is to repeat sacred words or *mantrams*, generally with the aid of a rosary. The repetition of the name of the deity is a characteristic element in the office of personal devotion. Thus, she makes her beloved her God. *Jaṭā* means matted locks, or long unkempt hair of a *yogī*. The taking of a firm seat (cf. *sthīram āsanam* in *Bhagavadgītā* 6. 11) with the *jaṭā* coiffure, or as before using a *yoga paṭṭā* (represented in both pictures), implies the irrevocable adoption of the ascetic vocation, the homeless life. *Bhavana chādī* i. e. *bhavana choṛī* means 'having abandoned the home'; *maṭha liyāi*, lit. 'takes the monastery'.

Translation:

Gandhārī's form is a woman devotee,  
waves of love-longing wildly surging in her flesh.  
Wherefrom is her body waxen weak,  
and every moment her love threefold increased.  
With hair dishevelled and the garb of a *rairāgi*  
she makes a prayer of her beloved's name,  
Having left the home and taken to the monastery and  
taken a firm seat, with the unkempt hair of a *yogī*.  
Making a meditation upon her desire, she supports her  
life,  
the heroine casts upon the *svāmi* the illusion of love.

*Dohā*:

Serving him mentally like a wife, wholly turned away  
(from the world),  
Like a painted image, she abides given over to love.

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## ĀDISATI, ANVĀDISATI, ANUDISATI, AND UDDISATI IN THE PETA-VATTHU

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It is a well-known doctrine of Buddhism that the superior merit of one person may be transferred to another. The common idiom for this is *pattim dadāti*, which is recorded in Childers's Pāli Dictionary. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this usage. In Dhammapada I, 8 a king made abundant offerings to a congregation of monks and made over to some *petas* the merit of his gift (*bhante ito tesam petānaṃ dībbannapānaṃ samajjātā 'ti pattim adāsi*). In consequence the ghosts received celestial food and drink. In Dhammapada V, 1=60, the king's servant wanted to transfer the merit he had acquired to the king of the dragons, saying *Tumhākaṃ taṃ pattim katvā demī*; and the dragon said, *Mayhaṃ taṃ pattim dehi*. In Dhammapada X, 6=136, a treasurer who was requiting good for evil made an offering and ascribed its credit to a malicious enemy, with the words: *Ahaṃ imasmim dāne paṭhamam pattim dammi*; "I make over to that man the first-fruits of the merit of this offering." In Dhammapada XXIII, 5=326, a novice transferred his merit to his parents, saying: *Mayhaṃ mātāpituṇnaṃ imasmim bhaṇṇe pattim dammi*; "All the merit I have acquired by thus intoning the Sacred Word I make over to my parents." His mother used to say: *Sāmaṇerena dinnapattim anumodāmi tāta*; "Dear son, I am thankfully enjoying the merit which as a novice you have made over to me."

In a book like the Peta-Vatthu it is natural to expect many transfers of merit, since the spirits desire relief from their misery and torments. Human sympathy also moves men to make over to their deceased friends and kinsmen whatever spiritual credit they may acquire in bestowing gifts upon the Buddha and the Chapter of monks. The Peta-Vatthu, however, does not in this connexion employ *pattim dadāti*; on the other hand

we meet in the order of frequency of use, *ādisati*, *anvādisati*, and *uddisati* with the accusative of the gift and the genitive or the dative of the person who is benefited spiritually or to whom the merit is transferred.

The purpose of this paper is to prove that in this connexion these expressions<sup>1</sup> mean 'to make over, transfer, or ascribe merit to' or 'to give a gift in the name of'. This meaning has not been listed in any of our Pāli-English dictionaries.

Childers under *uddisati* records the prepositional use of the gerund *uddissa* as meaning 'on behalf of, for, on account of, with reference to.' This familiar signification of *uddissa* is also found in the frame-story of Peta-Vatthu IV.8: *Sāvatthiā kira avidūre aññatarasmim gāmake eko kuṭumbiko attano kulupakam bhikkhum uddissa vihāram kāresi*; 'They say that in a certain town not very far from Sāvatthi a certain householder had a monastery built for the sake of a monk who was his personal friend.' This well-known usage of the gerund is derived from a sense similar to that of the four verbs under consideration.

*Disati*, Sanskrit *diś*, means literally 'to point, show.' With a prefix denoting direction toward a certain spot or away from the actor, the verb means, 'to point toward or in the direction of a certain person or object.' Thus when one *directs up* or *shows towards* (*uddisati*) a person some good thing, it would be for his benefit or in his behalf. This apparently is the origin of the above sense of *uddissa*.

No doubt when gifts were bestowed, the donor thought of the welfare of the Buddha and the monks. But he also had a selfish motive for his liberality; an avaricious life, according to the teachings of Buddhism, was bound to be punished in rebirths, and so every person who sought salvation was willing to give in order to accumulate merit. In many instances, however, a man donated a gift and transferred the virtue of the offering to some *peta* in torment. As he made the donation, he handed it to the needy recipient, but the spiritual value of the present or its merit, with an effort of the will, or by mere word, or in imagination, he 'pointed towards', 'showed in the direction of', or 'directed towards' (*ādisati*, *anvādisati*, *anudisati*, *uddisati*) the ghost. In other words the donor made a mental reserva-

<sup>1</sup> On *anudisati*, which probably has the same meaning, see below, p. 412f.



tion or exercised some act of supererogation: "Now it is not I that am giving this gift; let us pretend that So-and-so is giving this; I have nothing to do with it; that one over there is responsible; I get and want no benefit from this; all the credit belongs to that one to whom I am pointing or referring." We may suggest that under such circumstances and with such a line of development arose our signification of the verb when compounded with a prefix of direction. All our examples to prove the meaning of these four verbs will be taken from the Peta-Vatthu or its commentary.

In II.8.8, we find *dakkhiṇaṃ ādisa me hitāya*. We hardly need to assume that *hitāya*, 'for the benefit of, for the advantage of' had a part in the formation of the idiom under investigation. The use of the genitive or dative of the person benefited probably is as original as *hitāya* with the genitive.

Let us now note the opinions of the commentators on this idiom. *Mama dakkhiṇaṃ ādisa* of I.10.5 is defined as *paṭṭidānaṃ dehi*, an expression which we discussed in the first paragraph of this paper. Let us now turn to II.2.6: *Dehi puttaka me dānaṃ datvā anuādisāhi me*; on this line the commentary says: *yathā dānaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ mayhaṃ uddissa paṭṭidānaṃ<sup>2</sup> dehi*. In both these instances the lexicographer plainly considers that *ādisati* and *anuādisati* in this connexion mean 'to make over merit to a *peta*.' *Datvā anuādisāhi no* of III.2.8 is construed as *ādisa no ti amhākaṃ*. In other words *ādisati* and *anuādisati* are synonyms. *Ādiseyya* of IV.1.30 is interpreted by the word *uddiseyya*. From this we may infer that in the mind of the scholiast the three verbs *ādisati*, *anuādisati*, and *uddisati* are synonymous. We shall, however, not be biassed by this opinion of the annotator, but it will remain our duty to examine each word on its own merits in this particular context; his statements, nevertheless, are interesting because they confirm our conclusions of the study of the usage of these verbs in the Peta-Vatthu.

The verb *anuādisati* is found only in the locative of the past

<sup>2</sup> So in the Paramattha Dipaṇi or the Commentary of the Peta-Vatthu edited by Sīri Dhaminārāma Tissā Nāyaka Thera and Māpālagama Chanda-jōti Thera; revised by Mahagoda Sīri Nānissara Thera; Colombo, Ceylon, 1917. Harly's text (Pali Text Society, 1894), however, reads *paṭṭidānaṃ*.

participle and always in the combination *samanantarānuddiṭṭhe*<sup>1</sup>. At first sight one might be tempted to derive it from Sanskrit *anudṛṣṭa*, but in view of the fact that it is always used in connexion with the transfer of merit, it is better to take it from Sanskrit *anudīṣṭa*. Accordingly this is the fourth compound of *disati* that is employed in the making over of the spiritual value of a gift. We may also note at this point that the commentary to I.10.7 defines *samanantarānuddiṭṭhe* as *tassā dukkhiṇāya uddiṭṭhasaman-taram eva*. Since the annotator uses the past participle in his rendering, we cannot determine whether he makes *diṣ* or *drṣ* the basis of this verb. Under III.2.12, however, he makes the following remark on *samanantarānuddiṭṭhe*: *uddiṣṣa<sup>2</sup> samanantarām eva ca*. There is no doubt now that he takes it from the root *diṣ* and considers it synonymous with the three other verbs under consideration. A study of the context also convinces us that the commentator is right. *Anuddiṭṭhe* in the combination *samanantarānuddiṭṭhe* therefore seems to mean that immediately 'after merit was ascribed' to a *peta*, the desired result was produced. Apparently *samanantarānuddiṭṭhe* became a stereotyped expression or cliché to mark the transition between the making of merit over to a *peta* and the benefits that the spirit derived from the charitable act. It happened that *anudīṣati* was chosen for this particular purpose. In the succeeding paragraphs where contexts are quoted, we shall see that no other translation so adequately renders the sense as the meaning we have chosen. Accordingly it is preferable to derive it from the root *diṣ* instead of from *drṣ*.

<sup>1</sup> So always in Minayeff, *Peta-vatthu*, Pali Text Society, 1888, except in II.1.8; II.2.9; II.3.27, where we find 'tarā anu'. Hardy's text (o.c.) always reads *samanantarānuddiṭṭhe*, but under II.1.8 he quotes the variant 'tarā anu' and under I.10.7 and III.2.12; 16; 21; 25; 30 he cites 'tarā anu'. Pāli MS. 123, iii of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Hardy, Notes for an edition of the Peta Vatthu, *Journal of the P. T. S.*, 1904-5) also reads 'tarā anu' in III. 2.12; 16; 25. These variations in spelling, however, have no influence on our interpretation of the passages. It is noteworthy that the Colombo edition (o.c.) always has 'nuddiṭṭhe and that neither Hardy nor Minayeff recognize this variant. In spite of the fact that Pāli MS. 123, iii of the Bibliothèque Nationale (o.c.) has 'tarāvakhanuddiṭṭhe in I.10.7, we prefer to follow Minayeff and Hardy. The double d is probably a mistake due to the influence of *uddiṣati*.

<sup>2</sup> So the Colombo edition (o.c.). Hardy's *udīṣṣa* is obviously a misprint.

Let us now study the various cases in the Peta-Vatthu where the verbs under consideration occur.

In I.6, a *peṭi* tells her misery to some *theras*. In the frame-story which continues the narrative, we learn that she requested them to go to the house of her former husband, who would give them a present. She desired, however, that the donation should be made in her name or that the virtue of the gift should be made over to her (*taṃ dakkhiṇaṃ mahiyā uddisāpeyyātha*<sup>1</sup>; Ms. B reads *ādiseyyātha*.) The monks went to the householder, who gave them kind treatment and alms. The recipients told the man their experience and had him ascribe the merit of the gift to the ghost of his former wife; *therā taṃ pavattiṃ kuṭimbikassa ārocetvā taṃ dānaṃ tassā peṭiyā uddisāpesuṃ*.<sup>2</sup> In consequence of this transfer the *peṭi* became happy.

In I.9, a mendicant friar converses with a *devaputta* about a *peṭi* who in a previous existence had been the latter's wife. Since the fortunate spirit wished to alleviate the condition of his former spouse, he asked the monk for counsel. In reply the priest advised him to give a donation and make over to her the merit of the same; *yadi Bhagavato ariyaśaṅghassa ca ekassa' eva vā bhikkhuno dānaṃ datvā imissā uddissiyati ayaṃ ca taṃ anumodati, evaṃ etissā ito dukkhato mutti bhavissati*. So the *devaputta* gave the mendicant excellent food and drink and gave the credit of the gift to the *peṭi*; *datvā taṃ dakkhiṇaṃ tassā peṭiyā ādisi*. In consequence of this transfer of merit she became happy. But he also placed in the hand of this monk a pair of celestial garments for the Buddha and as he handed them over, he ascribed the virtues of the gift to the *peṭi*; *puna tass' eva bhikkhuno hatthe dibbasājakayugam Bhagavantam uddissa datvā dakkhiṇaṃ peṭiyā ādisi*. As a result of this credit she appeared like an houri arrayed in supernatural vestments and ornaments.

In I.10, we have a conversation between some shipwrecked merchants and a *vimānapetī*, who stayed in her palace. The traders asked her to come out, but she was ashamed to make her appearance, since she was nude. So one merchant said:

<sup>1</sup> So reads the Colombo edition (o.c.); Hardy, however, has *uddisāpeyyātha*.

<sup>2</sup> So the Colombo edition, (o.c.); Hardy, on the other hand, has *uddisāpesuṃ*.



"Come, I shall give you a cloak; put on this garment; don this tunic, and come out, beautiful one." In reply the *peti* said that she would derive no profit from material gifts put in her hand, and as she pointed out a lay-disciple, one of their number, she spoke (5):

*Elam acchādayitvāna mama dakkhiṇam ādisa  
ladāham sukhitā hessam sabbakāmasamiddhinā;*

"Dress this man and ascribe to me the virtue of the gift; then I shall be blest, succeeding in all my desires." Reference has already been made to the note in the commentary on *mama dakkhiṇam ādisa*. The narrative continues (6):

*Taṇ ca te nahāpayitvāna vilimpitvāna vāṇijā  
vattheh' acchādayitvāna tassā dakkhiṇam ādisum;*

"After the traders had bathed and anointed him, they clothed him with the garment and transferred to her the virtue of the gift." Immediately after this was assigned to her credit (7, *samanantarānudiṭṭhe*), she received food, drink, and fine clothes. The possession of the *vimāna* and this benefit, however, were not destined to be permanent; four months later she was to be reborn in hell. At this point the commentary takes up the narrative and tells us that the above mentioned lay-disciple thought of a method that would guarantee her release. He suggested that she should give a gift to his pious companions, the merchants. So she presented them with celestial food and drink and various heavenly clothes and ornaments. She also entrusted them with a pair of supernatural garments for the Buddha and sent with them her best regards for the blessed One. Through her magical influence the ship reached that same day the port which the merchants desired, from which they duly went to Jetavana and gave the Buddha the *peti*'s message and the set of garments. The following day the traders gave many presents to the Chapter over which the Buddha presided and made over the merit to the *peti*; *mahādānam datvā tassā dakkhiṇam ādisu*. In consequence of this act she was reborn in the *tāvutimsa* heaven.

Once the Elder Sāriputta met a *peti* (II.1) who was wandering around without clothes and was consumed by hunger and thirst. In her request for help we find the words (6):

*datvā ca me ādisa yāhi kiñci  
mocchi mam duggatiyā bhaddante;*

"Go, make a donation and transfer to me the virtue of the gift; free me from my misery, venerable one." The Elder gave the monks a morsel, a handful of cloth, and a bowl of water and ascribed to her the donation (7, *tassā dakkhiyam ādisi*). Benefits immediately followed this gift which was accredited to her (8, *samanantarānudisshe*). She received from supernatural sources food, clothing, and drink. When Sāriputta saw that she was well dressed and illuminating all the regions like the morning star, he asked her: "What good deed have you done? Whence have you such radiant power, and why does your figure illuminate all the regions?" The *peṭi* replied (14):

*Bhikkhūnam ālopanāṃ datvā pāyimattañ ca coḷakam  
ihālakassa ca pāṇiyam mama dakkhiyam ādisi;*

"When you gave to the monks a morsel, a handful of cloth, and a bowl of water, you made over to me the virtue of the gift." Consequently she had excellent food, many fine garments, and four beautiful lotus-ponds.

In II.2, we find that the Elder Sāriputta meets his own mother, who as a *peṭi* was in great misery. She asked him for succour, saying (6):

*Dehi puttaka me dānaṃ datvā anvādisāhi me;*

"Give, dear son, a gift for me, and when you have given it, ascribe to me the credit." We have already referred to the commentary's explanation of *anvādisāhi*. So Sāriputta made four huts, which he gave to the Church of the four regions; this donation, besides food and drink, he designated as the gift of his mother; 8, *Catasso kuṭiyo katvā saṅghe cātuddise adā Kuṭiyo annapānañ ca mātu dakkhiyam ādisi*. Straightway after the credit of these gifts had been made over to her (9, *samanantarānudisshe*), she became happy.

In II.3, we have a conversation between Tissā and her co-wife Mattā, now a *peṭi*. Since the ghost was in intense agony, Tissā took pity on her and said: "Come, what shall I give you, or what shall I do for you in order that you may be happy and blest with the fulness of all pleasures?" In reply Mattā spoke (25):

*Cattāro bhikkhū saṅghato cattāro pana puggalā  
attha bhikkhū bhojayitvā mama dakkhiyam ādisa  
tadāham sukhito hessam sabbakāmasamiddhini;*

"Here are four monks from the congregation and four others who are independent. Feed these eight mendicants and trans-

fer to me the credit of the gift. Then I shall be happy, blest in the fulfilment of all desires." So she fed the priests, clothed them, and ascribed to her the virtue of the gift (26, *tassā dakkhiṇam ādisi*). In this connexion we note that the commentary in repeating the above procedure uses the same expression: *taṃ sutvā Tissā taṃ atthaṃ attano sāmikassa ārocetvā dutiyadivase aṭṭha bhikkhū bhojetvā tassā dakkhiṇam ādisi*. Immediately after this assignment of merit (27, *samanantarānudiṭṭhe*), the desired result was produced, and her misery was at an end.

In II.4, Nandasena meets his wife Nandā, who is now a *peta*. He wished to take her home where she could have food, drink, and clothes, but she replied (7-8):

*Haṭṭhena haṭṭhe te dinnaṃ na mayhaṃ upakappati  
bhikkhū ca sūlasampanne vūtarāge bahussute  
Tappehi annapānena mama dakkhiṇam ādisa  
ladāhaṃ sukhitā hessaṃ sabbakāmasamiddhinā;*

"What is given by your hand into mine does not profit me. But the monks who abound in piety and are learned and free from passion, these refresh with food and drink and transfer to me the benefit of the gift. Then I shall be happy, blest in the fulfilment of all desires." So he gave many presents: viands, drink, solid food, clothes, dwellings, umbrellas, perfumes, wreaths, and various kinds of sandals. He refreshed the monks with food and drink, and made over to her the virtue of the gift (9, *tassā dakkhiṇam ādisi*). The desired result was produced immediately when this donation was made in her name (10, *samanantarānudiṭṭhe*).

In II.8, we encounter king Ajātasattu, who had a conversation with the *peta* Cūlasattṭhi. Since the monarch wished to alleviate the agony of the latter, the *peta* said (8):

*Buddhaṃ ca saṅghaṃ parivisaṃyāna rāja annena pānena pi  
cīvarapa  
taṃ dakkhiṇam ādisa me hitāya evaṃ ahaṃ cirataraṃ piyito  
sīyā;*

"Serve Buddha and the Church, O king, with food, drink, and the robes of monks. Ascribe the merit of this gift to my benefit; in this way I shall be content for a considerable time." The king did so, and to this *peta* he ascribed, with the usual result, the virtue of the gift (9, *tassa ca petassa dakkhiṇam ādisiṭṭha*).



In III.2, we read about the ascetic Potṭhapāda, whose parents and brother had become miserable *petas* in consequence of their evil deeds. His brother addressed him (8):

*Anukampassu kāraṇiko datvā anvādisāhi no  
tava dinnena dānena yāpessanti kurārino;*

"Be merciful and compassionate; give a gift and ascribe to us the credit. By your present which is bestowed, the cruel ones will maintain themselves." Reference has already been made to the commentary's note on *anvādisāhi no*. When the Elder and twelve other monks had gone their rounds, he took charge of the food which was collected. A dinner was made for the Chapter of monks, and as the meal was served, the ascetic ascribed the virtue of the gift to his parents and brother (11, *datvā anvādisi therō mātu pitu ca bhātuno*), saying (11): *Idaṃ me nātinaṃ hotu sukhitā hontu nātayo*; "Let this merit be for my kinsmen; let my relatives be blessed." So his kinsmen received sufficient food, immediately after he had made this donation in their name (12, *samanantarānudiṭṭhe*). Still they needed clothes. So they said: "There is abundant food, reverend sir, but look, we are nude. Now, lord, put forth your power that we may obtain clothes." After the Elder had picked up some rags from a rubbish heap, he converted the cloths into garments and gave them to the Church of the four regions. As he gave his offering, the venerable monk transferred the virtue of the gift (15, *datvā anvādisi therō mātu pitu ca bhātuno*) to his parents and brother, saying (15):

*idaṃ me nātinaṃ hotu sukhitā hontu nātayo;*

"Let this merit be for my kinsmen; let my relatives be blessed." Immediately thereupon, when this donation was made in their name (16, *samanantarānudiṭṭhe*), they were dressed in fine raiment. Next they asked for a house. So the Elder built a hut of leaves and presented it to the Church. As he made his donation, the venerable monk made over the virtue of the gift to his parents and brother (20, same as 11 and 15 above), saying (20):

*idaṃ me nātinaṃ hotu sukhitā hontu nātayo;*

"Let this merit be for my kinsmen; let my relatives be blessed." Immediately when this credit was transferred to them (21, *samanantarānudiṭṭhe*), they received magical dwellings. Then they asked for water. So the sage filled a waterpot and

gave it to the Church. As he handed it over, the venerable one ascribed the credit of the gift (24; cf. 11,15,20 above) to the *petas* in the regular fashion. No sooner had this merit been transferred to them (25, *samanantarānudipthe*) than they had drinking water and four beautiful lotus-ponds. Finally, since their feet were painfully chapped, they asked him to provide them with a carriage. So the sage took a shoe and presented it to the Church. As he gave it, the venerable one made over the merit of the gift (29; cf. 11,15,20, and 24 above) to his kinsmen with the usual formula. As soon as they were accredited with this deed (30, *samanantarānudipthe*), the *petas* approached in a chariot.

In III.6, we have the story of the harlot Serinī, who had been avaricious during her lifetime. In consequence of her uncharitable acts she was reborn in the world of the *petas*. She appeared to a lay-disciple of her town, Hatthinipura, and with him sent a message to her mother (9):

*Tato me dānaṃ dadatu tassā ca hotu jīvika  
dānaṃ datvā ca me mātā dakkhiṇaṃ ādisatu me  
tadāhaṃ sukhitā hessaṃ sabbakāmasamiddhinī;*

"Then let her give a gift in my name, and may she have long life; and when my mother presents a donation for me, may she ascribe to me the virtue of the offering. Then I shall be happy, blest in the fulfilment of all my desires." Upon his return to Hatthinipura, he narrated to her mother what had happened and told her in stanza 13 the same words that we find above in stanza 9. Accordingly she presented a gift and transferred to her the merit of the donation; 14, *tato hi sā dānaṃ adāsi tassā dakkhiṇaṃ ādisi*. In consequence the *peti* was happy and of beautiful bodily appearance. The commentary on this passage repeats the same idea: *Taṃ sutvā tassā mātā bhikkhusaṅghassa dānaṃ datvā tassā ādisi*.

In IV. 1, King Ambasakkhara asked a *peta* why he was in such misery. The spirit replied (30):

*Na m' atthi kammāni sayam katāni  
datvā pi me natthi so ādiseyya  
acchādanaṃ sayanam atha 'nnapānam  
ten' amhi naggo kasirā ca vutthi;*

"I myself have not done any (good) deeds, and there is no one who in bestowing gifts would ascribe to my credit clothes, and

a bed besides food and drink. Therefore I am nude, and my condition is miserable." Here the commentary defines *ādiseyya* by one word *uddiseyya*, a form of which is found in stanza 36. The *peta*, however, advised him to visit an *Arahat* named Kappitaka and make a donation (36):

*Tassa tuvaṃ ekaṃ yugaṃ duve vā  
mam uddisitvāna sace dadetha  
paṭiggahitāni ca tāni c' assu  
mamañ ca passetha samaddhadussan;*

"If you give him in my name a pair of garments or a double set, and he accepts them, me also you will see furnished with clothes." We note here that *uddisati* has the same meaning as *ādisati*. The frame-story continues to narrate how the king called on the Elder, who was surprised that the ruler had become liberal. The prince gave him eight pair of garments and ascribed to the *peta* the credit of the gift; *vatthāni datvā petassa uddisi*. In consequence celestial raiment was presented to the *peta*.

The same idea recurs in later stanzas (51-52), although neither the word *disati* nor any compound of it is used. The king says (51):

*Taṃ disvā saṃvegamaḷattham bhante  
taṇṇaccayū cāhaṃ dadāmi dānaṃ  
paṭigaṇṇha bhante vatthayugāni aṭṭha:  
yakkhass' im' āgacchantu dakkhiṇāyo;*

"Reverend sir, I saw him in terror and in sin; therefore I give a gift. Lord, accept eight pair of garments, and let these presents go to the credit of the *yakkha*." The ascetic replied (52):

*Addhā hi dānaṃ bahudhā paṣaṭṭhaṃ  
dadato ca te akkhayadhammam atthu  
paṭiggahāmi te vatthayugāni aṭṭha:  
yakkhass' im' āgacchantu dakkhiṇāyo;*

"Surely the gift in many ways is acceptable, and may it have endless virtue for you, the giver. I accept from you the eight pair of garments; may these presents redound to the credit of the *yakkha*."

The fact that here the transference of merit is described makes us feel that we have found the only possible explanation of the meaning of the four compounds of *disati*. If they do not refer to this notion, what else can they signify? It is certain that no



other rendering adequately translates these verbs in the passages which have been quoted.

In the commentary to IV.12, we find that a girl was desirous of performing the duties to the dead in behalf of her father (*pītaṃ uddissa matakiecāṃ kātukāmā*); so she gave a gift to the Buddha and told him to assume that it came from her father. It follows that through this gift which was simply ascribed to his credit (*tāya dakkhiṇāya samuddiṭṭhamattāya*) the *peta* obtained a mango grove, a pleasure garden, a *vimāna*, trees of plenty, and a lotus-pond, and great heavenly glory.

From this study of the verbs *ādisati*, *anvādisati*, *anudisati*, *uddisati* it is evident that in connexion with presenting a gift to a *peta* the only meaning they can have is 'to make over, transfer, or ascribe the merit or virtue of a gift to some one' or 'to give a gift in the name of some one' with the idea that he would receive spiritual benefits or alleviation from the pains of purgatory.

# BRIEF NOTES

## Arabic Doublets

It has been shown in JAOS 42, 375 that Heb. *qlôr*, *κνῖσα* (AJP 43, 245<sup>1</sup>; DB 2, 467<sup>a</sup> and 467<sup>b</sup>, l. 9) is a doublet of 'ašân, smoke. Arab. 'atana, to smoke, means orig. to go up, which is also the primary connotation of the doublet 'afina, to stink. To reek (cf. Ger. riechen, rauchen) is now used for to stink, but originally it meant simply to smoke, fume; reek was even used for incense. Another doublet of 'afina < 'atina is 'arafa, to know, orig. to scent (cf. ša'arû = εἰδῆσθαι, Deut. 32, 17 < ša'r, wind, and Arab. nâšifa) = Ass. erêšu (JBL 34, 72; JHUC 316, 24). In ZDMG 69, 564 it has been pointed out that Arab. nâtana, to stink, is the Heb. natân, to give, which appears in Assyrian, with partial assimilation of the t to the n, as nadânu (SFG 43<sup>4</sup>). The original meaning is to give out, emit, an odor, Heb. natân rêh, Cant. 2, 13 (AV give smell; cf. Lat. ara dabat fumos). The root is tn > Heb. tannm, jackals, i. e. stinking (JAOS 42, 376<sup>5</sup>).

In addition to nâtana, to stink, we find in Arabic: fâtina, fâdina, fânita, nâfita which all have the same meaning. Nâtana is a N of tn, and fâtina a causative with f instead of s as in fâqala (JBL 35, 321<sup>1</sup>) which has originally the meaning of râzana, to bear up in order to determine the weight. To weigh anchor means to raise or heave it up. The German term is den Anker lichten, and lichten is connected with leicht, Heb. qal > laqâl. The forms fânita and nâfita are transpositions of fâtina; in fâdina the t has been partially assimilated to the n as in Ass. nadânu. In Syriac we have tēnānā, smoke, fume, reek, which is identical with Arab. natānah, stench. To smell means especially to give out an offensive odor as does also Ger. riechen. Arab. aḡhata = aḡtan perhaps = aḡhata < hâtana (with prefixed h as in harāqa).

Instead of s as causative prefix we find not only t, but also f, e. g. fâḡada, to sharpen (JAOS 43, 118<sup>1</sup>) and fâdaxa, to beat in the skull & c. < dx = dq = dk (AJSJ 23, 241) which appears also as fâdaha > dâhiša, to be stunned (cf. zâhima < zâxima > zânixa,

Heb. *ṣaḥnā*, Eth. *nesxāt*, S of *xm*). In addition to *šādaxa* (and *šādaha*, *dāhiša*) we find also *šādaga*, *šālaḡa*, *šāla'a*, *šādaga*, *šādaxa*, *hādaga*, *rādaxa*, *dāmāxa*, *dāmāga*, *yāḡaga*. The *ḡ* in these doublets is due to partial assimilation of the *x* to the *d* (BA 1, 263, n. 33). In *šāla'a* the *ḡ* appears as ' ; cf. *riḡā' < riḡāḡ* (= *ḡadlr*) and *yabbāḡah* = *yabbā'ah < b' > māb'arah*. For *l = d* cf. *Balaxšān* = *Badaxšān* (GB<sup>v</sup> xiv ad 10<sup>a</sup>; VG 132<sup>m</sup>; ZDMG 61, 195; JBL 35, 322<sup>l</sup>). *F = ḡ* as in *'ārifa < 'ārifa* (= Ass. *erēšu*, to scent) < *'āniḡa < 'āḡina*. For *hādaga* cf. *harāḡa* = Heb. *heriq* (VG 521) and *dhra'a* = *dsra'a*. *Dāmāxa* < *mādaxa* is a denominative verb derived from a noun with prefixed *m*; cf. Eth. *damāḡa* = Arab. *mādāḡa* < *midāḡḡ < dḡ* (JBL 34, 55, 183; 37, 277<sup>m</sup>). In *rādaxa* we have rhotacism; cf. *riḡama*, to continue < *\*sādama < dm > dāma-jadāmu* (or *jadtmu*) and *rādama* < *sādama* (or *dāsama*) to shut (the door) > *sātama*, Heb. *saṭām < st < sd >* Arab. *sādda*. The stem *yāḡaga* < *rāḡaga < dāḡaga < šādaga*. For *r = d* cf. Copt. *aršin* = Heb. *'ādašm*, lentils; ZDMG 61, 195, l. 11; and for *y = r* see Jespersen, *Elementarbuch der Phonetik* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 106.

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### Arabic *y = r*

Arab. *r* resembles the English *r* rather than the French or German *r*; only in certain dialects, e. g. in Bagdad, it is sounded like *ḡ* (JAOS 22, 98, 113; contrast BA 5, viii, l. 7). In Faris ash-Shidyāq's *Arab. Gr.* + (London, 1891) p. 2 the *ḡ* is identified with the Northumbrian *r*. Some Englishmen pronounce *r* almost like *y* (BL 104<sup>l</sup>). We find a similar interchange in Arabic, e. g. *yāj(a)m-rājam* = *rājmah*, cairn, heap of stones;—*yāb(a)š-rābaš*, white specks on finger-nails;—*yāzam* (or *yazim*) bundle (of herbs)—*rāzam*, plur. of *rāzmah*, bundle, package; cf. *raml*, bunch of herbs;—*aydā* (cf. *aydā bihi-'l-māytn*)—*rādija* to perish;—*yātaba-rātaba*, to be stable, firm;—*yaxaḡa* (with *ḡ* due to *x*)—*tarāxxaša*, to be moved (*taḡārraka*) or agitated;—*yājafa-rājafa* = *idāraba*;—*ayja'a-ārja'a*, to be disappointed, fail in obtaining one's desire (privative of *rājā-jārjū*, to hope) = *axfaḡa*, esp. to hunt without success, return without game.



In a number of cases the *y* seem to be more original than the *r*, e. g. *rāzana* (which is generally combined with Heb. *rōzēnīm*)—*yāzana*, to weigh > *mīzān*, Heb. *mōzānīm*, scales, balances; Eth. *tamazzāna*, to be weighed; cf. Heb. *izzēn* = Arab. *yāzana*—'š-š'ra; so too, *tarāzana-yāzana*, to face each other (orig. to counterbalance) < *yāzna*, opposite;—*yāsama* (> Ass. *sintu*, mark, distinction)—*rāsama*, to mark; cf. *yāsama*, to tattoo, and *rāsama* (< Aram. *rēšām*) to mark, write < *rs* > *rāsša*, to dig, which appears also as *rāzza*; cf. *rāzaḥa* and *rāzaxa*, to pierce. The *z* instead of *s* is due to the *r* (PAPS 58, 243<sup>1</sup>): 'ard (or 'ardal) hard = 'atr, membrum virile = Eth. *rētā*, erect, upright, right (cf. ἰθὺφαλλος and ἰθὺς = εὐθύς). See JHUC 348, 48.

We find also *rāša'a-yāša'a* = *jāma'a*, orig. to tread; cf. *yāš'a*, *yāša*, *yāšada*, *yāšasa*, *yāšama*;—*rāmiha-yāmiha*, to be very hot, which may be transposition of *yāhima*; cf. *yāhtj* and *yāhar*;—*rā'aqa-yā'aqa* (cf. *na'aqa* > *na'iq*, 'ājjāqa, *šā'aq* < *sa'aq*, Heb. *šā'aqā* or *šā'aqā*) to have a rumbling (*borborygmus*) in the bowels;—*rāzaḥa-yāzaḥa* = *āsrā'a*;—*rākaza-yākaza* (*ar-rūmḥa fī*-'l-'*ardī*). Cf. also *rājnah*, wine (ZDMG 69, 565). In some cases the *r* instead of *y* may be merely a graphic corruption (ZDMG 61, 194, l. 3). In Tigré and Tigrīna we find *l* for *j* (VG 139<sup>1</sup>) and in Sumerian: *n* for (*r* <) *š* (ZA 31, 247; Poebel, *Sum. Gr.* § 83). It is also possible that in some cases Arab. *y* = *n* (NBSS 179) and *n* = *r*; cf. GB<sup>14</sup> 476<sup>2</sup>; Heb. *šanū*, humble (Prov. 11.2; also 13, 10) = Arab. *ḥarū* (see Mic. 105) and Heb. *ḥarāf*, leprosy = Arab. *naḥd'ah*, whiteness (JAOS 43, 163, c).

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Arab. *tāḥa m a ḥ* = *šā n a x a ḥ*, Heb. *š a ḥ n ā*

Arab. *tāḥima*, to stink, is not connected with Heb. *tēḥōm* (ZDMG 61, 295, l. 19). Nor can the transposed doublet *tāmiha* be derived from *tm*, so that the *n* in *tn* > *āntana* could be explained as being due to partial assimilation of an original *m* to the *t*; but *tāḥima* < *tāxima*, just as *zāḥima*, to stink < *zāxima* (cf. *hāmada*

= *xāmada*; *hīrq* = *xīrqah*). The root is *xm* > *xāmna*, to stink, and *xamīja*, *xāmaša* (‘*s-siqā n idā tašājjarat rīḥuhu*). In *xānixa* the *n* instead of *m* is due to the *z* which represents a partial assimilation of the causative prefix *s* to the nasal. The *s* is preserved in *sānixa* and in Eth. *nesxdt*, stench (contrast NBSS 187). We have *n* also in Arab. *istaxdnna* and in *xānixa* < *zānixa* < \**sāxima*. In *xābuša*, to be evil-smelling, evil (JAOS 42, 376<sup>4</sup>) the *m* appears as *b* (cf. *kābaša* = *kāmaša* = *kāmaxa*, *bājiša* = *mājiša*, *Bākkah* = *Mākkah*, Mecca: ZA 2, 268).

Arab. *tāxima* = *ittāxama* < *yāxima*, to suffer from indigestion, which means orig. to eat something which is tainted. In modern Arabic, *yāxam* denotes *uncleanness*, dirt, just as *ṣānaxah* (= Heb. *ṣaḥnā*, stench, Joel 2, 20) signifies *dirt*. The *ṣ* instead of *s* is due to the *x* (ZDMG 64, 708, l. 26). Ass. *ṣēnu*, evil, cannot be combined with Heb. *ṣaḥnā*, because the *ḥ* represents an original *x* (ZA 19, 254<sup>4</sup>; ZDMG 65, 565, l. 33). In *tāxina* (which Fleischer combined with *lēhenā*, Dan. 5, 2; contrast JBL 35, 323) *l* = *d* = *t*: *tāxima* became *tāxina* with partial assimilation of the *m* to the prefixed *t*, and *t* became *d* under the influence of the nasal as in Eth. *dengel*, virgin, which is connected with Arab. *najl*, offspring and Heb. *nākd*. Also Eth. *daxr*, after (SFG 15<sup>4</sup>) < *texr* < *xr*, hole, anus (Ger. *Aster*) > Arab. *xarī’a* (AJSJ 23, 256). The *a* in Heb. *aḥōr*, posterior, is a remnant of the preposition *ina* (JHUC 341, 47) as it is also in Heb. *az*, *akén*, *ātmōl*, *āmš* (JBL 38, 184<sup>4</sup>; JHUC 327, 57; 334, 60; JAOS 42, 374) and Ass. *anšala*, yesterday (HW 93) = *amšāda* = *amšāla* < *ina-mūšditi*. The original form of *ina* was *ima* (= Eg. *m*) from the root of Arab. *ūmmah*, assembly, people, prop. association; *āmah*, handmaid, prop. associate; *āma-ja’imu*, to be unmarried, divorced, widowed, prop. *unassociated* (JHUC 348, 48<sup>4</sup>).

Arab. *dlxan* means not only *stinking*, but also *uncircumcised*. I shall show elsewhere that circumcision of both males and females (*tablier égyptien*) was originally practised for the purpose of preventing the offensive smell resulting from the accumulation of smegma &c (AJP 42, 165<sup>4</sup>). The *t* in Heb. *ḥatān* < *xātam* is infixed (ZDMG 63, 515, l. 11). Heb. *ḥōtām*, seal, means orig. *cut*, incised gem, intaglio (EB<sup>9</sup> 11, 562; 16, 195). The verb *xālama*, to seal, is denominative.

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## Wie Šū. Gē-tum zu lesen ist?

Dass der Name der Šū. Gē-tum—dieses interessanten "sexuellen Komplements" der *našūm*—nicht phonetisch zu lesen ist, war durch Stellen, wie *ana N.Šū.Gi.aššatišu* (R 95,19) längst bewiesen; doch trotzte bisher das Ideogram jedem Enträtselungsversuche. Ich glaube nun, dass dies Rätsel durch die "altassyrischen Gesetze" der endgültigen Lösung entgegengebracht werden kann. In KAV 1, V, 58; VI, 1ff. begegnen wir nämlich einer Weibespersion, die uns unwillkürlich an die Šū. Gē-tum des KH und einiger Heiratsverträge erinnert und deren Name *esirtu* (plur. *esrāte*) ist.

Dass das vielumstrittene Šū.Gē-tum wirklich *esirtum* zu lesen ist, möchte ich durch folgende Gleichung wahrscheinlich machen:

Nach K 12026, 18.20 ist *gē* (bezw. *gē-gē*) = *lawū*, und nach Ass. 3024 Col. I: *nigin* = (42) *sahāru*, (48) *sādu*, (49) *lamū*, (50) *litammū*, (51) *egēru*, (52) *esēru*; bezw. nach Col. II: *nigin* = (24) *sahāru*, (29) *ittashuru*, (26) *hāfu*, (27) *lamū*, (28) *litammū*, (29) *egēru*, (30) *esēru*.

Da somit einerseits *gē* durch *lawū* übersetzt wird, andererseits *lawū* ein Synonym von *esēru* ist, steht der Annahme einer—inschriftlich meines Wissens noch nicht belegten—Lesung: *gē* = *esēru* nichts im Wege. Mit Rücksicht wiederum darauf, dass *šū-gē* kaum etwas Anderes als das einfache *gē* bedeutet (cf. Delitzsch, *Sum. Gl.* p. 99: *šū-gē* 1) zurückhalten, aufhalten o. ä.), scheint es mir durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass Šū.Gē-tum = *esirtum*<sup>sem</sup> ist.

A. DAVID

Budapest



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen.* Von NORBERT JOKL. Berlin und Leipzig: WALTER DE GRUYTER & Co., 1923. xi + 366 pp.

This is volume 8 of the series entitled "Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft," established by Brugmann and Sommer, and now edited by Streitberg and Sommer. The book is consciously based, as to method and aim, upon the remarks introductory to the treatment of the semantic groups of nominal stems in Brugmann's *Grundriss*<sup>1</sup>, II. 1. pp. 594 ff.: the usual distinction between dictionary and grammar, the assignment of the history of the individual word to the former and the classified phenomena to the latter, is unjustified, save for temporary practical purposes, and the proper task of the historical grammar is to include also all lexical treatment of the linguistic material.

Especially is such a procedure indicated in the study of a language like the Albanian, which Gustav Meyer has called the stepchild of the Indo-European family. Meyer estimates that, of the 5140 title-words in his etymological dictionary, 1420 are of Romanic origin, 540 Slavic, 1180 Turkish, 840 modern Greek, 730 uncertain, and only 400 directly Indo-European. The general tendency of Jokl's work is in the direction of ascribing direct Indo-European inheritance to words which were considered loan-words by Miklosich and Meyer. And a number of words are added that were unknown to Jokl's predecessors.

The book consists of original and detailed studies of about 100 Albanian words, chosen chiefly for their cultural significance. Etymology naturally plays the leading rôle, but words are closely linked with things, and no source of illumination is neglected: opinions of other philologists, accounts of classical writers, reports of natives and travelers, discussions of social and other institutions, folk-lore, history, ethnology, geography, distribution of flora and fauna. The main semantic groupings are: custom, law, and popular belief; the house, domestic furniture

and implements; vegetation; live stock, breeding, and feral animals. In addition to the words thus classified and discussed, there is more casual mention of nearly 1000 other Albanian words, most of which are indisputably loan-words.

Jokl is likely to find opposition chiefly in his etymologies. Not all of them are so good as *žemere* 'second wife during the lifetime of the first' from an Indo-European \**sm-m<sub>2</sub>rī* 'cowife'. And one feels sometimes that the author is almost too resourceful and too ingenious in carrying his arguments through to his conclusions. But the principles are sound, and the book marks real progress in a poorly mapped region. The author considers it impossible at present to draw many broad generalizations from the material at hand. And for his views as to "the relationship of the Albanian to the other Indo-European languages" he refers to his publication under that title (in German).

HAROLD H. BENDER

Princeton University

*Vedic Hymns.* Translated from the Rig Veda with introduction and notes. By EDWARD J. THOMAS. [Wisdom of the East Series.] London: JOHN MURRAY, 1923. 128 pp. 3s. 6d.

In this little book 103 pages are devoted to the translation of 61 hymns which are fairly representative of the 1028 hymns in the RV corpus. Except in two pieces the translation is prose, as the translator believes that in general a metrical version does not reproduce the aesthetic effect of the original. In the 15 pages of introduction Mr. Thomas gives brief statements concerning the four Vedas, the time and place of the composition and collection of the hymns of the RV, and the relation of the Vedic peoples to the original Indo-European group: also, since the hymns chosen are "those which illustrate the religious ideas and theological beliefs of the Indian people from the earliest period at which they can be traced," there is discussion of the origin of religion. In connection with the last topic Mr. Thomas suggests that Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas were borrowed by the Indo-Iranians from the Mittanni: this is a simple explanation of certain difficulties, but that almost com-

plete phonetic equivalence *Varuṇa-Ūṇavās* still rings loudly in one's ears.

The translation may be called conservative and conventional: Vedists would differ from Mr. Thomas probably only in minor matters of interpretation. The reviewer, one of Bloomfield's pupils, would render *vidatha* by household in 2.12.15; and *manas* by mind in 10.129.4; and would differ on other similar points.

There is a sort of stiffness (not awkwardness) in this as in other translations of the RV which seems almost inevitable: it probably gives a suggestion of the archaic manner of the original, but it is somewhat forbidding; yet an attempt to eliminate it will almost surely entice the translator into reprehensible fancifulness. The inadequacy of translation is notably evident in renderings of the RV: one can get over into English almost all of a fable from the Sanskrit, but the peculiar flavor and aroma of a RV hymn does not come over so easily if at all; for this and other reasons a RV hymn translated still needs to be interpreted. Now the Wisdom of the East Series has as its object "by means of the best Oriental literature. . . . to bring together West and East in a spirit of mutual sympathy, goodwill, and understanding." Surely all Orientalists approve that heartily, and of this volume it may be said that Mr. Thomas has done well one of the very difficult portions of the undertaking; Sanskritists will rejoice if this little book should bring to some, as yet unknown, even a hint of the fineness of the songs of the ancient Indian seers.

L. C. BARRET

Trinity College, Hartford

*Hymns from the Rigveda.* Selected and metrically translated by A. A. Macdonell. [Heritage of India Series.] Calcutta: ASSOCIATION PRESS; New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMERICAN BRANCH; n. d. [1923.] 98 pp. 85 cents.

This series is designed "to bring the best out of the ancient treasures" of India for the benefit primarily of dwellers in India. Professor Macdonell has selected forty hymns and translated them "in verse corresponding as nearly as is possible in English to the original metres." The Introduction "supplies a brief sketch



of the form and contents of the *Rigveda*, enabling the reader to understand more fully the early thought of which these hymns are the outcome. There is, moreover, prefixed to each hymn a short account of the deity addressed or the subject dealt with."

The fine accomplishments of Professor Macdonell in Vedic scholarship give assurance that this is a good piece of work; the limitations imposed must always be considered in judging such a book. The imitation of the Vedic metres is an interesting feature. That such a performance in translating Greek or Latin lyrics has almost never been successful may be safely said; but the less rigid fixity of quantities in Vedic metres offers hope of greater success, and the reviewer believes that metrical renderings (not even necessarily in the original metres) do reproduce something of the spirit of the original, that they do help the reader to get a certain appreciation of the regulated form of the somewhat ruggedly naive hymns. These Vedic hymns do not have the elusive easy grace that makes Catullus's hendecasyllabics so charming; they are generally simple in style, sometimes turgid, occasionally elevated, and their poetic qualities seem to be such as can be suggested by metrical renderings, whereas prose translation of them is usually less flexible and less coherent stylistically than the original. Such are some of the reasons for the reviewer's opinion that Professor Macdonell has attained a large measure of success in this little book.

L. C. BARRET

Trinity College, Hartford

*L'Art Égyptien*.—I. L'Architecture, choix de Documents accompagnés d'Indications bibliographiques. Par JEAN CAPART, Conservateur des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles. Bruxelles: VROMANT & Co., 1922. VI+50 pp. 200 plates.

The well-known historian of Egyptian art presents us with a new book about the architecture of Ancient Egypt, done in a way similar to his other excellent books previously published on different parts of Egyptian art. Capart intends to make his books useful also for practical purposes. Therefore he gives, after an introduction, bibliographical notes on all the

pictures on the 200 splendid plates, in chronological order (so that everything is easy to find), from the first dynasty through Graeco-Roman times. On page 48 is a concordance of the 1st and 2d edition. The pictures on the plates are carefully selected and very instructive.

NATHANIEL REICH

University Museum, Philadelphia

*Archiv für Bienenkunde.* In Verbindung mit Prof. Dr. H. v. BUTTEL-REEPEN-OLDENBURG herausg. von Dr. LUDWIG ARMBRUSTER. 3. Jahrgang, 1 & 2 Heft, 1921.—*Die Biene in Aegypten jetzt und vor 5000 Jahren.* Von ROTTER, GOUGH, v. BUTTEL-REEPEN, ARMBRUSTER. Mit 3 Tafeln und 4 Textabbildungen. Leipzig: THEODOR FISCHER. 80 pp.

These are four very useful essays about Egyptian bees of ancient and modern times. The first article about the Egyptian bee (*apis mellifica* var. *fasciata* Latr.) is written by Egon Rotter (pp. 1-8 and plate I). This is followed by an essay of Dr. Lewis Gough (translated from English into German by Egon Rotter [pages 9-18]). The third part by v. Buttel-Reepen deals with the modes and habits of life and with the history of apiculture (pages 19-67, 1 plate and 3 pictures), especially with the importance of bee-lore, systemology, building of the honey-combs, swarms, management, mellification and production of wax, apiculture in Palestine, keeping of bees in Abyssinia, wandering, climate, sicknesses of bees, diligence of the *apis fasciata* and its malice, their queens, the Carthaginian bee, the egg-laying working bee, the drone, their enemies, the oldest record about bees and individual observations. The last article (pages 68-80), written by Armbruster, contains a study on "apiculture 5000 years ago" based on an ancient Egyptian relief of 2600 B.C. in the Berlin Egyptian Museum, a present of Baron von Bissing from the excavations of the temple of Neuserre in Abusir. An appendix on natural pipes used by bees for dwelling (1 page) by H. Nachtsheim completes this brochure, which is very useful and interesting for the Egyptologist.

NATHANIEL REICH

University Museum, Philadelphia

*A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra.* By CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY, Ph.D. (*Contributions to Oriental History and Philosophy*, No. VII.) New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922.

The appearance of a Thesis on the text of the Syriac Bible is to be welcomed. American scholarship in Syriac is all too rare, while on the other hand the detailed study of the Syriac Bible is required both to "prevent" (in the double sense of the word) the haphazard methods of would-be revisers of the Hebrew text, as also to help lay the foundations for a scientific textual criticism. Dr. Hawley is to be congratulated on a very careful piece of work, which appears in happy coincidence with his preceptor, Professor Bewer's book, *Der Text des Buches Ezra*. (In both cases, it is to be noted, "Ezra" is the Ezra of the Western Canon and does not include Nehemiah.) The bulk of the present work, pp. 20-69, consists of a full analysis of the peculiar readings of  $\mathfrak{S}$  as against  $\mathfrak{M}$ . In the Introduction the writer gives certain summary results. As to the relation of  $\mathfrak{S}$  with  $\mathfrak{G}$  (in which term he appears to sum up all the Greek forms of text) he comes to the interesting positive judgment that "the Peshitta version was not influenced by  $\mathfrak{G}$ " (p. 4), as against the view inaugurated by Siegfried, and that it is "the work of a most careful biblical scholar". If this is the case,  $\mathfrak{S}$  becomes of prime importance for the text of the Hebrew, at the age when  $\mathfrak{S}$  was translated (this caution should be observed!), whereas in other books Greek influence and carelessness of translation appear in variant degrees. As to the origin of the translation he simply states that "no interpretations in Ezra indicate the hand of a Christian"; he does not pronounce upon the date. A list of scribal errors is given (pp. 8ff.), and he notes certain peculiarities of the translator, p. 11. Pp. 12f. he presents the relation of  $\mathfrak{S}$  to Ktlb and Krê respectively, but he starts from the false assumption that Kt. and Kr. always existed as we find them now in  $\mathfrak{M}$ . If he had pursued this special subject farther, he would have found that the other VSS. similarly read, now the Kt., now the Kr., a fact which points to actual textual variants in many cases. Here is an avenue of exploration, to discover what was the relation of the Heb. exemplar of  $\mathfrak{S}$  to those of the other VSS. and the several Greek revisions. For instance  $\text{כְּחַיִּים}$  Kt. 2,46 so appears in B  $\mathfrak{V}$ ,



שלם Kr. in  $\mathfrak{S}$  A. Lu(cian). In 3,3 וְעַל Kr. is supported by  $\mathfrak{S}$   $\Psi$  vs.  $\mathfrak{S}$  = Kt. In 10,44 Lu. alone has Kt. נִסָּה, the rest the Kr. נִסָּה. A number of the instances cited are fallacious, e. g. cases where Kr. gives merely a pronunciation which has no bearing on a translation, e. g. 4,11 עֲבֹד, Kr. עֲבֹד; 5,1 נִסָּה, Kr. נִסָּה; 7,25 וְעַל, Kr. וְעַל; etc. His summary of these statistics is accordingly without point. In general the relation of Kt. and Kr. is a very delicate problem. What judgment are we to draw from 4,9 Kt. נִסָּה supported by B alone and the Kr. נִסָּה supported by all the others? Dr. Hawley finds (pp. 15ff.) 42 cases where, with or without another witness of the VSS.,  $\mathfrak{S}$  preserves the original reading. Of course, such decisions must often depend upon subjective judgment, and we should know critically the order and priority of the VSS. in order to ascertain, first of all, the earliest conditions of the text. Thus the plus in  $\mathfrak{S}$  and Lu. בְּעַל טַעַם 4,23 is actually vouched for only by these two late authorities, not even by  $\Psi$  the latest; is it necessarily original? That  $\mathfrak{S}$  preserves "the original form of the Persian word" in אֶחָדָה vs. Heb. אֶחָדָה does not prove that "Ezra" did not write the latter, any more than that in writing נִסָּה 2,1  $\mathfrak{S}$  ignored the interesting Kt. נִסָּה (p. 12). In a forthcoming note in this JOURNAL I defend and explain נִסָּה 7,12, where שלם of  $\mathfrak{S}$  is an (intelligent or ignorant?) paraphrase; we may not easily elide a word found in the oldest Greek. The apparent sing. קִרְיָה 4,10 is rendered "cities" by  $\mathfrak{S}$  with the collective pl. קִרְיָה. But  $\mathfrak{S}$  may have understood קִרְיָה as = his own pl. (Is the BAram. קִרְיָה identical with the Syriac pl.?) The duty lay beyond the purpose of the present excellent thesis, but a further construction upon its foundation would be to relate  $\mathfrak{S}$  with the other VSS. and revisions. It may be noted that it is quite insufficient to cite only Greek uncials. They may in any case be merely considered as members of groups, and these groups must be discovered and classified before we can obtain an orderly and chronological view of the several Greek revisions. Thus, to the reviewer's mind, Cod. A is a most depraved text, and can be bettered by many minuscules of its group. The Old Latin must be used in the criticism of B and its group. And so forth.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

University of Pennsylvania

*The Arab Conquests in Central Asia.* By H. A. R. GIBB, M. A.,  
Lecturer in Arabic, School of Oriental Studies, London. London:  
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1923. VIII+102 pp.

The rapid spread of Muhammedan civilization in Central Asia belongs to the most fascinating events in the history of the human race. After a series of brilliant military achievements the Khalifate was firmly established in that vast stretch of territory. The Arab historians, like al-Baladhuri, al-Ya'kubī, al-Ṭabarī, and Ibn al-Athīr, dwell at great length on the events of the first century of the Muhammedan era. But, as might be expected, their versions conflict in many important details. To add to the perplexity of the modern historian, the non-Arabic writings, particularly the Chinese documents, offer different accounts of these events. Mr. Gibb has undertaken the difficult task of sifting the evidence, and has acquitted himself very creditably. By his minute and searching examination of the various sources he is able to correct the statements of modern scholars. As this subject has engaged the attention of the foremost scholars, like Wellhausen in his *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Mr. Gibb does not present a complete account of the Arab conquests in Central Asia. His aim is rather to give a critical study of the authorities. Nevertheless the author has succeeded in drawing a vivid picture of the growth and development of Muslim civilization in Central Asia. He has preserved the continuity of the narrative, despite the fact that he frequently enters into discussion with Wellhausen, Houtsma, Marquart, and others.

Though of small compass for so important a subject, the book teems with valuable information and discussions. It is divided into five chapters: I. The Oxus Basin; II. The Early Raids; III. The Conquests of Qutayba; IV. The Turkish Counterstroke; V. The Reconquest of Transoxania. Of particular interest is the third chapter, where the achievements of Qutaibah are graphically described. Mr. Gibb gives due credit to the directive genius of Ḥajjāj and to the military ability of Qutaibah, though he is of the opinion that the latter was somewhat over-rated by the historians.

It is to be regretted that, in order to keep down the cost of publication, Mr. Gibb has omitted the extensive references which

he originally prepared. The notes which accompany every chapter are meagre and scanty.

B. HALPER

Dropsie College

*Explication de la Liturgie Syriacque par Saint Jean Maron.*  
Traduite du Syriac en Arabe. Par Père JOSEPH HOBEIKA,  
Supérieur du Convent Saint Antoine à Beit-Chababe. Pré-  
cédée d'une étude sur les ouvrages de St. Jean Maron. Tra-  
duction Française par son frère Mgr. PIERRE HOBEIKA,  
Supérieur du Collège St. Pierre. Beyrouth, 1922. 26+28+219 pp.

In his introduction, which is presented in both Arabic and French, M. Hobeika discusses the authorship of two works which he attributes to the supposed founder of the Maronite community. One is entitled "The Book of Priesthood", which M. Hobeika published in 1912, and the other is "The Exposition of Syriac Liturgy", of which he gives an Arabic translation. When the former volume appeared, the editor of *Al-Mashrik* attempted to prove that that work was written by Moses bar Kēfa who died in 913 or 914. M. Hobeika therefore takes the opportunity to rebut that writer and to prove that his ascription is justified. His arguments are, however, not very convincing since nothing is known about St. John Maron and the origin of the Maronite community is still shrouded in obscurity. One argument is particularly specious. In refuting the ascription of the editor of *Al-Mashrik*, M. Hobeika refers to Wright's *Syriac Literature* (he wrongly transliterates the name in Arabic as *وړايت*, and in the Roman letters the name is misprinted VO-RIGHT), where the works of Moses bar Kēfa are enumerated, but no mention is made of "The Book of Priesthood". He, however, overlooks the fact that this very argument may be used with greater cogency against his own position, since Wright entirely ignores John Maron (see Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 223, n. 3).

The Arabic translation of "The Exposition of Syriac Liturgy" reads very smoothly, M. Hobeika evidently being a master of



Arabic style. The book contains fifty chapters which ought to be of great interest to students of the history of Catholic liturgy.

B. HALPER

Dropsie College

*Bisṭām Ibn Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held.* Von ERICH BRAEUNLICH, Privatdozent an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: VERLAG VON EDUARD PFEIFFER, 1923. II+84 pp.

The pre-Islamic prince Bisṭām ibn Qais plays an important rôle in the *Ayyām al-'Arab* (descriptions of the Arab battles). He has even entered into the domain of proverbs. The Arabs say: *Afrasu min Bisṭām* (he is a better rider than Bisṭām). This is additional proof of the popularity he enjoyed. And yet little is known of the actual facts of his brief but extremely active life. Even the earliest Arabic historians record very little about his personality. They are, as a rule, more interested in his achievements than in the man. And even the few details recorded about him are full of confusion and contradictions. The list of his ancestors, a point upon which Arab historians are fond of dwelling, is given differently by the different authors. Modern scholars can hardly hope to derive any definite conclusions out of the vast material scattered in numerous books. Some of the earlier poets refer to Bisṭām, but their statements must be taken with the greatest caution, as they are usually hyperbolic in their praise and blame.

Dr. Bräunlich's monograph is devoted to the task of elucidating, as far as possible, the facts about Bisṭām's life and activities. There is sufficient evidence to warrant the assumption that Bisṭām was born towards the end of sixth century A. D., or to be more precise, about 590. He died at a very tender age, probably in the year 615. This date may be inferred from the statement found in Al-Mubarrad al-Kāmil that Bisṭām was slain after "the Prophet's mission". Although this remark is rather indefinite, Dr. Bräunlich seems to be right in accepting this date, which is warranted by other considerations.

Of special interest is the third section of the monograph giving a description of Bisṭām as the leader of the Banū Bakr b. Wa'il.

The various Arabic historians mention eight battles (*Ayyām*) in which Bistām figured as hero, and Dr. Bräunlich discusses them at full length. As an appendix to this section Dr. Bräunlich gives a translation of an Arabic description of one of the battles. This is a characteristic specimen.

Dr. Bräunlich has made a distinct contribution to pre-Islamic history of the Arab tribes. He deserves high praise for his industry in accumulating the material which is scattered in the vast Arabic literature, both in prose and poetry. He has treated his subject critically and exhaustively.

B. HALPER

Dropsie College

## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

An appeal has been issued to humanistic societies in this country to supply the University of Tokio with sets of their publications, to make good the losses sustained by that university in the recent earthquake. The Executive Committee of our Society has passed the following resolution: "Resolved, that the Acting Librarian of the Society be authorized to send as a contribution to the University of Tokio, for its Library, such of the publications of the Society, including the Journal, as in his judgment can be spared from the stock on hand."

Mr. Andrew Keogh, the Librarian of Yale University, has generously offered to complete the preparation of the catalog of the Society's Library, if the Library is to remain with Yale University; and the Executive Committee has voted that this offer be accepted and that the Editors be instructed to take the publication of the catalog under consideration.

The Executive Committee has voted that a sum not to exceed \$500 be appropriated towards the publication of Dr. Frank R. Blake's Tagalog Grammar and that a sum not to exceed \$100 be appropriated for special work to be undertaken by the Committee on Enlargement of Membership and Resources.

## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

A Swedish Oriental Society (Svenska Orientsällskapet) was founded on March 6, 1921. According to its first Yearbook (Stockholm, 1923) it began to hold meetings, in Stockholm, in March 1922 and held eleven meetings, at which one or more scientific communications were presented, between that time and May, 1923. In the Yearbook are printed (besides an account of the organisation of the Society, its constitution, a list of its first meetings, and its list of members) five articles, in whole or in part. The entire contents of the book are in Swedish, except a French translation of the table of contents.

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (172, Sukhadvala Building, Hornby Road, Ravelin Street, Fort, Bombay, India) invites competitive essays for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of the value of Rs. 225 on the following subject: "A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the 43d, 44th, 45th, and 46th chapters of the *Yasna*, the four chapters of the *Ushtavad Gatha*, in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments, wherever necessary, and with the substance of the whole at the end." The essay should be designated by a motto and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor and his post office address, and should reach the Honorary Secretaries of the Institute on or before the 5th of July, 1924. The competition is open to all.

The (British) Society for Old Testament Study held a very successful Winter Meeting on January 1-3, 1923, with forty members present out of about one hundred. Its Secretary is the Rev. T. H. Robinson, M.A., D.D., Lynwood, Llanishen, Cardiff, Wales.

## PERSONALIA

Professor B. L. GILDERSLEEVE of Johns Hopkins University died on January 9, 1924. He was the most distinguished classical scholar of this country, and the senior member of our Society.



## LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

† designates members deceased during the past year.

### HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. THEODORE NOLDEKE, Ettlingerstr. 53, Karlsruhe, Germany. 1878.  
 Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, K.C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.  
 Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.  
 Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.  
 Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.  
 Prof. RICHARD V. GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Waldhäuserstr. 14.) 1902.  
 Prof. ADOLF ERMAN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennestr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.  
 Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1903.  
 Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Honorary, 1905.  
 Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Mommsenstr. 7, Gross-Lichterfelde-West.) 1908.  
 EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I<sup>er</sup>, Paris, France. 1908.  
 †Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Collège de France, Paris, France. (1 Avenue de l'Alma.) 1909.  
 Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstrasse 59.) 1909.  
 Prof. C. SNOECK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapenberg 61.) 1914.  
 Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, V<sup>e</sup>.) 1917.  
 Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.  
 FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Membre de l'Institut de France, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.  
 Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.  
 Prof. V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4<sup>50</sup> Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.  
 Dr. F. W. THOMAS, The Library, India Office, London S.W.1, England. 1920.

- Rév. Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, Ecole archéologique française de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.  
 DON LEONE CAETANI, DUCA DI SESSONETA, Villino Caetani, 13 Via Giacomo Medici, Rome, Italy. 1922.  
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Haimhauserstr. 19, München, Germany. Corporate Member, 1903; Honorary, 1922.  
 Prof. MORIZ WINTERNITZ, German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. (II, Opatovická 8.) 1923.  
 Prof. HEINRICH ZIMMERN, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Ritterstr. 16/22.) 1923. [Total: 24]

## HONORARY ASSOCIATES

- †Hon. WARREN G. HARDING, President of the United States, The White House, Washington, D. C. 1922.  
 Field Marshal Viscount ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Naval and Military Club, London, England. 1922.  
 Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 31 West 12th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, American Consul, Nice, France. 1921.  
 Pres. FRANK J. GOODNOW, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.  
 Hon. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C. 1922.  
 President Emeritus HARRY PRATT JUDSON, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.  
 Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU, 417 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Hon. OSCAR S. SYRAUS, 5 West 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.  
 Hon. SAO-KE ALFRED SEE, Chinese Minister to the United States, Chinese Legation, Washington, D. C. 1922.  
 Hon. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, Chief Justice, The Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1921.  
 Major General LEONARD WOOD, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, Manila, P. I. 1922. [Total: 11]

## CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with \* are those of life members.

- MARCUS AARON, 402 Winebiddle Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.  
 Pres. CYRUS AILER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.  
 Dr. N. ADRIANI, Posso, Central Celebes, Dutch East Indies. 1922.  
 Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI Aiyangar (Univ. of Madras), Sri Venkatesa Vilas, Nadu St., Mylapore, Madras, India. 1921.  
 Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Director, American School of Oriental Research, P. O. Box 333, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1915.

- Prof. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. T. GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peeress' School, Aoyama, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.
- Prof. J. C. ARCHER (Yale Univ.), Box 1848, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1916.
- Prof. KAN-ICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
- L. A. AULT, P. O. Drawer 880, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- DEAR WILLIAM FREDERIC RADÉ (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.
- Rev. MOSES BAILEY, M.A., 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass. 1922.
- Mrs. EMILY TYLER BAILEY, Harlicourt Apts., Cliff Road, Birmingham, Ala. 1922.
- CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, Box 296, Lancaster, Cal. 1916.
- Hon. SIMON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- \*Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- \*PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, care of Mercantile Trust Co., San Francisco, Cal. 1917.
- Rabbi HENRY BARNSTON, Ph.D., 3515 Main St., Houston, Texas. 1921.
- Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
- Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 3725 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Mrs. FRANCES CROSBY BARTTER, Box 655, Manila, P. I. 1921.
- Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
- Prof. LORING W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 6 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 229 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
- Miss ETHEL BREER, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
- Rev. WILLIAM Y. BELL, 218 West 130th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- \*Prof. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR (Deccan College), Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India. 1914.
- Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
- Pres. GUY POTTER BENSON, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
- OSCAR BERMAN, Third, Plum and McFarland Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- PIERRE A. BERNARD, Rossiter House, Braeburn Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1914.
- ISAAC W. BEENHEIM, Inter-Southern Building, Louisville, Ky. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. JULIUS A. BEWEN, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR (Univ. of Calcutta), 16 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- Prof. A. E. BIGELOW, Central Philippine School, Iloilo, P. I. 1922.



- WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, M.D., 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.  
 Prof. FREDERICK L. BIRD, Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal. 1917.  
 CARL W. BISHOP, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 1917.  
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 923 W. North Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, 1155 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1898.  
 Rev. Dr. JOSHUA BLOCH (New York Univ.), 346 East 173d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.  
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.  
 Rev. PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Ph.D., 134 East Delavan St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1916.  
 EMANUEL BOASBERG, 1296 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1921.  
 Rev. AUGUST M. BOLDCU, S. T. L., The Marist College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1921.  
 Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.  
 Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.  
 Dean EDWARD I. BOSWORTH (Oberlin Graduate School of Theology), 78 South Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1920.  
 Rev. JOHN WICK BOWMAN, M.A., American Presbyterian Mission, Saharanpur, U. P., India. 1923.  
 Dr. RENWARD BRANDSTETTER, Vonmattstrasse 52, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1923 (1908).  
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.  
 Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, 414 Clifton Ave., Lakewood, N. J. 1920.  
 Rev. GEORGE WESTON BRIGGS, M.Sc., Gonda, U. P., India. 1923.  
 Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, P.Q., Canada. 1920 (1906).  
 Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.  
 Mrs. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Ph.D. (Wellesley College), 9 State St., Wellesley, Mass. 1919.  
 MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, India. 1918.  
 DAVID A. BROWN, 60 Boston Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. 1921.  
 G. M. L. BROWN, care of "Orientalia", 32 West 58th St., New York, N.Y. 1921.  
 Dean GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1909.  
 LEO M. BROWN, P. O. Box 953, Mobile, Ala. 1920.  
 Prof. W. NORMAN BROWN, Prince of Wales College, Jammu, Kashmir, India. 1916.  
 Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
 Dr. LUDLOW S. BULL, Assistant Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1917.  
 ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.  
 CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.  
 Prof. ROMANUS BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1915.

- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESER (Hebrew Union College), 252 Lorraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Univ. of Wisconsin), 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY (Harvard Theol. Seminary), 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
- ALFRED M. CAMPBELL, 204 East Wishart St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., 260 West 231st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. ISAAC CANNADAY, M.A., Ranchi, Bihar, India. 1920.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY (Univ. of Louvain), Sparrenhof, Corbeek-Loo, Belgium. 1916.
- Prof. JOHN F. B. CARRUTHERS, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1923.
- Rev. THOMAS F. CARTER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- HENRY HARMON CHAMBERLIN, 22 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, D.D., Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, India. 1899.
- Prof. RAMAPRASAD CHANDRA, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, India. 1921.
- Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN (Hartford Theol. Seminary), 1507 Broad St., Hartford, Conn. 1922.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Prof. EDWARD CHIERA, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- EMERSON B. CHRISTIE (Department of State), 3220 McKinley St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, Box 222, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- Miss LUCY CLEVELAND, P. O. Box 117, Times Square Station, New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Rabbi ADOLPH COBLENTZ, 2020 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md. 1923.
- \*ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- CHARLES P. COFFIN, 1744-208 South LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Dr. GEORGE H. COHEN, 120 Capitol Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1920.
- Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
- MORRIS GABRIEL COHEN, 946 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1923.
- Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHEN, 6932 N. Ashland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. KENNETH COLEGROVE (Northwestern Univ.), 105 Harris Hall, Evanston, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- Dr. C. EVERETT CONANT, 224 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 1905.
- Dr. MAUDE GAECHELER (Mrs. H. M.) COOK, Belton, Texas. 1915.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE S. COOKE, Houlton, Maine. 1917.
- Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
- \*Rev. DOUGLAS HILARY CORLEY, Box 145, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. 1922.
- Rev. RALPH D. CORNUELLE, 547 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1922.

- Dr. WILLIAM COWEN, 35 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.  
 Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Ph.D., Richmond, Mass. 1902.  
 CECIL M. P. CROSS, care of Consular Bureau, Washington, D. C. 1921.  
 Prof. THOMAS F. CUMMINGS, The Biblical Seminary in New York, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1923.  
 Prof. GEORGE DAHL (Yale Univ.), 93 Linden St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.  
 Prof. GEORGE H. DANTON, Tsing Hua College, Peking, China. 1921.  
 Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 92 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.  
 Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.  
 Prof. IRWIN HOCH DE LONG (Theol. Seminary of the Reformed Church), 523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa. 1916.  
 Prof. ROBERT E. DENGLE (Pennsylvania State College), 706 West College Ave., State College, Pa. 1920.  
 NARIMAN M. DHALLA, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1922.  
 Pro-Vice-Chancellor A. B. DHURVA, The Benares Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.  
 Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.  
 LEON DOMINIAN, care of American Consulate-General, Rome, Italy. 1916.  
 Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 North Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.  
 Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goncher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM HASKELL DuBOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.  
 Prof. FREDERIC C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.  
 Prof. GEORGE S. DUNCAN (American Univ., Y. M. C. A. School of Religion), 2900 Seventh St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.  
 Rev. EDWARD SLATER DUNLAP, 2629 Garfield St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.  
 Prof. CHARLES DUROUSSELLE, M. A. (Rangoon Univ.), "C" Road, Mandalay, Burma. 1922.  
 Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.  
 Dr. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, 271 Hawthorne Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1917.  
 Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 369 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.  
 DEAN GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Missouri Bible College), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.  
 Rev. JAMES F. EDWARDS, Gordon Hall House, New Nopada Road, Bombay, India. 1921.  
 Dr. ISRAEL EYBOS (Baltimore Hebrew College), 2040 East Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md. 1918.  
 DEAN FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.  
 Rabbi ISRAEL ELPENBEIN, D.H.L., 1425 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 ABRAHAM I. ELKUS, 111 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.  
 Rev. Dr. BARNETT A. ELIAS, 42 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1923.



- Prof. AARON EMBER, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.  
 Rabbi H. G. ENLOW, D. D., Temple Emanu-El, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.  
 Rabbi HARRY W. EYTELSON, Ph.D., 1505 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.  
 Pres. MILTON G. EVANS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921.  
 Prof. CHARLES P. FAGNANT (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.  
 BENJAMIN FAIN, 1269 President St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1921.  
 WALLACE CRANSTON FAIRWEATHER, 62 Saint Vincent St., Glasgow, Scotland. 1922.  
 Rabbi ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, Temple Keneseth Israel, Broad St. above Columbia Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Rev. Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1915.  
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.  
 Rabbi MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT, 3034 Washington Boulevard, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.  
 Sol. BARUCH FINESINGER, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1922.  
 Rabbi JOSEPH I. FINK, 540 South 6th St., Terre Haute, Ind. 1920.  
 Dr. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.  
 \*MAYNARD DAUCHY FOLLIN, P. O. Box 118, Detroit, Mich. 1922.  
 Dean HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.  
 Rabbi SOLOMON FOSTER, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J. 1921.  
 Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRAME, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 110 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.  
 Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 10 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.  
 Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D.D., 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.  
 MAURICE J. FREIBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 SIGMUND FREY, Feldgasse 10, Vienna (VIII), Austria. 1920.  
 HARRY FRIEDENWALD, M.D., 1029 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.  
 †Dr. ARTHUR LINCOLN FROTHINGHAM, Princeton, N. J. 1923 (1883).  
 Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.  
 Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.  
 \*Prof. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.  
 ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.  
 Mrs. H. P. GAMBOE, Kulpahar, U. P., India. 1921.  
 Prof. FRANK GAVIN, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.

- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GHEMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.  
 EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.  
 Rev. PHARES B. GIBBLE, 112 West Conway St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.  
 †Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLERVE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1002 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.  
 Prof. D. C. GILMORE, D.D., Judson College, Rangoon, Burma. 1922.  
 Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.  
 Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, 55th and Scoville Sts., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, P.Q., Canada. 1912.  
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.  
 Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.  
 Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM (Wesleyan Theol. College), 756 University St., Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.  
 Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.  
 Prof. LOUIS H. GRAY, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1897.  
 Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, care of University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1907.  
 Prof. EVARTS B. GREENE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Dr. LILY DEXTER GREENE, care Methodist Episcopal Mission, Delhi, India. 1921.  
 M. E. GREENEBAUM, 4504 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1920.  
 Dr. ETTALENE M. GRICE, care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.  
 Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 211 Wardwell Ave., Westerleigh, Staten Island, N. Y. 1894.  
 Rev. Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, "The Abbey," Lahore, Panjab, India. 1920.  
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.  
 Prof. LÉON GRÉY (Université libre d'Angers), 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M-et-L., France. 1921.  
 Babu SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA, Seva Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.  
 Pres. WILLIAM W. GUTH, Ph.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1920.  
 \*Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 323 West 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
 Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 †Rev. ALEXANDER D. HAIL (Osaka Theol. Training School), 946 of 3 Tezuka-ya, Suniyoshi Mura, Setsu, Japan. 1921.  
 Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Cal. 1920.  
 †Prof. B. HALPER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.  
 Rev. EDWARD R. HAMME, 1511 Hanover St., Baltimore, Md. 1921.  
 Prof. MAX S. HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.  
 JOEL HATHAWAY, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1923.  
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

- Prof. A. EUSTACE HAYDON, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.  
 †DANIEL P. HAYS, 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN HELLER (Tulane Univ.), 1828 Marengo St., New Orleans, La. 1920.  
 PHILIP S. HENRY, Zealandia, Asheville, N. C. 1914.  
 Rev. CHARLES W. HEPNER, 5305 Oshigatsuji, Osaka, Japan. 1921.  
 EDWIN B. HEWES, 307 South Lincoln St., Urbana, Ill. 1922.  
 Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. HERMAN V. HILPRECHT, 1830 South Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.  
 Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.  
 BERNARD HIRSHBERG, 260 Tod Lane, Youngstown, Ohio. 1920.  
 Prof. PHILIP K. HITT, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1915.  
 Rev. Dr. CHARLES T. HOCK (Bloomfield Theol. Seminary), 222 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1921 (1903).  
 Prof. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 9 Sumner St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.  
 G. F. HOFF, 403 Union Building, San Diego, Cal. 1920.  
 Miss ALICE M. HOLMES, Southern Pines, N. C. 1920.  
 \*Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.  
 SAMUEL HORCHOW, 1307 Fourth St., Portsmouth, Ohio. 1920.  
 ERNEST P. HOREWITZ, 560 West 171st St., New York, N. Y. 1923.  
 Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, 218 West 112th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.  
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.  
 Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, The Human-Yale College of Medicine, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.  
 Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1914.  
 \*Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.  
 Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.  
 Rev. Dr. MOSES HYAMSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 1335 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 \*JAMES HAZEN HYDE, Pavillon de l'Ermitage, 7 Rue de l'Ermitage, Versailles, France. 1909.  
 Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.  
 HAROLD INGHOLT, Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1921.  
 Rabbi EDWARD L. ISRAEL, 1404 Upper First St., Evansville, Ind. 1920.  
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.



- Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 1912.
- Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), Dana Place, Englewood, N. J. 1920.
- Rev. ERNEST P. JANVIER, Ewing Christian College, Allahabad, India. 1919.
- Mrs. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Prof. ARTHUR JEFFREY, American University, Cairo, Egypt. 1923.
- Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 31 General Lee St., Marianso, Cuba. 1916.
- FRANKLIN PLOTINOS JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.
- Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.
- NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- CHARLES JOHNSTON, 80 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, The Forbidden City, Peking, China. 1919.
- FLORIN HOWARD JONES, Saunders Cottage, N. Broadway, Upper Nyack, N. Y. 1918.
- Mrs. RUSSELL K. (Alice Judson) JONES, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ELY JACQUES KAHN, 49 West 43th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 East Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Rabbi C. E. HILLEL KAUVAR, Ph.D., 1607 Gilpin St., Denver, Colo. 1921.
- Prof. ELMER LOUIS KAYSER (George Washington Univ.), 3129 O St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- PRES. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Rev. JAMES L. KELSO, 501 North Walnut St., Bloomington, Ind. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN M. KELSO, Wesley Collegiate Institute, Dover, Del. 1923.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, Royal Oak, Md. 1916.
- Dr. ISADORE KEYFITZ, 641 East 50th Place, Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. ANIS E. KHURI, American University, Beirut, Syria. 1921.
- Prof. TAIKEN KIMURA, Tokyo Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTRIDGE (Harvard Univ.), 8 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- EUGENE KLEIN, 44 North 50th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- TAW SEIN KO, C.I.E., Peking Lodge, West Mount Road, Mandalay, Burma. 1922.
- Rabbi SAMUEL KOCH, M.A., 916 Twentieth Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1921.
- Dr. KAUFMANN KOHLER, 2 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Rev. EMIL G. H. KRAELING, Ph.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), 132 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. MELVIN G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.

- HAROLD ALBERT LAMB, 1837 San Juan Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.  
 Miss M. ANTONIA LAMB, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
 Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 12, Zap, Mercer Co., N. Dak. 1917.  
 \*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Fairfax St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.  
 AMBROSE LANSING, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1917.  
 Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.  
 Prof. JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.  
 SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.  
 Miss ANNE ILLIAN LEATHERS, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1923.  
 Prof. DARWIN A. LEAVITT (Meadville Theol. School), Divinity Hall, Meadville, Pa. 1920.  
 Rabbi DAVID LEFKOWITZ, 2415 South Boulevard, Dallas, Texas. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. LÉON LEGRAIN, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
 Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, Ph.D., 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.  
 Prof. ISADORE LEVINE, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.  
 Rabbi SAMUEL J. LEVINSON, 522 East 8th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.  
 Rev. Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.  
 LEON J. LIEBREICH, 141 West 111th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.  
 Dr. H. S. LINFIELD, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
 JOHN ELLERTON LODGE, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1922.  
 Mrs. LEE LOEB, 53 Gibbs St., Charleston, S. C. 1920.  
 Prof. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE (Iliff School of Theology), 2273 South Fillmore St., Denver, Colo. 1918.  
 Rev. ARNOLD E. LOOK, 614 North Frazier St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, JR., 267 Clarendon St., Boston, Mass. 1916.  
 Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 Prof. HENRY F. LUTZ (University of California), 1811 Parker St., Berkeley, Cal. 1916.  
 Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1006 West Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).  
 Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.  
 ALBERT MORTON LYTHERGE, Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.  
 Rev. WILLIAM H. MCCELLAN, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1922.  
 Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2223 Atherton St., Berkeley, Cal. 1920.  
 Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.  
 Prof. FRANCIS CHARLES MACDONALD, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.  
 Miss ELEANOR McDOUGALL, M.A., Principal, The Women's Christian College, Madras, India. 1922.

- DAVID ISRAEL MACHT, M.D., The Johns Hopkins University Medical School, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- RALPH W. MACK, 3836 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- J. ARTHUR MACLEAN, Director, The John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
- DR. ROBERT CECIL MACMAHON, 78 West 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- DR. JUDAH L. MAGNES, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi EDGAR F. MAGNIN, 2187 West 16th St., Los Angeles, Cal. 1920.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 89 Hillcrest Road, Belmont, Mass. 1887.
- Rev. WALTER ARTHUR MAIER, 3709 Texas Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY MALTER (Dropsie College), 1531 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Prof. JACOB MANN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 4600 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- DR. CLARENCE A. MANNING (Columbia Univ.), 144 East 74th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- \*Rev. JAMES CAMPBELL MANRY, Ewing College, Allahabad City, U. P., India. 1921.
- Rabbi JACOB R. MARCUS, bei Eschelbacher, Oranienburgerstr. 68, Berlin, Germany. 1920.
- RALPH MARCUS, 551 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- ARTHUR WILLIAM MARGET, 157 Homestead St., Roxbury, Mass. 1920.
- Rabbi HARRY S. MARGOLIS, Paducah, Ky. 1920.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 West Hottel St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Pres. H. I. MARSHALL, Karen Theol. Seminary, Insein, Burma, India. 1920.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Prof. D. ROY MATHEWS, 307 South Oak Park Ave., Oak Park, Ill. 1920.
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Prof. JOHN A. MAYNARD, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1917.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.
- HENRY MEIS, 806 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rabbi RAPHAEL H. MELAMED, Ph.D., 1295 Central Ave., Far Rockaway, N. Y. 1921.
- Dean SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1912.
- ELMER D. MERRILL, Director, Bureau of Science, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- R. D. MESSAYEH, 49 East 127th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- \*Rev. Dr. MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Rabbi MYRON M. MEYEROVITZ, Alexandria, La. 1920.
- DR. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C. 1899.



- MERTON L. MILLER, care International Banking Corporation, Cebu, P. I. 1921.
- Rev. PHILO LAOS MILLS, D.D., 2315 Lincoln Road, N. E., Washington, D.C. 1923.
- Rabbi LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, M.A., P. O. Box 36, Highland Park, Ill. 1920.
- Rev. JOHN MONCURE, Maryland College for Women, Lutherville, Md. 1921.
- Dr. ROBERT LUDWIG MOND, 7 Cavendish Mansions, Langham St., London W. 1, England. 1921.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- \*Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Rev. HUGH A. MORAN, 221 Eddy St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1920.
- Pres. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- \*EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, "Tyn-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
- Hon. ROLAND S. MORRIS, 1617 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. OMER HILLMAN MOTT, O.S.B., Belmont Abbey, Belmont, N.C. 1921.
- †Rev. Dr. PHILIP STAFFORD MOXOM (International Y.M.C.A. College), 90 High St., Springfield, Mass. 1921 (1898).
- DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, 5 West 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSSELL, 203 Radnor Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, 245 East Tremont Ave., New York, N. Y. 1887.
- Prof. THOMAS KINLOCH NELSON, Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria, Va. 1920.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBITT, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
- Professor WILLIAM ROMAINE NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, care of Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
- Mrs. CHARLES F. NORTON, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1919.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 5402 39th St., N. W., Washington, D.C. 1915.
- Dr. ALDIS RICHARD NYKL, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1922.
- Dr. J. J. OBERMANN (Jewish Institute of Religion), 21 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- ADOLPH S. OCHS, The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rt. Rev. DENIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFFELE, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- HERBERT C. OETTINGER, Eighth and Walnut Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- NAOYOSHI OGAWA, Bureau of Education, Government of Formosa, Taihoku, Formosa. 1921.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. ELLEN S. OGDEN, Bishop Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.

- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.  
 Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTED (Univ. of Illinois), 706 South Goodwin St., Urbana, Ill. 1909.  
 Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, Assiut College, Assiut, Egypt. 1921.  
 LUTHER PARKER, Cabanatuan, P. I. 1922.  
 ANTONIO M. PATERNO, 605 East Daniel St., Champaign, Ill. 1922.  
 Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
 ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, Shields, Allegheny Co., Pa. 1920.  
 Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. 1921.  
 JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, Fernald Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Dr. CHARLES PEABODY (Harvard Univ.), 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
 Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.  
 HAROLD PRICE, 221 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.  
 Prof. ISMAK J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.  
 Dr. JOSEPH LOUIS PERRIER (Columbia Univ.), 352 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 Prof. MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PERKIN, Boston University, 688 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1921.  
 Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERKY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
 Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2414 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.  
 Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. 1909.  
 Dr. ROBERT HENRY PERIFFER, S.T.M. (Harvard Univ.), 82 Larch Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.  
 Rev. Dr. DAVID PHILIPSON, 3947 Beechwood Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.  
 Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 1917.  
 Rev. Dr. Z. B. T. PHILLIPS, 4303 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.  
 SAMUEL PITLIK, 1818 East Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md. 1923.  
 JULIAN A. POLLAK, 927 Redway Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 PAUL POPENOE, Box 13, Coachella, Cal. 1914.  
 Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.  
 Prof. LUCIUS C. PORTER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1923.  
 Prof. D. V. POTDAR (New Poona College), 180 Shanvar Path, Poona, India. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. SARTELL PRESTICE, 127 South Broadway, Nyack, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
 Hon. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), American Legation, Copenhagen, Denmark. 1888.  
 CARL E. PRITZ, 101 Union Trust Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 Rev. Dr. A. H. PRIESSNER, Gang Sakotah 10, Kramat, Weitevreden, Java, Dutch East Indies. 1921.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER C. PURDY, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1921.  
 Prof. HERBERT R. PURINGTON, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine. 1921.  
 †Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Ardmore, Pa. 1916.

- Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).
- Dr. G. PAYN QUACKENBOS, Northrup Ave., Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
- Rev. Dr. MAX RAISIN, Barnett Memorial Temple, Paterson, N. J. 1920.
- Dr. V. V. RAMANA-SASTRIN, Vedaraniam, Tanjore District, India. 1921.
- Dean HORACE M. RAMSEY, 341 13th St., Portland, Ore. 1920.
- MARCUS RAUH, 951 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Pres. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), 9 Union St., New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
- Prof. HARRY B. REED (Northwestern Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1852 Polk St., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. 1921.
- Dr. NATHANIEL REICH (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum), 3238 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
- Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Meiji Gakuin, Shirokane Shiba, Tokyo, Japan. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER (Harvard Univ.), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- RE. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, 2400 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1908.
- Dr. GEORGE L. RICHARDS, 124 Franklin St., Fall River, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. ROBERT THOMAS RIDDLE, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa. 1920.
- HALSEY A. RINE, Veterans' Home, Palo Alto, Cal. 1923.
- Prof. EDWARD ROBERTSON, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. 1921.
- Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Christ Church, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THEODORE H. ROBINSON, University College, Cardiff, Wales. 1922.
- GEORGE N. ROHRICH, 270 Rue de Vaugirard, Paris XV<sup>e</sup>, France. 1922.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- SAMUEL ROSENBLATT, 50 West 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- \*JULIUS ROSENWALD, café of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 537 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Dr. ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
- Dr. NAJEED M. SALEERY, P. O. Box 226, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Rabbi MARCUS SALZMAN, Ph.D., 94 West Ross St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
- Prof. HENRY SCHAEFFER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 1606 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.



- GOTTLIEB SCHAEZLIS, 2618 Owego Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.  
 Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.  
 Prof. OTTO SCHEERER (Univ. of the Philippines), P. O. Box 659, Manila, P. I. 1922.  
 JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 1430 Woodhaven Boulevard, Woodhaven, N. Y. 1920.  
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.  
 ADOLPH SCHOENFELD, 321 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.  
 †Mrs. WILFRED H. SCHOFF, 110 Montgomery Ave., Cynwyd, Pa. 1923.  
 WILLIAM BACON SCOTFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.  
 Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1906.  
 ALEXANDER SCOTT, 222 Central Park South, New York, N. Y. 1922.  
 Prof. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1920.  
 \*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
 Prof. HELEN M. SEARLES, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1921.  
 Dr. MOSES SEIDEL (Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theol. Seminary), 9—11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.  
 H. A. SEINSHIMER, Fourth and Pike Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi, Sendai, Miyagi Ken, Japan. 1902.  
 SAMUEL SELIGMAN, 2739 Augusta St., Chicago, Ill. 1922.  
 Prof. OVID R. SELLERS (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1917.  
 MAX SENIOR, 21 Mitchell Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 VICTOR N. SHARENKOFF (Columbia Univ.), 241 Princeton Ave., Jersey City, N. J. 1922.  
 G. HOWLAND SHAW, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1921.  
 \*Dr. T. LEBIE SHEAR, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SHELLABEAR, 43 Madison Ave., Madison, N. J. 1919.  
 Prof. WILLIAM A. SHELTON, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga. 1921.  
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 ANDREW R. SHERIFF, The Chicago Club, 404 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1921.  
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 447 Webster Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y. 1904.  
 GYOKUSHU SHIBATA, 330 East 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.  
 Rev. JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK, Anking, China. 1922.  
 DON CAMERON SHUMAKER, 347 Madison Ave., Room 1007, New York, N. Y. 1922.  
 Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, The Temple, East 55th St. and Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.  
 Rev. HIRAM HILL SIPES, Bhimavaram, Kistna District, India. 1920.  
 Rabbi JACK H. SKIRBALL, 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.  
 Prof. S. B. SLACK, Arts Building, McGill University, Montreal, P. Q., Canada. 1921.  
 \*JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14 Rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.  
 Miss MARION W. SLEEZER, 360 West State St., Paxton, Ill. 1925.

- Rev. H. FRAMER SMITH, 324 West Duval St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.  
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.  
 Prof. J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
 Prof. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.  
 Rev. JOSEPH EDWARD SNYDER, Box 796, Fargo, N. Dak. 1916.  
 Rev. Dr. ELIAS L. SOLOMON, 1326 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Assistant Director General of Archaeology in India, "Beninore", Simla, Panjab, India. 1918.  
 Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 JOHN FRANKLIN SPRINGER, 618 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 J. W. STANLEY, care of International Y.M.C.A., 347 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1922.  
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. SYEEL, 232 Mountain Way, Rutherford, N. J. 1892.  
 HERMAN STEINBERG, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 MAX STEINBERG, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. THOMAS STENHOUSE, Mickley Vicarage, Stocksfield-on-Tyne, England. 1921.  
 HORACE STERN, 1524 North 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.  
 Rev. Dr. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, West Stockbridge, Mass. 1900.  
 Rev. Dr. JOSEPH STOLZ, 4714 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.  
 Prof. FREDERICK AMES STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A 1263, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.  
 Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANEAR, 22 Carnac Road, Kalthadevi P. O., Bombay, India. 1921.  
 †Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 A. J. SUNSTEIN, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.  
 Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 2109a Russell Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.  
 Ptes. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.  
 Prof. YUNG-TUNG TANG, Southeastern University, Nanking, China. 1922.  
 Prof. FREDERICK J. TEGGART, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1919.  
 NAINSINH L. THACKER, 409 Forty-ninth St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1923.  
 EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.  
 Rev. WILLIAM GORDON THOMPSON, 126 Manhattan Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
 Baron Dr. GYOWU TOKIWA (Imperial Univ. of Kyoto), Isshinden, Province of Ise, Japan. 1921.  
 †Dean HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1917.  
 \*Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.  
 I. NEWTON TRAGER, 944 Marion Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 4138 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1918.  
 Pandit RAM PRASAD TRIPATHI, M.A., University of Allahabad, Allahabad, India. 1921.

- Prof. HAROLD H. TRYON, Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. RUDOLF TSCHUDI, Ph.D., Benkenstrasse 61, Basle, Switzerland. 1923.
- Rabbi JACOB TURNER, 4167 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rev. DUDLEY TYNG, 721 Douglas Ave., Providence, R. I. 1922.
- \*Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, Riverbank Court, Cambridge, Mass. 1921.
- Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, 44 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- †Rev. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH, Ph.D. (Columbia Univ.), 35 Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1908.
- Rev. JOHN VAN ESS, Basra, Mesopotamia. 1921.
- Rev. M. VANOVERBERGH, Tagudin, I. S., Philippine Islands. 1921.
- Mrs. JOHN KING VAN RENSSELAER, 70 East 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. J. PH. VOGEL (Univ. of Leiden), Noordeindsplein 4a, Leiden, Netherlands. 1921.
- LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. JACOB WACKERNAGEL (Univ. of Basle), Gartenstr. 93, Basle, Switzerland. 1921.
- \*FELIX M. WARBURG, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- JAMES R. WARE, 1709 Fillmore St., Camden, N. J. 1923.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
- Rev. JAMES WATT, Marietta Ave., Lancaster, Pa. 1923.
- JAMES B. WEAVER, 412 Iowa National Bank Building, Des Moines, Iowa. 1922.
- \*Prof. HUTTON WEBSTER (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
- Rev. W. H. WEIGEL, JR., care of Y. M. C. A., Indiana, Pa. 1923.
- Miss ISABEL C. WELLS, 1609 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D. C. 1921.
- Rev. O. V. WERNER, Jeypore, Vizagapatam District, India. 1921.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYER, 14 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- MORRIS F. WESTMEINER, Traction Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. MILTON C. J. WESTPHAL, Union Baptist Church, 19th and Carson Sts., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- RICHARD B. WETHERILL, M.D., 525 Columbia St., Lafayette, Ind. 1921.
- President Emeritus BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
- Pres. WILBERT W. WHITE, D.D., The Biblical Seminary in New York, 541 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Miss ETHEL E. WHITNEY, Hotel Hemenway, Boston, Mass. 1921.
- \*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- Miss CAROLYN M. WICKER, 520 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- PETER WIERNIK, 220 Henry St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- HERMAN WILE, Ellicott and Carroll Sts., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.



- Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Cheshrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS (Univ. of California), 1410 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- Mrs. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
- Prof. CURT PAUL WIMMER, Columbia University, College of Pharmacy, 115 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Major HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rabbi JONAH B. WISE, 715 Chamber of Commerce, Portland, Ore. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHART (Xenia Theol. Seminary), 6834 Washington Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1911.
- Rev. ADOLF LOUIS WISMAR, 419 West 145th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. UNRAI WOGIHARA, 20 Tajimacho, Asakusa, Tokyo, Japan. 1921.
- Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON (Hebrew Union College), C-18 Landon Ct., Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1904.
- Prof. HARRY A. WOLFSON (Harvard Univ.), 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.
- Rabbi LOUIS WOLFEY, 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1922.
- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Prof. IRVING F. WOOD (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1905.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 23 North Main St., Hanover, N. H. 1917.
- Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 16 Prescott Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- PETER HOTTE WOOLDRIDGE, 1619 Louisiana St., Little Rock, Ark. 1923.
- Prof. ALFRED COOPER WOOLNER, M.A., University of the Punjab, 11 Race-course Road, Lahore, India. 1921.
- Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Rev. HORACE K. WRIGHT, Venguria, Bombay Presidency, India. 1921.
- JOHN MAX WULFING, 3448 Longfellow Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo. 1921.
- Miss ELEANOR F. F. YEAWORTH, 6237 Bellona Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. ROYDEN KEITH YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
- Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. HARRY CLINTON YORK, Hood College, Frederick, Md. 1922.
- LOUIS GABRIEL ZELSON, 427 Titan St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.

Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road,  
Bombay, India. 1911.

JOSEPH SOLOMON ZUCKERBAUM (Mirachi Teachers' Institute), 2 West 111th  
St., New York, N. Y. 1920.

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, care of American Mission, Cairo, Egypt. 1920.  
[Total: 386]

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